



U.S. Department of Justice

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
Washington, D.C. 20535

August 15, 2018

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.  
SUITE 1203  
27305 W LIVE OAK ROAD  
CASTAIC, CA 91384

FOIPA Request No.: 1410023-000  
Subject: 121-HQ-23278

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

Records responsive to your request were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Below you will find informational paragraphs relevant to your request. Please read each item carefully.

Enclosed are 2,258 pages of previously processed documents and a copy of the Explanation of Exemptions.

Please be advised that additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your information needs for this request, you may request an additional search for records. Submit your request by mail or fax to – Work Process Unit, 170 Marcel Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, fax number (540) 868-4997. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence.

For your information, Congress excluded three discrete categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA. See 5 U.S. C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010)). This response is limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. This is a standard notification that is given to all our requesters and should not be taken as an indication that excluded records do, or do not, exist.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under "Contact Us." The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Suite 11050, 1425 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA online portal by creating an account on the following web site: <https://foiaonline.regulations.gov/foia/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at 877-684-6448, or by emailing [ogis@nara.gov](mailto:ogis@nara.gov). Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing [foipaquestions@fbi.gov](mailto:foipaquestions@fbi.gov). If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.



Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D Hardy", with a stylized flourish at the end.

David M. Hardy  
Section Chief,  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1410023-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 33

- Page 34 ~ b7D;
- Page 35 ~ b7D;
- Page 36 ~ b7D;
- Page 37 ~ b7D;
- Page 38 ~ b7D;
- Page 39 ~ b7D;
- Page 40 ~ b7D;
- Page 41 ~ b7D;
- Page 42 ~ b7D;
- Page 43 ~ b7D;
- Page 44 ~ b7D;
- Page 45 ~ b7D;
- Page 46 ~ b7D;
- Page 47 ~ b7D;
- Page 48 ~ b7D;
- Page 49 ~ b7D;
- Page 57 ~ Duplicate - 11223278-11X;
- Page 58 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 59 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 60 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 61 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 62 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 63 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 64 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 65 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 66 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 67 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 68 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 69 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 70 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 71 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 72 ~ Duplicate - 121-23278-11X;
- Page 135 ~ Duplicate - FDPS page 43;

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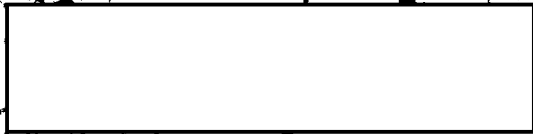
This document is made available through the declassification efforts  
and research of John Greenewald, Jr., creator of:

# The Black Vault



The Black Vault is the largest online Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)  
document clearinghouse in the world. The research efforts here are  
responsible for the declassification of hundreds of thousands of pages  
released by the U.S. Government & Military.

**Discover the Truth** at: <http://www.theblackvault.com>



rec'd  
Feb 7 1950

Communist in State Department

Feb. 7<sup>th</sup>

Dear Mr. Hoover  
Alger Hiss. In the light of the 11-1  
past communist activities that are  
known to exist in the State Dept. as  
brought forth in the late perjury  
trial of Alger Hiss. In writing to  
demand a complete investigation of  
the State Dept. I also inquire into illegal  
entries into the U.S. as perpetrated  
by the D.P. Commission.

In the future security of  
our Nation I feel investigations of  
this kind such an investigation should  
be started at once.

SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY  
Sincerely SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY



b6  
b7c

N121-23278-1

ALLEGATIONS BY  
SENATOR MCCARTHY AND  
INVESTIGATION BY  
TYDINGS SUB COMMITTEE  
OF SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE

RECORDED - 20  
INDEXED - 20  
3 JUL 31 1950

Feb 21 1950  
84  
1432  
M

February 15, 1950

RECORDED - 20

62-39947-1437

INDEXED - 20

[Redacted]

b6  
b7c

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter dated February 7, 1950, has been received.

In the absence of information indicating a violation of a Federal statute over which this Bureau has jurisdiction, we are unable to initiate an investigation such as you request.

It is suggested that you may wish to refer your comments in this regard directly to appropriate officials of the State Department.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

FRY:fk:pg jg

Comments in the State Dept.

G.I.R.P.

1121-23278-2

JUN 20 1950

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- andy \_\_\_\_\_

MAR 10 1950  
FEB 17 1950  
COMM - FBI

MAR 2 1950

Handwritten signatures and stamps, including a date stamp of FEB 15 1950.

*Stacy*

*Ladd*  
*Nichols*

UNCLASSIFIED

33872

Feb. 11, 1950

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Harbo	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Tele. Room	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, *Ill*  
Mapes Hotel  
Reno, Nevada

*John E. Peurifoy*  
*Senator*

In view of your statement carried by the press that there are "57 card-carrying Communists" in the State Department I respectfully request that you make these names public or submit them to the Department of State. It would seem to me that if you have this information, as a loyal American you owe it to your country to inform the officials responsible for any such characters existing in the government. As you know our employees have been checked and are being checked by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the President's loyalty program and if you have proof that there are card-carrying members of the Communist Party in this Department I assure you that they will not remain in this agency. I assume that you have given your information to the FBI. Therefore we will communicate with that agency immediately. Needless to say, the thousands of loyal employees of this Department must not be placed under a cloud of suspicion and I should appreciate it if you will promptly publish the names of the departmental employees whom you say are members of the Communist Party.

*Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

John E. Peurifoy  
Deputy Under Secretary  
of State

*This is just passing the buck. SE*

RECORDED - 35

~~INDEXED - 35~~

UNCLASSIFIED

INDEXED

121-23278-3

*Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

*36*

*AT*



Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson  
FROM : L. B. Nichols  
SUBJECT:

DATE: February 13, 1950

43539

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

At two minutes to four, Jack Neale called Mr. McGuire in my office and advised that Assistant Under-Secretary Jack Peurifoy had written a letter to Senator McCarthy and contemplated releasing his letter to the Senator at 4 o'clock. The letter to McCarthy pointed out McCarthy owed it to his country to expose any Communists; that, as McCarthy knew, employees in the State Department had been checked and were being checked by the FBI under the President's Loyalty Program; that he, Peurifoy, assumes the Senator has communicated the names of the 57 Communists in the State Department to the FBI; that he, Peurifoy, would appreciate it if McCarthy would publish the names because the State Department would fire any Communists immediately. u

I called Neale back and told him that of course it would take some time to check whether there was any incoming mail but that aside from this I had mentioned the matter to the Director and the Director thought it most undesirable to request the Senator to turn the names over to the FBI; that the State Department had already said they would fire anyone in the State Department who was a Communist; that, therefore, the Senator should give the names to the State Department direct. u

I further told Neale it seemed improper to bring the Bureau into this matter, knowing full well that we could not discuss the results of our investigations under the Loyalty Program and that, furthermore, if they had Communists and we had turned up the Party cards there was nothing we could do about it as it was a State Department matter. He stated that he had already in substance stated this but that Peurifoy still asked him to check to a certain whether we had received a list from McCarthy, as he might have some questions. I told Neale we could not say; that this would take some time to check, and that, anyway, it was doubtful the Senator would send them to us in the first instance. Neale stated Peurifoy should not have brought the Bureau into his communication but that there was nothing that could be done about that as the communication had been sent to McCarthy on the 11th. u

121-23278-4  
39749-1154

RECORDED - 35

LBN:hmc

*It is the usual  
State Dept double  
talk & trying to  
pass the buck.*

FEB 15 1950  
31

EX-8

*Standish*

SECURITY DIVISION - FBI

TO:  Director

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tolson         | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. H. B. Fletcher       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Clegg          | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Baumgardner          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Glavin         | <input type="checkbox"/> M                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Harbo          | <input type="checkbox"/> M                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nichols        | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Laughlin             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Rosen          | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wall                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tracy          | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Keay                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Q. Tamm        | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Whitson              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mohr           | <input type="checkbox"/> M                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Miss Gandy         | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Ferris               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nease          | <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign Service Desk     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Pennington     | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Callan               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Winterrowd     |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. J. A. Carlson  | <input type="checkbox"/> See Me                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. E. J. McCabe   | <input type="checkbox"/> Call Me                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Henley        | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate action       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Miss Jess          | <input type="checkbox"/> Note & return            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Davidson      | <input type="checkbox"/> Send file                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chief Clerk's Off. | <input type="checkbox"/> Bring up-to-date         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Records Section    | <input type="checkbox"/> Correct                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Personnel Files    | <input type="checkbox"/> Re-date                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mechanical Sec.    | <input type="checkbox"/> Please initial & return  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ident. Division    | <input type="checkbox"/> Place on record & return |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Technical Lab.     | <input type="checkbox"/> Place on record          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reading Room       | <input type="checkbox"/> Per conversation         |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> Advise status            |

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744 713 1950

- TO:  Director
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Fletcher
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carlson
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy
- Personnel Files Section
- Records Section
- Mrs. Skillman

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Tele. Room.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

See Me For Appropriate Action

Send File Note and Return

Clyde Tolson

February 16, 1950

100-27710-5

Honorable Walter B. Huber  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

E. I. Hoover

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
FEB 17 5 11 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

My dear Congressman:

I have received your letter of February 13, 1950, requesting advice as to the truth or falsity of a statement attributed to one of your colleagues that there are over two hundred known Communists now employed by the State Department.

As you are aware, all official records and information of this Bureau are confidential and may not be disclosed without the approval of the Attorney General. Accordingly, I am taking the liberty of furnishing to him a copy of your letter.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

JDP:IHS

FEB 16 3 20 PM '50  
RECEIVED-INSUR  
F B I

MAILED 13  
FEB 17 1950  
COMM. FBI

WALTER B. HUBER  
14TH DISTRICT, OHIO  
ASSISTANT MAJORITY WHIP

COMMITTEES:  
JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE  
ECONOMIC REPORT  
VETERANS' AFFAIRS  
EXPENDITURES IN THE  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

February 13, 1950

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

According to statement reported in the press to have been made by one of my colleagues, there are over two hundred known Communists now employed by the State Department.

Will you kindly advise me as to the truth or falsity of this statement?

Yours truly,

*Walter B. Huber*  
Walter B. Huber  
Member of Congress

*see a.g.  
JWP/SHL  
2-16-50*

RECORDED - 22  
INDEXED - 22

121-23278-5  
~~62-39749-1154~~  
MAR 8 1950  
31

EX-115

*Hof*  
*Johnis*  
*mt*

*JWP*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: February 14, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

PURPOSE:

*Communists in State Department*

To inform you of an article appearing in "The Washington Post" dated February 13, 1950, regarding statements made by Senator Joseph McCarthy (R), Wisconsin, during a Lincoln Day talk at a dinner of Nevada Republicans, wherein he identified four individuals as "people with Communist connections."

BACKGROUND:

This article, carried by the Associated Press and date-lined Reno, was for the most part a continuation of his criticism of the State Department as regards his charge of Communist infiltration. He named, as "specific cases of people with Communist connections," John W. Service, Gustave Duran, Mrs. Mary Jane Keeney, and Dr. Harlow Shapley. From the facts given by Senator McCarthy, John W. Service is, no doubt, identical with John Stewart Service on whom we conducted an investigation under the provisions of Executive Order 9835. The others, Duran, Keeney, and Dr. Shapley, have not been identified with federal employment since the inception of the Loyalty Order and, therefore, have not been within the scope of the Order. There follows a brief sketch of these individuals:

John Stewart Service

A full field loyalty investigation under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 was conducted of Service and the reports reflecting the results of this investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on December 23, 1948, and to the Department on March 24, 1949. The basis for investigation was his arrest, together with Phillip Jacob Jaffe and Kate Mitchell, co-editors of "Amerasia," a magazine published in New York City, and others, on the basis of a complaint charging him with conspiracy to remove government documents and furnish them to unauthorized individuals. Service was not indicted by the Grand Jury in this case.

The Loyalty Investigation developed generally that former neighbors and fellow employees considered Service to be loyal, however, one confidential informant stated that while serving on the staff of the political advisor to General MacArthur at Tokyo, Japan, in 1945, he appeared to have become enamored of Communist theory.

It was learned in January, 1949, that following the Grand Jury's refusal to indict him, Service had been sent to a minor post in New Zealand by the State Department and later recalled from New Zealand and promoted to a position on the Selection Board of the Foreign Service where he was to pass upon the employment and promotion of Junior Foreign Service employees. (121-13347-20)

EER:dhr:zg

MAR 6 1950

RECORDED - 32

121-23278-6

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-39849-181-16964-2

Senator Joseph P. McCarthy

*Jm*

FIVE 1950

There is no information in Bureau files indicating that Service is not still employed by the Department of State. The Criminal Division of the Department, however, advised, on April 21, 1949, that an examination of the Bureau's reports failed to indicate a violation of any federal statute.

Gustave Duran

This individual, in all likelihood, is identical with Gustavo Duran, the subject of a rather extensive Internal Security - R investigation, which investigation is presently in a closed status. A loyalty investigation under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 has never been conducted inasmuch as Duran has not been in Federal employment since the inception of the Loyalty Order. As of June, 1949, he was employed as Chief of Section of Cultural Activities in the Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, Lake Success, Long Island, New York. (64-27446)

Mary Jane Keeney

Mary Jane Keeney is the subject of an Internal Security - R investigation, and since she has not been a Federal employee since the inception of the Loyalty Order, she has not been investigated under the Loyalty Program. She has been described as a contact of subjects in the Gregory Case. As of January, 1950, it is reflected in Bureau files that Mary Jane Keeney is employed at the United Nations, Lake Success, New York.

Dr. Harlow Shapley

According to Bureau files, Dr. Shapley is Director of Harvard Observatory. He has, from time to time, undertaken considerable criticism of the foreign and domestic policy of the Government of the United States insofar as matters pertaining Russia and its satellites are concerned and a co-existing praise of Soviet policy and activities at home and abroad. (100-341825)

Shapley has never been investigated under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 on the basis of his being a member of the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences. The Attorney General advised by memorandum dated May 24, 1948, that neither the National Academy of Sciences nor its National Research Council is a part of the Executive Branch of the Government and, consequently, does not fall within the purview of Executive Order 9835. (121-10803)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for informative purposes.



The Director

D. M. Ladd

February 15, 1950

42538

*JH Ladd*

**LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

*M. Ladd*

Pursuant to your request for information regarding ~~Communists and members of subversive organizations in the Department of State~~, there are attached summary memoranda concerning employees, appointees and applicants of the Department of State on whom the Bureau has developed disloyal information as a result of investigations under the Loyalty Program (S.O. 9835) or the Voice of America Program (Public Law 402, 80th Congress). These memoranda do not include individuals on whom the Bureau is presently conducting investigations.

*Summary*

For your convenience and ready reference, these memoranda have been divided into the following categories:

*4/16/50  
5-29-50  
Communist in State  
Report Form 1*

- I. Cases in which there was documentary evidence or an admission of Communist Party membership. The documentary evidence was not necessarily of a type admissible in a legal proceeding but was such as would be admissible in a loyalty or other administrative hearing. Total..... 3
- II. Cases in which Communist Party membership was reported by live informants who were not available to testify at a Loyalty Hearing; technical informants; or other reliable sources, but no documentary evidence was available. Total... 6
- III. Cases in which there was association with individuals or organizations affiliated with the Communist Party. This category includes: Total..... 128
  - A. Cases involving membership in organizations cited by the Attorney General, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or a State public committee. Total..... 54
  - B. Cases involving signers of Communist Party petitions. Total..... 8
  - C. Cases involving sympathetic association with cited organizations or disloyal individuals. Total..... 66
- IV. Cases in which membership is reported in organizations cited by the Attorney General which are not related to the Communist Party. Total..... 1

**ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE**

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*1-62-7*

Original cannot be located and is not on record. RECORDED - 62 original is received in Files Division it will be filed with this copy or may be given a new serial. 2-9-50 GRS

121-23278-62  
RECORDED - 62  
1466

*J U*

Your attention is invited to the fact that each of the above four categories is divided into Applicants and Employees Sections. This is done because there is no information in the Bureau's files indicating that the applicants on whom we conducted investigations under these programs ever were hired. Additionally, no check has been made with the Civil Service Commission or the employing agency to determine whether the individuals mentioned in the Employees Section are presently working in the Executive Branch of the government, although according to our files, no information has been received indicating otherwise.

In order that you may have a complete knowledge and evaluation of the source of information in each instance the informant is fully identified parenthetically.

You might be particularly interested in the memoranda prepared concerning the following individuals:

WARD PHILLIPS ALLEN  
Specialist, Division of International  
Organization Affairs  
(See page 21)

RALPH JOSEPH BLOCK  
Acting Special Assistant to the  
Director, OIE  
(See page 117)

DR. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER  
Assistant Director for Policy Liaison,  
UNESCO Relations Staff  
(See page 120)

JOSEPH CHASE  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
Office of the Secretary  
(See page 120)

JOHN PATON DAVIES, JR.  
Policy Planning Staff  
(See page 135)

DOROTHY KENYON  
U. S. Representative to United Nations Committee  
on Status of Women of the Economic and Social  
Council, U. S. Mission to United Nations  
(See page 71)

VAL ROBIN LOWWIN  
Chief, European Section,  
Division of International Labor,  
Social and Health Affairs,  
Office of International Trade  
(See page 168)

ISADOR LUBIN  
U. S. Representative Economic  
and Employment Commission, U.  
S. Mission to United Nations  
(See page 75)

DANIEL FRANKS MARGOLIES  
Chief, Production and Labor  
Section, Division of Occupied  
Areas, Office of Economic  
Affairs  
(See page 77)

LISTON HERRIEM OAK  
Voice of America Program  
(See page 2)

WEBSTER CLAY POWELL  
Attache, Foreign Service  
(See page 190)

72123278 - 6X

WALTER ARTHUR RUDLIN  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
Office of Assistant Secretary of  
State for Occupied Areas  
(See page 20)

JOHN STEWART SERVICE  
Foreign Service Officer  
(See page 208)

ALIS DE SOLA  
Radio Script Writer  
International Broadcasting  
Division  
(See page 218)

CHARLES WHEELER TRAYN  
Chief, International Broadcasting  
Division  
(See page 221)

The Attorney General

February 16, 1950

Director, FBI

INQUIRY BY REPRESENTATIVE WALTER B. HUBER  
CONCERNING COMMUNISTS IN STATE DEPARTMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

By letter dated February 13, 1950, the Honorable Walter B. Huber, Member of Congress representing the 14th District of Ohio, requested information from this Bureau as to the truth or falsity of a statement attributed to one of his colleagues that there are over two hundred known Communists now employed by the State Department.

Representative Huber has been advised that all official records of the FBI are confidential and may not be disclosed without your approval.

Attached hereto for your information are copies of Representative Huber's letter and my reply of this date.

Enclosures

JDR:LHS

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FEB 17 9 25 AM '50

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] 2909  
ON 4/10/78 [initials]

SLIP(S) OF INDEXING  
DATE 4-26-78  
121-23274-7

FEB 17 1950

RECORDED - 101  
INDEXED

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Handwritten notes and signatures, including "3-C" and various initials.

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Salt Lake City, Utah  
February 16, 1950

*Conrad*

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

42507

*Fletcher*  
*SEMPER PARATUS*  
*JMW*  
*Mineral*

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As of possible interest, I am enclosing news items and editorials from Salt Lake City and Reno, Nevada papers relating to recent public statements made by Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY (R) of Wisconsin regarding alleged Communists in the State Department and in the United States.

Senator McCARTHY, accompanied by Senator GEORGE W. MALONE (R) of Nevada was out this way for the purpose of addressing an annual Lincoln Day banquet in Reno. ~~He~~

SA [redacted] a Resident Agent at Reno, has informed me that JACK HARMON, a retired reputable businessman of Reno who attended the banquet, later informed him that Senator McCARTHY had paid you one of the finest compliments he had ever heard of a Government official. HARMON stated that during his speech at the banquet Senator McCARTHY deviated from his script and said he would like to pay a compliment to a Government official. He then identified the person as, "Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation," and said, "Hoover is the outstanding man in Washington at this time."

b6  
b7C

*White*

*5*  
*EX-50*

Kindest personal regards and best wishes.  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE Dec 16 55  
RECORDED - 82  
INDEXED - 82  
Sincerely,  
JAY C. NEWMAN  
SAC

Enclosures (5)  
JCN:FR  
AMSD

*8909*

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]  
ON 4/10/78 *019/107C*

*101*  
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*121-23278-8*  
*12-27-55*  
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*W*  
*RECEIVED*

SALT LAKE TELEGRAM  
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
FEBRUARY 14, 1950

E D I T O R I A L

By: H. F. KRETCHMAN, Editor  
J.F. FITZPATRICK, Publisher

## Irresponsible Gossip Or Derelict Officials

Senator Joseph E. McCarthy of Wisconsin dropped a bombshell when he stopped in Salt Lake City the other day on his way to attend a Republican rally in Reno, Nevada. He said there were 57 card-carrying Communists in the state department, and that he could give Secretary of State Acheson their names.

Many of the 57, the senator said, are in the higher salary brackets and hold influential positions. He charged that one man, John Service, "was picked up by the FBI for turning over state department secrets to Communists" but was strangely not prosecuted. Joseph Grew, who insisted on prosecution, was forced to resign. Service was reinstated and promoted, and is now en route to India to represent the state department there. "I think," said Senator McCarthy, "he should be recalled before we establish the same kind of policy there that we had in China."

This accusation is simply staggering. If it is true, it establishes a degree of vicious laxity in the administration's effort to eliminate disloyal officials that amounts to a betrayal of trust.

Frankly, it is difficult to believe any loyal, responsible American officials could be so faithless. But the charge has been made by a United States senator. It cannot be shrugged off. Either Senator McCarthy is an irresponsible purveyor of unsubstantiated gossip and rumors, or trusted American officials, from the president on down through the ranks of state department heads, have been infamously derelict in their duty.

We ought to know which is correct. It is dangerous to permit the poison of suspicion and doubt to eat away the confidence Americans have in the integrity of their government and its ability to guarantee national security.

ENCLOSURE

62-39149-1284  
121-23-1-8

NEVADA STATE JOURNAL  
RENO, NEVADA  
FEBRUARY 14, 1950

E D I T O R I A L

JOSEPH F. McDONALD, Editor

**TOO MANY**

Better than anybody else, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover should know how many Communists there are in this country. So when he says there are approximately 540,000 Communists and fellow-travelers, one-tenth of that total party members, his figure will be taken as authoritative. Just what it means, however, may be open to some dispute.

For example, the total is not large by comparison with the population of the United States, now reckoned at 150,000,000. But Communists have never depended on mere numbers to achieve their ends. They have worked out methods that have been very successful in putting influence and power in the grasp of a few.

The figure seems to indicate, too, that Communism has been gaining ground in this country. If it is taken for granted that not all of the 540,000 Communists and fellow-travelers are voters, the Hoover estimate is sobering.

It is deeply disturbing to realize that the party not only can exist on American soil but can grow, no matter how slowly, when it is known for what it is.

~~62-34749-444~~  
ENCLOSURE

121-2 88



ISTS 'AT LEAST 57'

## Visiting Solon Cites Reds' Infiltration

By O. N. MALMQUIST

A charge that at least 57 card-carrying Communists are in the State department was reiterated in Salt Lake City Friday night by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) after a spokesman for the department had issued a denial.

Sen. McCarthy, en route to Reno, Nev., to address a Lincoln day dinner Saturday, stopped here to attend the local banquet in Newhouse hotel.



Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy . . .  
Reds are in State department."

"If Secy. of State Dean Acheson would call me I could read him the list of 57 names" Sen. McCarthy said when informed that Lincoln White, State department spokesman has said:

"We know of no Communist party members in the department ranks. If we find any they will be summarily dismissed."

Sen. McCarthy added that while he could supply the state department with the 57 names he was not certain he would do so unless officials "showed their good faith and sincerity" by agreeing to certain steps.

**Terms Order 'Unusual'**

"I may make them public when I have conferred with other members of the senate," he remarked.

One commitment Sen. McCarthy said he would like is withdrawal of what he termed a "very unusual" presidential order prohibiting government departments from turning over information on employes to congressional committees. This order, he recalled, was issued after Alger Hiss testified before the un-American activities committee.

The Wisconsin senator said he did not mean to infer by using the number 57 that that was all the card-carrying Communists in the State department.

"There may be many more," he declared. "We just have the names of 57."

### In Espionage Ring

Asked as to the source of his information, he replied that some of it was from the un-American activities committee and some from sources which could not be disclosed. He indicated that some of the sources he could not disclose are inside the State department.

Sen. McCarthy asserted that many of the 57 are above "the \$5300 salary bracket" and held influential positions. He emphasized that he was not intimating that the secretary of state is even "remotely connected with Communists." But he added that he regarded party members in the department as part of the "Soviet espionage ring in this country."

### Raps India Envoy

"I consider this a very important issue," Sen. McCarthy said, "because of the influence these people can exert on foreign policy. One of the things I think is important is to get an individual recalled who is now en route to India to represent the State department there. I think he should be recalled before we establish the same kind of policy there that we had in China."

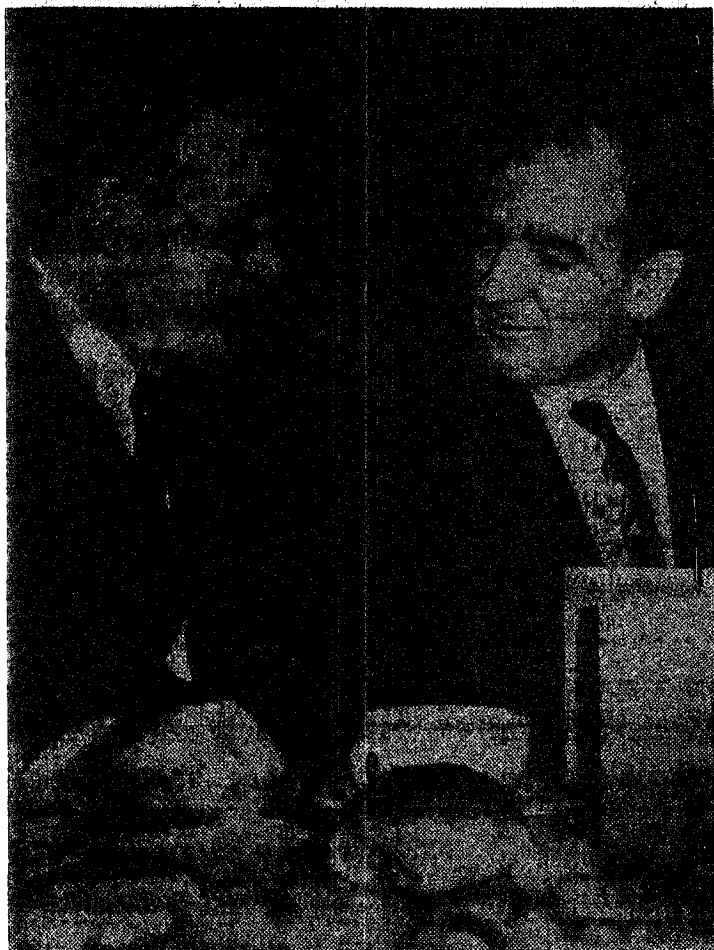
The senator explained he was referring to a member of the department named John Service who, he said, "was picked up by the FBI for turning over State department secrets to Communists" but, who was "strangely not prosecuted."

He said Joseph Graw, who insisted on prosecution, was forced to resign; that Service not only was reinstated but was advanced to a position which placed him in charge of placements and personnel.

The usual pattern, he continued, is for Communists to get into positions where they can wield influence on appointments and promotions.

ENCLOSURE

62-59747-1244  
121-231-8



Tribune-Telegram Photo—Lee

### Two GOP Dignitaries

Two senators addressed 800 Utah Republicans at Lincoln day banquet in Newhouse hotel. Sen. George W. Malone (Nev.), left; Joseph R. McCarthy (Wis.) left Democratic policies at annual dinner.

## Malone Urges Nation to Install Tariffs

Republicans cannot prevent an economic catastrophe in this nation by being "camp followers who promise to spend faster and better than the Fair Deal," Sen. George W. Malone (R., Nev.) warned 800 Utah Republicans at a Lincoln day banquet Friday night in Newhouse hotel.

Charging that the Democratic administration, through the reciprocal agreements and the huge subsidies has been selling out American working men and industries, the senator urged Republicans to oppose the state trend by re-assertive principles of the party.

### Tariffs Or Fees

The Nevada senator said that the differential in production costs between the U. S. and foreign countries should be equalized by import tariffs or fees; that a floor should be placed under wages and investments and that American producers should have access to American markets equal to that extended to foreign producers.

He said the Republicans abandoned these principles in 1932 and have not won an election since.

"And we don't deserve to win if we are going to be camp followers who promise to spend faster and better than the Fair Deal."

57 Reds

Also addressing the Lincoln day banquet was Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) who restated his charges that Communists have infiltrated into the state department. The senator is en route to Nevada to address a Lincoln day dinner.

"If Secretary of State Dean Acheson would call me, I could read him the list of at least 50 card-carrying Communists who are in his department," Senator McCarthy said.

"There may be many more," he added. "We just have the ones of 57."

Salt Lake county chapter of the Republican Club of Utah sponsored the banquet. Other speakers were Gov. J. Bracken Lee, Vernon Romney, the party's vice chairman, and Donald S. Murray, president of the county group.

Handwritten notes and scribbles at the bottom of the page, including the number "232118".

# McCarthy Prepares to List Communists at GOP Session

## Republicans Meet in Reno For Lincoln Day

Northern Nevada Republicans will close down the curtain on their annual Lincoln day observance tonight with a banquet in the Mapes hotel.

With Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin as the main attraction, the banquet is expected to pack around 400 persons into the Mapes mezzanine. It will start at seven o'clock.

The senator's attacks on Communists in the state department have attracted wide attention here and additional revelations he will make tonight will add to the already large list of reservations.

Introductory remarks will be made by Sen. George W. Malone, who has also attracted wide attention, perhaps not so sensationally as has his colleague, for his predictions that a Democratic-socialist administration in Washington is preparing America for the greatest economic debacle in history.

Although he will make a brief introductory talk, Sen. Malone is expected to tell his Reno audience that he told his listeners in a Lincoln day talk at Salt Lake last night, that the catastrophe can be avoided by a vigorous Republican party which fearlessly espouses the principles on which the nation was founded.

Presiding over the session will be A. E. (Burr) MacKenzie, state GOP chairman. Malone will be introduced by Noble H. Getchell, former state senator and Republican and Republican national committeeman.



**MAIN SPEAKER** for northern Nevada Republicans' Lincoln day dinner tonight is Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, above left. He will be introduced by Sen. George W. Malone of Nevada, right. The two senators arrived in Reno this morning.

Chairman MacKenzie presided over a meeting of the GOP state executive committee in the Riverside hotel today.

All but four of the state's seventeen counties sent representatives and they discussed various aspects of Republican party activity in a day-long meeting.

Principal business this morning was the setting of the dates for the Republican state convention. The gathering, it was decided, will be held in Las Vegas May 8 and 9.

Drafting of a platform for the party in this state will await the state convention, it was decided. Meanwhile each county will be asked to think about planks and principles which should be incorporated. It was also decided today to endorse no candidates, but to encourage all candidates possible in an effort to fill out the slate in this year's elections.

Leslie B. Gray, Washoe county chairman, was scheduled to discuss the platform further this afternoon.

Attending the meeting along with Mrs. Clara Beatty, vice-chairman and Mr. Gray were the following county chairmen of their representatives — Carl Dodge, Churchill; George Stocker, Clark; Mrs. Dorothy Brimacombe, Clark; Emory Graunke, Douglas; Albert Supp, Elko; Pete Merlaldo, Eureka; Charles Ogee, Humboldt; LeRoy Cassady, Lander; Mr. MacKenzie, Lyon; James Caughman, Mineral; Clyde Terrell and Mark Bradshaw, Nye; Jack Ross and Kenneth Johnson, Ormsby; Glen Emmenger, Pershing.

With a Lincoln day dinner also scheduled tonight in Pioche, Frank Agan, White Pine GOP chairman, went there today. He accompanied Fred Horlacher, jr., state senator from White Pine county who will deliver the Lincoln day address in Pioche tonight.

Sen. McCarthy will be escorted to Las Vegas Sunday by Mr. MacKenzie, Mrs. Beatty and the southern Nevada members. He will address a Lincoln day gathering in Clark county Sunday night.

# Senator from Wisconsin to Speak Tonight

Sen. Joseph McCarthy said today he would name at least four "known Communists" in the U. S. state department when he addresses Nevada Republicans at a Lincoln day dinner here tonight. He told a Gazette reporter the four are among 57 Reds whose names he is willing to turn over to Pres. Harry Truman "for appropriate action."

## BLUNT TALKER

The blunt-talking Wisconsin Republican dispatched a telegram to the president from Reno this morning, offering to submit the list to the chief executive immediately.

And if the president wants to know the names of still more state department Communists, he "simply should pick up his own phone" and ask his secretary of state, Dean Acheson, for them, the senator said.

Frankly admitting he was seeking to bring public and political pressure to bear on the Truman administration, Mr. McCarthy said loyal American but a politically he viewed the president as "a expedient one."

"If I can make it politically inexpedient for him to allow the Communists to remain where they are, then he'll just have to clean out the state department," the senator said.

The Wisconsin Republican has charged in a series of speeches which began earlier this week at Wheeling, W. Va., that the state department employs many Communists or fellow travelers. His own list of "known Communists" numbers 57.

## FBI ALREADY KNOWS

Asked why he did not turn the list over to the FBI, he said that agency already know who the 57 were and what they are doing.

"But the FBI can make no move until the justice department authorizes it, and the justice department, in turn, won't move until it has been approved by the state department," he charged.

"These 57 names are no secret to anyone willing to do a little digging in and around Washington.

"But the state department's policies being what they are, apparently no one can take any action. That's why I'm trying to bring public pressure to bear on Truman and force him to clean out the department."

He gave reporters the names of four state department workers he said were Communists and who he will name in his talk tonight.

"If you use them, however, you'll be doing so at your own risk," he warned.

He added that "I might wind up with 57 suits against me myself, if I publicly name all those on the list."

## SENDS TELEGRAM

In his telegram sent to the president this morning, Sen. McCarthy said, in part:

"In a Lincoln Day speech at Wheeling...I stated the state department harbors a nest of Communists and Communist sympathizers who are helping shape our foreign policy.

"I further stated I have in my possession the names of 57 Communists in the department at present. A state department spokesman promptly denied this.

"You can convince yourself of the falsity of the state department claim very easily. You will recall that you personally appointed a board to screen state department employes for the purpose of weeding out fellow travelers. Your board...named hundreds which it listed as 'dangerous to the security of the nation.'

"While those records are not available to me, I know absolutely that one group of approximately 300 was certified to the secretary for discharge. He actually discharged only approximately 80. I understand this was done after lengthy consultation with Alger Hiss.

"I would suggest, therefore, Mr. President, that you simply pick up your phone and ask Mr. Acheson how many of those whom your board has labeled as dangerous, he failed to discharge.

"... Despite your order ... forbidding the state department to give congress any information in regard...to the Communistic connections of anyone in that department...we have been able to compile a list of 57 Communists.

"This list is available to you, but you can get a much longer list by ordering Secretary Acheson to give you a list of those whom your own board listed as being disloyal."

The telegram went on to demand that the president take two steps "as the minimum which can be expected of you in this case:

1. Demand that Secretary Acheson give the president and the proper congressional committee a complete report of all persons

placed in the department by Alger Hiss, and all of those still working in the department listed by the Truman board as being bad security lists.

2. Revoke an order which provided that congressional committees could obtain no information from the executive department in "exposing Communists."

Failure on the president's part to take action "will label the Democratic party of being the bed fellow of international Communists," the senator charges.

"Certainly this label is not deserved by the hundreds of thousands of loyal American Democrats throughout the nation, and by the sizeable number of able, loyal Democrats in both the senate and house," the telegram concluded.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

V.OM

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : S.J. Tracy

SUBJECT:

DATE: Feb. 21/56

b7D

MH-1

*mm*

I was advised confidentially by [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] *Communists in* has made the statement, according to [redacted]

[redacted] quite some time ago, that he had the names and information of 50 Communists on the payrolls of the Department but even tho he was [redacted] at the time, he could not get anything done about it. He indicated that he could not get to or past Acheson.

23278-9

~~39749-1444~~

[redacted]

[redacted] The Bureau investigated [redacted] of [redacted] is good - he is described as a well informed and aggressive anti-communist; too aggressive, to suit some people, in this particular field.

326  
44

58 MAR 29 1956

RECORDED - 82  
INDEXED - 82

EX-3 INDEXED - 110

REPLY

*St...*

*K...*

*...*

February 21, 1950

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable John E. Peurifoy  
Deputy Undersecretary of State for Administration  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/10/78 DPG/DLC

My dear Mr. Peurifoy:

It has come to my attention that you have made a public statement which has been widely circulated, including distribution by newspapers, to the effect that the FBI has investigated the 16,000 employees of the Department of State.

For your information, this Bureau, pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order 9835, the Loyalty Order, has checked 17,850 names, representing applicants, appointees and employees of the State Department, against our files. The mere fact that such a name check has been made does not, of course, mean that an investigation has been conducted. On the contrary, loyalty investigations were instituted only in those instances where such a name check revealed derogatory, disloyal information. Additionally, the name check does not in any way constitute a clearance or disapproval nor does it mean that there is not any derogatory, disloyal information concerning the individual.

To date the FBI has conducted 297 loyalty investigations on individuals in the Department of State. There are pending as of this time investigations on five other persons in the State Department.

Under the Voice of America Program (Public Law 402, 80th Congress) there have been received as of this date 4,499 requests for investigations, of which 4,261 have been completed and transmitted to the Department of State. Moreover, under the Greek-Turkey Aid Program (Public Laws 75 and 84 of the 80th Congress) this Bureau has received 846 requests for investigation, of which 842 have been completed and transmitted to the State Department.

I thought you would be interested in having these statistics in order that there will be no misunderstanding as to the number of investigations we have conducted for your agency.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

RECEIVED  
DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

121-23273-10

RECORDED  
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FEB 23 1950  
COMM. FBI

MAR 8 1950

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

LL:mer  
325  
EX-115

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

104

TO : THE DIRECTOR  
FROM : L. B. Nichols  
SUBJECT:

DATE: February 21, 1950

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

There is attached hereto the Congressional Record for February 20, 1950, containing Senator McCarthy's address to the Senate beginning on page 2043. Joseph R.

Loyalty Section has been working on this and have determined that Senator McCarthy is using the old list Bob Lee had for the Appropriations Committee. They are certain of this because some of McCarthy's information is verbatim with Lee's information of the 81 cases cited by McCarthy. The Loyalty Section identified all but 21. Nine they are certain they cannot identify since in one instance he lumped five and four he skipped.

The three outstanding Communists in the State Department which he talked about were Herbert First on whom we conducted an investigation, John Vincent and Ruby Parsons. Loyalty is preparing a detailed summary on each case showing first McCarthy's allegations and secondly what the Bureau's files show.

This, of course, is quite a job and they will get it done as soon as possible.

cc - Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Fletcher

*Expedited as much as possible*

LBN:dmh

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

*7/24/59  
Memo to Director with summaries  
NRV:CHS/mer  
written in the Super*

RECORDED

*BT*

*Val 23278-11*  
JUN 13 1950

INDEXED - 136

*Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 10/3/55  
Per FOIA Request must be made*  
*Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 4/19/76  
Per FOIA Request*



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 2/21/50

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Communists Employed in The State Dept.

I was advised in the strictest of confidence by a responsible correspondent [redacted]

The question was asked, when was this, before Byrnes "lowered the boom."

He replied that it was only through good loyal Americans that he was able to get his material together. Senator Lucas has demanded the Senate Investigating Committee forthwith investigate charges.

It is understood that the [redacted]

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Communists in State Dept.

LBN:dmh

See me have spent memos on each & transmit copies to a.g.

2  
7<sup>13</sup> ENCL  
64

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/10/78 JPS/pic  
memo to Dir. a. s. (2-24-50)  
R. H. E.

RECORDED - 64 SE 9

121-23278

JUN 23 1950

INDEXED - 64

55 JUL 14 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DATE: February 24, 1950

FROM : DIRECTOR, FBI

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 06-23-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As you know there has been considerable publicity concerning allegations made by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R, Wisconsin) concerning certain unnamed employees of the State Department. Particular attention is invited to cases [redacted] cited by Senator McCarthy as reflected in Volume 96, No. 35 of the Congressional Record dated February 20, 1950.

For your highly confidential information, I have been confidentially advised [redacted]

b7D

There are attached for your confidential information, [redacted]

Attachment

~~[Redacted signature]~~  
~~[Redacted name]~~

*Not sent per  
Hadd's instructions.*

*FILE  
Bin*

ENCLOSURE

121-23278-11X

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

February 24, 1950

- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Bob Lee called. He stated he had learned that Jack Peurifoy has told Senator McCarran that Senator McCarthy's speech was pretty much based on the report of Lee's inquiry for the House Appropriations Committee in 1948 and that the State Department had pretty much identified the names as being those in the report of inquiry. Lee stated that if this is true he thought we might be interested in the event we were attempting to identify the individuals McCarthy has in mind. He stated, however, he is inclined to doubt this and if it is true McCarthy has certainly dressed up the information contained in the report in question or else he has received considerable other assistance rather than just the information contained in the report. It will be recalled that Lee furnished the Bureau with a copy of the report which was compiled and it received considerable attention in the congressional record at the time.

*Comments in Mr. Abo to...*

RECORDED - 20  
INDEXED - 20

MAR 7 1950

GAN

*21-23278-12*  
*39749-1156*

*Starke*  
*McCarthy*  
*N.R. Johnson*

115  
MAR 20 1950

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: February 24, 1950

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH H. MCCARTHY - Rep. Wisconsin)

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

PURPOSE:

To furnish you with the possible identity of and summaries of information regarding the individuals referred to anonymously as employees of the State Department by Senator McCarthy, before the Senate, as set forth in the Congressional Record dated February 20, 1950, Volume 96, No. 35, pages 2043 through 2071 inclusive.

BACKGROUND:

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to you dated February 21, 1950, advising that the Loyalty Section was endeavoring to identify the cases referred to by Senator McCarthy before the Senate and was preparing a summary on each case. You noted, "Expedite as much as possible."

There is attached hereto a compilation of summary memoranda on the cases that have been identified. It should be noted that the identifications were arrived at solely on the basis of a comparison of Senator McCarthy's testimony on individual cases with the material furnished to the Bureau confidentially on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee.

In some instances it was noted that Senator McCarthy's language on particular cases appeared to be direct quotes of portions of the individual case write-ups in the material provided by Lee. In other instances Senator McCarthy's remarks were so brief that it was necessary to arrive at the identification through a process of elimination, as well as comparison of the case write-ups in Lee's material.

It was also noted that Senator McCarthy uses the male gender in referring to most cases although in several instances the cases apparently refer to women. Senator McCarthy also makes reference in some cases to the person having signed an affidavit that he was a member of the Communist Party, whereas Lee's material shows only that the individual, or a person of similar name, signed a Communist Party petition.

Although Senator McCarthy refers to a total of 81 cases, a review of his remarks in the Congressional Record shows he omitted 4 cases, specifically case No. 15, No. 27, No. 35 and No. 39. He also makes a general reference to cases No. 21 to 26 as being typical examples of many of the employees in the

121-23278-13

~~121-39749-1577~~

RECORDED - 112

CHS:NRJ:mer  
Attachment  
456

58 JUN 12 1950

Handwritten signatures and initials: HBF, CHS, and others.

New York Office of the Office of Information and Educational Exchange but does not give any details on these six cases upon which an identification could be based. In cases No. 19 and No. 36 Senator McCarthy's remarks were so sketchy that insufficient facts were available to make an identification.

Thus, possible identifications were made in a total of 69 of the cases referred to by the Senator. Of this figure, however, cases No. 9 and 77 apparently refer to the same individual (David Demarest Lloyd) and have been so treated in the attached summary. Cases No. 48 and 49 are lumped together by the Senator as involving a man and wife (Robert Warren Barnett and Patricia Glover Barnett) and, therefore, these two cases have been treated together in one memorandum.

Taking the above into consideration, you will note that there are only a total of 68 individuals involved that we have been able to identify and, since the cases involving the man and wife have been treated in one memorandum, the attached summary contains a total of only 67 individual case memoranda.

Of the 68 individuals involved, 37 are possibly still employed in the State Department, since there is nothing in our files to indicate otherwise. We, of course, have made no effort to check with State to see if all these individuals are actually still employed.

With regard to the 68 individuals involved, we have conducted 38 full field loyalty investigations, 5 preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigations, and 5 investigations under the Voice of America program, or a total of 48 investigations conducted either under the President's Executive Order No. 9835 or Public Law 402, 80th Congress, (Voice of America program). In an additional 6 cases we have conducted some type of applicant or security investigation in the past. Of these six, according to our files, five apparently are no longer employed in the State Department. In the case of 14 individuals we cannot identify them as having been subjects of investigation by the Bureau, but, of this number, our files indicate 10 are apparently no longer employed by the State Department and four may or may not be employed. We have been unable to determine whether we have received loyalty forms on these four individuals because all loyalty forms have not been indexed and in view of the lack of identifying data. We are arranging through Liaison for a discreet check on these four individuals to determine if they are actually employed. If so, appropriate action will be taken.

It is noted that Senator McCarthy, in his remarks before the Senate, singled out for particular attention Case No. 1 (Herbert Abner Fierst -- see Page one); Case No. 2 (John Carter Vincent -- see Page three); and Case No. 81 (Ruby Almeda Parson -- see Page 132). Your attention is also invited to Cases No. 9 and 77 (David Demarest Lloyd -- see Page 23) who was referred to by Senator McCarthy as a "speech writer in the White House," and to Case No. 47 (Esther Caukin Brunauer -- see Page 74) who was referred to by Senator McCarthy as

being in a highly paid job in the State Department. These particular cases were called to your attention individually by a memorandum earlier today, at which time, also, pursuant to your instructions, summary memoranda were addressed to the Attorney General.

ACTION

As previously indicated, we are making a discreet check with the State Department on the 4 individuals referred to above to determine if they are actually employed. These individuals are Lewis Ross (see page 51); Estelle Gordon (see page 61); Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee (see page 90); and T. Achilles Polyzoides (see page 129).

*Reviewed  
by Carlson.  
I have  
retained  
a copy  
3-1 ✓*

U

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: March 3, 1950

FROM : A. H. BELMONT *ab*

SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR McCARTHY AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT CONCERNING SPIES AND COMMUNISTS

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*(m)*

*gh*

*gm*

*Com. ... State Department*

*Joseph R.*

Apropos newspaper comment concerning Senator McCarthy's charges against the State Department that it is harboring Soviet spies and Communists, Mr. Roach has learned the following information from the State Department, which is of interest at this time.

According to Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Security Division, State Department, the State Department has identified all of the 81 cases cited by McCarthy, and approximately 68 are no longer working for the Department. Nicholson stated that all of those still employed by the State Department were given clearance by the Richardson Loyalty Commission, and that the State Department is not too concerned about the persons presently employed as mentioned by McCarthy.

Mr. Nicholson also stated that it had been agreed among Mr. Peyton Ford, Department of Justice, Donald Dawson of the White House, and Mr. Peurifoy of the State Department that all loyalty files on the individuals mentioned by McCarthy, plus approximately 385 loyalty cases, were to be transferred to the White House. At this time, all the files, including Bureau reports on the 81 cases mentioned by McCarthy, have been transferred to the White House. The other loyalty cases are being worked on by the State Department at this time, and are being referred to the White House soon. Mr. Nicholson informed Mr. Roach that he assumed Peyton Ford had discussed the referral of these cases to the White House, particularly so in view of the fact that there are Bureau investigative reports in most of them. Nicholson further stated that it was his understanding that the White House would permit members of Congress to review the files at the White House, but that the White House would not permit the files to be removed to Capitol Hill for review. According to Mr. Nicholson, the transfer of these files to the White House was done for political reasons, and, further, for the reason that the State Department was fearful that the Secretary of State would be served with a subpoena to produce the files, which can now be answered by stating that the files are not in the possession of the State Department.

**ACTION:**

Deleted Copy Sent *Maria Harrison* by letter *4/14/76*

Per FOIA Request

*121-23278-14*

None. The above information is supplied to you for informational purposes only. A protest is not being made at the State Department for the transferral of our reports, unless you feel it advisable to do so at this time.

Deleted Copy Sent *...* by Letter *11/3/75* Per FOIA Request *me*

ERR:slm

INDEXED - 143 RECORDED - 143

MAR 10 1950

37

*We should make very certain we are in clear as to our investigations in these cases.*

*3-9-50*  
*68 JUL 3 1950*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Identifiable on the basis of information cited by Senator McCarthy.  
This is not positive identification. The numbers are those assigned to  
the cases by Senator McCarthy.

- ✓ 1. Herbert A. Fierst
- ✓ 2. John Carter Vincent
- ✓ 3. Peveril Meigs - 11/25/47
- ✓ 4. Gizella Illye-Falvi Vitez - 3/5/48
- ✓ 5. Jay Robinson - 4/10/48
- ✓ 6. Frances Ruchscher
- ✓ 7. Marcia Harrison
- ✓ 8. Stanley Graze - 4/30/48
- ✓ 9. David Demarest Lloyd - 9/20/46
- ✓ 10. Margery Posner - 1/9/48
- ✓ 11. Frances Perry - 1/7/48 to Csa
- ✓ 12. Helene Yuhas - 9/8/47
- ✓ 13. Carlton Washburne - 8/11/48
- 14. [REDACTED]
- 15. (No number 15) } not mentioned by M. McCarthy
- ✓ 16. Robert T. Miller - 12/13/46
- ✓ 17. Jeanne Taylor - 4/23/47
- ✓ 18. Edythe J. Lemon - 11/28/47
- ✓ 19. Hans H. Landsberg - never employed
- ✓ 20. Samuel S. Smith - applic. July 1947 - not hired
- 21. Not Identifiable
- 22. Not Identifiable
- 23. Not Identifiable
- 24. Not Identifiable

*Rec'd from  
State Dept  
3/17/50*

*Voice of America  
no other info  
given by McCarthy*

*Declaration upheld  
9/8/9 on 4/10/78  
DPB/DJC*

*Declassified 4/20/78 21-23278-14*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

*62-39749-1447*



-2 Declassified  
2/28/76 JTH

- 25. Not Identifiable } " "
- 26. Not Identifiable } " "
- 27. (No number 27) } ~~not mentioned~~
- 28. Leander B. Lovell - 10/1940 - C.C.A. or King
- 29. ~~Gerald Graze~~ - 4/30/48
- 30. ~~Joseph Josephson~~ - 12/10/47
- ✓ 31. ~~Louis Ross~~
- ✓ 32. Robert Ross or Herman ~~Seigel~~ Herman Siegel
- ✓ 33. Robert Ross or Herman ~~Seigel~~ Siegel
- ✓ 34. ~~Ella Montague~~
- 35. Melvin Shell - 12/24/48
- ✓ 36. Fred W. ~~Smith~~ (?) Fred William ~~Smith~~ Smith
- ✓ 37. ~~Oiga Osnatch~~
- ✓ 38. Arthur M. ~~Kaufman~~
- 39. ~~Max Melin~~ - 6/30/48
- ✓ 40. Estelle ~~Gordon~~ (?)
- ✓ 41. ~~Daniel Margolies~~
- 42. Gottfried ~~Mann~~ 5/24/47
- ✓ 43. Sam Fishback
- 44. William D. ~~Carter~~ 7/26/47
- 45. Norman Ness - 4/30/48
- ✓ 46. William T. ~~Stone~~
- ✓ 47. Esther Brunauer
- ✓ 48. Robert ~~Barnett~~ <sup>Warren</sup> Barnett
- ✓ 49. Patricia Barnett (Not one of 108)

declassified 2/26/76  
CONFIDENTIAL JTH

-3-  
Declassified  
2/24/76 JTB

- ✓ 50. Sylvia Schimmel
- ✓ 51. Rowena Rommel
- ✓ 52. Philip Raine
- 53. Richard H. Post 12/30/48
- ✓ 54. Val Lorwin
- ✓ 55. Gertrude Cameron
- ✓ 56. Paul A. Lifantieff-Lee ✓
- 57. Fred Warner Neal 5/12/48
- ✓ 58. Lois Carlisle
- 59. (No number 59)
- ✓ 60. Cora DuBois
- 61. Alice Demerjian 5/20/49
- 62. Isham Perkins 3/18/48
- ✓ 63. Stanley Wilcox
- ✓ 64. Hollis W. Peter
- 65. Victor Hunt 4/15/49
- 66. David Randolph (Rosenberg) - 9/19/47 David Rosenberg
- 67. John Lindsey - 9/12/47
- ✓ 68. Aaron Jack Gross
- 69. Sylvia Magrite - 9/14/48
- ✓ 70. Harold Berman
- 71. Stolan Stolanoff - 12/8/47
- ✓ 72. Arnold D. Margolin Leonard Horowitz Leonard Horvitz
- 73. Leonard Horwin (Horowitz, Horvitz) - 11/12/47
- 74. Joseph T. Jankowski - 1/10/48

-4- Declassify  
2/26/74

- 75. Mrs. Preston K. <sup>eastling</sup> Lewis - 9/23/47
- 76. Joseph Forno - 1/31/47
- 77. David D. Lloyd - see #9
- 78. Andrew Kamarck <sup>+</sup> ~~Kaemarcyk~~ (never employed  
(7th Truss Atlantic Base))
- 79. T. Achilles Polyzoides
- 80. John Fishburn
- 81. Ruby Parson - 4/2/48

Andrew ~~Kaemarcyk~~  
Andrew ~~Kaemarcyk~~

✓ - 33

41 of 108 still on rocks  
30  
7  
41  
47

108 at W.H.  
385. Loyalty cases going to W.H.  
39  
2  
101

+

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 3, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

43545

SUBJECT:

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

I took a call from Senator Joseph McCarthy (R. Wisc.) by reference from your office. He stated that as a result of the speeches he has made, stacks of mail, some of it anonymous, has been received from State Department employees and from Voice of America employees. He stated that he has former Special Agent B. Downey Rice working in his office on the material. Some of it is real good; that he doubts if he is getting any that the Bureau doesn't already have, but he doesn't know, that he would like to make this material available to the Bureau and that if the Bureau would have an Agent contact Downey Rice, he, Rice, would make this material available for review and use by the Bureau.

I advised Senator McCarthy that you were out of the building, that I would be in telephonic contact with you later and after talking to you, I would let him, McCarthy, know of your views in this matter.

Senator McCarthy stated he was leaving the office at the time he called me and would not be available further today.

In accordance with your instructions, I will contact McCarthy tomorrow or at the earliest possible moment and advise him that in view of the President's statement concerning making this material available to him, that it would be embarrassing to Senator McCarthy and to us to make such a contact without first clearing with the Department and if Senator McCarthy approves, the matter will be appropriately discussed with Mr. Peyton Ford.

DML:dad

Communicated in State Department

RECORDED - 61  
INDEXED - 61

121-23278-15  
~~162-39749-1457~~

68 APR 4 1950

M  
PER [unclear]

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD *DL*

SUBJECT: SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY

DATE: March 4, 1950

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Rm.
- Nease
- Gandy

*McCarthy memo to State Department*

With reference to my memorandum of March 3, 1950, concerning the telephone call of Senator Joseph McCarthy wherein he advised of the receipt of a large amount of mail concerning the State Department, I desire to advise that I talked to [redacted] on March 4th. I advised him of Senator McCarthy's request and told him that the Senator had been advised that the Bureau could not make any contact with him without the approval of the Department.

[redacted] stated he thought the Bureau should contact Senator McCarthy, requesting him to have Downey Rice, who is working for Senator McCarthy, bring the pertinent correspondence to the Bureau where it can be reviewed and photostatic copies of any of the pertinent portions thereof made. He stated that in the event any information was developed through this medium that would justify the opening of a loyalty investigation he, Ford, thought this should be done.

DML:hc *hc*

*OK 3-1-50*

RECORDED - 64

~~INDEXED~~

*H*

121-23278-16

~~62-39749-146~~

MAR 17 1950

37

EX-9

*Memo to Dir*

*3/7/50*

*JH:ld*

1103

72 MAR 31 1950

255

b6  
b7C

*u*

*1270*

*RE*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Gen*

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 4, 1950

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD *DL*

SUBJECT: CONGRESS' REQUEST FOR LOYALTY FILES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*V.*  
*mH=1*

While talking to [redacted] on another matter he mentioned that he had told the White House to call all loyalty files from the State Department to the White House in order that the President might better resist any attempt by Congress to obtain these files. He stated that it is not the President's intention to let the committee review the files; that at the present time he, Ford, has the State Department preparing a summary of the charges and of the action taken in each case, without identifying the subject of the case, and this brief summary will be furnished by the State Department to the Senate Committee in the hope that the information thus furnished will satisfy them.

In the event it does not satisfy the Committee, the President has indicated that he might let the Chairman of the Committee come over and look at the files which the President is now holding merely for the purpose of verifying that the summaries prepared by the State Department are accurate.

But [redacted] stated that the President has indicated that if this is necessary he, the President, is going to take the necessary time to sit down and make the Senators look at the material in his presence, and that he will forbid the taking of any notes whatsoever.

*Committee of the State Department*

b6  
b7c

*U*

DML:hc *hc*

RECORDED - 112

*121-23278-17*  
*39749-1170*

INDEXED - 112

MAR 8 1950  
31

57 MAR 30 1950

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

TO : The Director

DATE: March 6, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy - Rep.-Wisconsin)

**PURPOSE:** To furnish you with additional information concerning Estelle Gordon, Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee, T. Achilles Polyzoides and Lewis Ross, who were mentioned by Senator McCarthy and on whom we were checking to ascertain if they were currently employed by the State Department.

**BACKGROUND:** You will recall my memorandum of February 24, 1950, included summaries of 68 individuals who were referred to by Senator McCarthy. You will further recall that there were four individuals, namely, Estella Gordon, Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee, T. Achilles Polyzoides and Lewis Ross, whom we could not identify as having been investigated by the Bureau and on whom we were checking State Department records to ascertain if they were currently employed. It has been ascertained by the Liaison Section of the Bureau that Estelle Gordon, not Estella, is currently employed by the State Department; that Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee and T. Achilles Polyzoides are presently employed by the State Department; further, that Louis Ross, not Lewis, is presently employed and apparently is identical with the individual mentioned by Senator McCarthy since there is no record of a Lewis Ross being employed by the State Department. For your information there is a brief summary of information available concerning each of these individuals.

Estelle Gordon

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy referred to this individual as "Case No. 40," who was another person employed in the State Department since 1947. He stated he did not have too much information on this, except the statement by the agency that there is nothing in the files to disprove Communistic connections. As previously furnished you in my memorandum dated February 24, 1950, former Special Agent Robert E. Lee provided the Bureau with information on January 29, 1948, indicating that "Case No. 45," whom he identified as Estella Gordon, had been employed as Correspondence Research Clerk in the Division of Public Liaison since March, 1947, having been formerly employed with the Office of Foreign Liquidation Committee and with the War Department. According to Lee, the State Department file did not indicate that any investigation had been conducted; however, information was received by the State Department on October 9, 1947, from a former supervisor (not named) to the effect that she was a Communist. The file further indicates, according to Lee, that it was reopened on the basis of this information but no report had been submitted as of October 31, 1947. Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, State Department, in his testimony before the House Appropriation Committee in connection with the State Department appropriation for 1949, advised that "Case No. 45" was employed by the State Department "pending further investigation."

*we should order a preliminary investigation on Gordon at once*

RECORDED - 83

121-23278-17X  
39949  
1577X  
C.H.S.

58 JUN 16 1950

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 116-168091-211X

As you know, all Loyalty Forms have not been indexed; however, through a search of the forms presently being alphabetized by the Records Section a form on one Estelle Gordon, Correspondence and Research Clerk, Department of State, born October 8, 1918, at Freedom, Pennsylvania, who is probably identical with the individual referred to as Estella Gordon, was located. This form was processed and returned to the State Department marked "No Disloyal Data" on April 17, 1948. It is to be noted that the State Department in submitting this form did not specify possession of any reports containing loyalty information as required under Item 14 of the Loyalty Form.

A check of the Bureau files at this time fails to disclose any identifiable disloyal information concerning Estelle Gordon other than the material mentioned above which was obtained by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee from the State Department's own files and furnished to the Bureau on a highly confidential basis. There is no record of the State Department having ever requested an investigation, although as noted above Hamilton Robinson's testimony indicates she was employed as of January 28, 1948, "pending further investigation." Under the Loyalty Program should the State Department have developed disloyal information bringing her within the purview of the Loyalty Order, the State Department would be responsible for requesting a loyalty investigation.

Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee 121-23020

Senator McCarthy referred to this individual as "Case No. 46," who was born in Russia and naturalized in San Francisco in 1929. According to McCarthy, the Navy Department informed the State Department that this individual had secret State Department documents in the room shared by him and another Russian. Further, that an investigation was instituted, however, this individual was still in the State Department as late as December, 1949. Bureau files reflect information received from the State Department by memorandum dated January 10, 1947, that a routine investigation of Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee, an employee of the Division of Foreign Service of the State Department, was conducted in December, 1946. This investigation by the State Department was predicated upon information received from a source, later identified by the State Department as the Navy, to the effect that one Illarion G. Matveev, an employee of the War Department, was seen to have in his possession a confidential report of the State Department. The investigation by the State Department reflected that Matveev was a close associate of Lifantieff-Lee, who was in a position by reason of the nature of his work at the State Department to furnish the confidential report in question to Matveev. The State Department investigation concerning Lifantieff-Lee, according to a memorandum from the State Department, reflected nothing of a serious derogatory nature other than the fact that Lifantieff-Lee was a roommate of Matveev. The State Department requested information in the Bureau's files concerning Lifantieff-Lee and by memorandum dated May 8, 1947, the State Department was advised that the files of this Bureau contain no derogatory information concerning Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee.

Concerning Matveev, under date of March 3, 1949, a report was received from IDA through Liaison which indicated an investigation had been made concerning certain allegations regarding Matveev. This report indicates that the sole



derogatory information available on Matveev was found to be contained in allegations made by three informants at the Army Map Service. During the investigation one informant was discredited and the other two failed to substantiate the original allegations. Both of these two stated that they had no reason to question Matveev's loyalty. The report further indicates that the allegations made in 1946 were probably motivated by professional jealousy, prejudices and an overly suspicious attitude. The Commanding Officer of the Army Map Service, according to the report, stated his intention in February, 1949, to re-employ Matveev with assignment to duties involving access to classified material.

In his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee on January 28, 1948, Hamilton Robinson indicated that Lifantieff-Lee had been "approved" for employment in the State Department.

A search of the Loyalty Forms presently being alphabetized by the Records Section disclosed a form on one Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee, born St. Petersburg, Russia, who is probably identical with the individual mentioned by McCarthy. This form was processed and returned to the State Department marked "No disloyal data FBI files, March 31, 1948." It is to be noted that the State Department in submitting this form did not specify possession of any reports containing loyalty information as required under Item 14 on the Loyalty Forms. There is no record of the State Department having ever requested an investigation although, as noted above, Hamilton Robinson in his testimony indicated that Lifantieff-Lee had been "approved." Under the Loyalty Program, should the State Department have developed disloyal information bringing him within the purview of the Loyalty Order, the State Department would have been responsible for requesting a loyalty investigation on Lifantieff-Lee.

#### T. Achilles Polyzoides

Senator McCarthy referred to this individual as "Case No. 79," who was employed on the Special Project Staff in the State Department and who has been reported as being pro-Communist, radical and of dubious background. Bureau files reflect information disseminated by the National Intelligence Authority, predecessor to the National Security Council, on May 15, 1946, concerning Adamantios Theophilus Polyzoides, the father of the employee, who was described as a professor at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, a lecturer and writer who was further described by an outside source of unknown reliability as follows. "I can consider him not only a fellow traveler but an out and out Communist." From information available there is no indication that the father is affiliated with any questionable groups. Under date of March 18, 1947, the Department of State furnished the Bureau with a list of cleared personnel of the Special Project Staff, included in which was the name of T. Achilles Polyzoides. In the material furnished to the Bureau by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee, Polyzoides was identified as "Case No. 105." According to information available to Lee, State Department files indicate that numerous confidential informants reported he was pro-Communist, radical, left wing and of dubious background. The State Department file contained no tangible proof of any Communist activities on the part of Polyzoides and he was given security clearance on February 26, 1947, according to Lee. Mr. Hamilton Robinson, during his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee on January 28, 1948, stated that "Case No. 105" was employed by the State Department, having been approved.

A search of the Loyalty Forms presently being alphabetized by the Records Section located a form on one Theophylactos Achilles Polyzoides. This form was processed and returned to the State Department marked "No Disloyal Data, FBI Files, April 14, 1948." It is to be noted that the State Department in submitting this form did not specify possession of any reports containing loyalty information as required under Item 14 on the Loyalty Form. There is no record of the State Department having ever requested an investigation and it is noted above Hamilton Robinson's testimony indicates that Polyzoides had been "approved." Under the Loyalty Program should the State Department have developed disloyal information bringing him within the purview of the Loyalty Order the State Department would have been responsible for requesting a loyalty investigation concerning Polyzoides.

At the present time Polyzoides is the subject of a pending investigation being conducted by this Bureau under the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. The request for the investigation is predicated on the fact that he is Director of Special Projects in the State Department and requires access to restricted data in order to serve the Intelligence Division, both of the Department of State and of the Atomic Energy Commission.

*we should expedite  
this investigation; mission  
should advise Jack Neal  
of the current investigation*

*3/7 ←*

*Mr Neal, of  
informed of  
this investigation.  
3/8/50  
R*

*2  
Yes.  
H.*

Louis Ross

Senator McCarthy referred to this individual as Case No. 31 and described him as having been in Government service since July, 1942, being formerly stationed in the Office of Information and Education of the State Department. The Senator advised that the files of the Un-American Activities Committee showed that Ross had signed a petition in New York City in 1940 to the effect that he was a member of the Communist Party.

You will recall that former Special Agent Robert E. Lee, who identified Lewis Ross as being "Case No. 29" in his material, indicated that the Un-American Activities Committee records show that a person with the same name as Lewis Ross, residing in New York City, had signed a Communist Party election petition in New York in 1940. According to Lee, the State Department files indicate that this information was furnished to them on October 28, 1946, nevertheless no effort to check out this information had been made by the State Department as of the time Lee reviewed that Department's files. Hamilton Robinson in his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee on January 28, 1948, furnished information to the effect that the individual involved "in Case No. 29" was employed by the State Department, having been "approved."

A check at the State Department Personnel Division by the Liaison Section has disclosed that there is no record of any Lewis Ross being presently employed by the State Department. However, there is a Louis Ross presently employed as a broadcast technician, Division of International Broadcasting, Voice of America Program, New York City. Bureau files disclose that a Loyalty Form was received on this Louis Ross which was processed and returned to the State Department stamped "No disloyal data FBI Files, April 23, 1948." This form reflects that Louis Ross had been employed by the Office of Information and Education from July, 1942 to present. Note: This bit of information corresponds with similar information set forth in Senator McCarthy's allegation. The Loyalty Form on Louis Ross fails to reflect that the State Department specified possession of any loyalty information reports as required under Item No. 14. Our files reflect that an investigation subsequently was conducted on Louis Ross under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOA) at the request of the State Department and reports were furnished to the State Department by letter dated July 26, 1948. A review of the reports reflecting the results of this investigation discloses that no disloyal information was developed. It might be noted that during the course of this investigation the Washington Field Office examined the files of the Security and Investigations Division, Department of State. The details reflected therein were not reported since the information already was available to the State Department. It should also be noted that during the course of the investigation the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were checked and contained no record for Louis Ross. As noted above, the allegation by McCarthy refers to a Communist Party petition in the files of the "Un-American Activities Committee."

STATUS: As you probably will recall, when the information concerning the individuals mentioned by McCarthy recently was previously brought out before the House Appropriations Committee in January, 1948, the State Department indicated to the House Appropriations Committee that 19 of the cases on whom the Department had disloyal information had been referred to the FBI for investigation. These 19 cases, as you will recall, were handled as a special project and thorough investigations were made of the 19. Since that time no request has been made by the State Department for investigation of any of the four above-mentioned individuals under the Loyalty Program.

ACTION: With respect to Estelle Gordon and Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee, it does not appear that there is sufficient information to warrant initiating full field loyalty investigations at this time, particularly in view of the fact that all pertinent information concerning them has been in the possession of the State Department for some time and was in its possession at the time the House Appropriations Committee conducted hearings in connection with the State Department appropriations bill in January, 1948. With respect to T. Achilles Polyzoides, as noted above, he is presently the subject of a pending Atomic Energy Act investigation and copies of the reports will, of course, be furnished to the State Department. Further, it is noted that the Louis Ross who is presently employed by the State Department has already been the subject of a Voice of America investigation.

TO : The Director

DATE: March 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R.  
MCCARTHY R-WISCONSIN)

PURPOSE:

To furnish you with a summary of information on Stanley Wilcox who has been identified by the Bureau as being identical with Case No. 63 as referred to by Senator McCarthy in his testimony before the Senate, and who according to Assistant Director S. J. Tracy in his memorandum to Mr. Tolson dated March 8, 1950, informed [redacted] of the Federal Security Agency that he was No. 63 on Senator McCarthy's list.

BACKGROUND:

[redacted] of the Federal Security Agency telephonically advised Assistant Director S. J. Tracy on March 8, 1950, that Mr. Stanley Wilcox had informed a member of the A.F. of L. that he was No. 63 on Senator McCarthy's list. Wilcox further stated that he had been ordered to Russia as an Expert and that he and his wife had made preparations including the purchase of about \$300 worth of food to take with them, when their travel orders were cancelled. Wilcox indicated that it created quite a personal hardship, and it was suggested by a friend of his in the A.F. of L. that he take his problem to Paul Keyser of the Labor Department and ask Mr. Keyser to speak to Mr. Peurifoy about the matter.

For your information, there is attached a copy of a summary memorandum concerning Stanley Wilcox which was prepared for you and attached with other memoranda as an enclosure with my memorandum of February 24, 1950.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

Attachment

EFM:hw

DIRECTORS NOTATION: "I think we should call information on Wilcox to a.g.'s attention. H."

121-23278 - [initials]  
 62-37149 -

162-39749  
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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LAIRD

DATE: March 7, 1950

FROM : A. H. BELMONT *sh*

SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR MCCARTHY CONCERNING SPIES AND REDS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT INTERNAL SECURITY - C LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

Mr. Joseph Anshey, Security Office, State Department, informed Mr. Roach this morning that the State Department files on the cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy, and which were transferred to the White House, are now being checked over very carefully by former investigators of the old Truman Senate Committee. The State Department anticipates that, after this review, the Tydings Committee will be permitted to look at summaries prepared by the investigators from the files.

Now that the "McCarthy" case files have been transferred to the White House, the State Department is working on 385 loyalty case files (not mentioned by McCarthy), and will also transfer these files to the White House when they have been collected from the various Divisions in the State Department, tabulated, and summaries prepared on each.

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is prepared for your information.

*Copy in committee with State Department*

*RRR:slm*

*RRR*

*A. H. Belmont*

*G. I. R. 4*

*W. J. ...*

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121-23278-18  
~~62-39749-1451~~

EX - 66

53 APR 13 1950

103

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 7, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

I returned the call of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy this morning. Senator McCarthy was not available and as he had previously suggested, I called Mr. B. Downey Rice. U

I advised him that I had checked with the Department and the Department had suggested that it would be inadvisable for the Bureau to call at the Capitol for the purpose of going over the material received by Senator McCarthy concerning the list of State Department employees and suggested that in lieu thereof, Mr. Rice bring any pertinent material to the Bureau where it could be gone over with him to determine whether there were any matters of interest to the Bureau. U

Mr. Rice stated he would do this at the first possible opportunity and further, that he would advise Senator McCarthy of my call. U

DML:dad

cc - Mr. Belmont

Communication to the State Dept. by [unclear]

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~~INDEXED - 64~~

121-23278-19  
~~62-39749-1463~~

MAR 17 1950

37

EX-9

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

*7/15/50 file*

MAY 31 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD *sk*

DATE: March 7, 1950

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR MCCARTHY CONCERNING SPIES AND REDS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. INTERNAL SECURITY - C LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Roach	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

*Question*  
*Stacy*  
*Wash*  
*Personnel files*  
*See notation*

Comments to the State Department

Mr. Samuel S. Boykin, Director, Office of Consular Affairs, State Department (a Deputy to Under-Secretary Peurifoy and responsible for the operations of the Security Division), informed Mr. Roach today that the State Department anticipates being questioned by Senator Tydings (D-Md.) concerning various phases of the security and loyalty investigations activity in the State Department. Mr. Boykin and Mr. Peurifoy state that, undoubtedly, the question of investigations under the Loyalty Program will arise, and that the State Department will probably be asked to explain what they do in compliance with the President's Loyalty Order. The State Department will reply that they send loyalty forms to the FBI for checking against our files and for appropriate loyalty investigations if the data in our files warrants such action.

The next question anticipated by the State Department is what basis is used by the FBI in opening loyalty cases. It is the answer to this question that the State Department desires to receive from the Bureau. Mr. Boykin stated that, if the question is asked of the Secretary of State, Mr. Peurifoy, or himself, they will answer that the State Department does not know, as an answer could only be given by the Bureau. Boykin stated, however, that, for their own information, they would like to know from the Bureau the basis we use for opening loyalty cases; i.e., when do we open a loyalty case and what facts must be present before a case is opened, and how do we determine whether the investigation is to be a preliminary inquiry or full-field investigation.

Mr. Roach pointed out to Mr. Boykin that it was not understandable why the State Department should be concerned by such a question that may be asked by the Committee, and, certainly, if the Committee had any such inquiries, the State Department was not the proper place to receive an answer. Mr. Roach further pointed out that each loyalty case is considered upon its own merits, and that the matter of conducting preliminary inquiries or full-field investigations is a matter which is judged by the facts in our files on the given case, plus that derogatory information given to us by the employing agency on the loyalty form.

OBSERVATIONS:

RECORDED - 124

INDEXED - 124

It would appear that the State Department is attempting to anticipate questions and to make replies to questions which are not within their jurisdiction and which should not be of concern to them. It is believed that we should not give to the State Department, even informally, a statement regarding the basis for opening loyalty cases, if the Bureau has not heretofore given such statements to the press or to other Government agencies. If you feel, however, that it would be

RHR:slm

MAY 2 1950

*RRP* *sk* *WPK* *sk* *Jesper*



MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

advisable to give the State Department some type of a statement on the inquiry they have presented, then it should be directed to the Liaison Section for personal delivery to either Mr. Boykin or Mr. Peurifoy.

RECOMMENDATION:

This memorandum will be brought to the attention of the Loyalty Section for its information and consideration. In addition, it is recommended that the State Department be again advised by the Liaison Section that each Loyalty case is considered upon its own merits, based on such information as is available to us including information which has been furnished by the employing agency on the Loyalty form. It is not recommended that we go into any of the details as to the exact basis for our investigations and how we determine whether the investigation should be a preliminary inquiry or a full field investigation. In view of the fact that the proceedings are scheduled to open soon, it is recommended that this be handled immediately.

*Joyner*  
*ok*

AHE:tlc

I agree. The loyalty  
Order itself sets  
forth the standards  
to be used

3/8

I agree. Roach was most  
alert. We have to be forever alert to fast ones  
from State. H.

*Mr. Boykin & Mr. Nicholas*  
*Start Dept 2/9/50*  
*Returned.*  
*U*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 7, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT OF STATE (REMARKS MADE BY MR. PEURIFOY REGARDING 326 "SECURITY CASES" STILL IN PROCESS) LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

To furnish you with information concerning a statement made by Mr. Peurifoy of the State Department concerning 326 security cases still pending in the State Department, as set forth in the Congressional Record-Senate dated March 2, 1950.

BACKGROUND:

On Page 2678 of the Congressional Record-Senate dated March 2, 1950, the following information is set forth concerning testimony of Mr. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, in answer to certain questions by Senator Knowland:

"Page 2678 - Mr. Knowland spoke concerning 'Communists in Government Service.' He included information from Mr. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, giving a breakdown of the 326 security cases which are still in process. Mr. Knowland stated he does not feel there is any justification for any security case to be pending for more than a year. 'It seems to me that security cases of the State Department should be given the highest type of priority. If the FBI says they would like to have additional information, whether it be fingerprints or other information which they are seeking, the request should be sent in regular courier pouches by air, and the information should be returned immediately'."

In a memorandum dated March 3, 1950, from Mr. Glavin to you setting forth the above quoted information, you noted, "This should be locked into at once."

From a review of the remarks made by Mr. Peurifoy, it is obvious he is referring to the submission of Loyalty Forms and fingerprints on personnel of the State Department rather than full field Loyalty investigations, since at the present time we have only five full field Loyalty investigations pending on State Department employees. These cases are, of course, receiving expeditious attention which is afforded to all investigations involving State Department personnel.

CHS:hw

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EX-55

MAR 31 1950

Comments in the State Department

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Regarding Loyalty Forms received from the State Department, as you know, we are still receiving Loyalty Forms at this date, the majority of which are on Foreign Service personnel coming from various parts of the world. On January 11, 1950, there were received in the Records Section of the Bureau 143 Loyalty Forms.

Loyalty Forms received in the Bureau are being processed on a current basis. However, in some cases it is necessary to return the Forms to the State Department where the forms contain some error or errors of substance; for example, where the employee failed to fill in the item regarding organizations with which affiliated. In October, 1949, we received a number of Loyalty Forms from the State Department and it was necessary to return 121 of these Forms in order that more complete identifying data could be inserted by the State Department. In addition, in some instances, the fingerprints submitted with the Loyalty Form are of such a nature that they cannot be processed by the Identification Division, and it is necessary in such cases to return such prints for resubmission. State Department Loyalty Forms are not returned unless it is absolutely necessary and we have returned no Forms to them for correction since October, 1949. It is, of course, the responsibility of the State Department to insure that Loyalty Forms are properly executed and submitted to the Bureau for processing. In this connection the Federal Personnel Manual contains regulations promulgated by the Civil Service Commission to the effect that, with respect to incumbent employees, it is the responsibility of the employing department or agency to "(1) Establish and maintain within the department or agency a control system for insuring the submission of information on all incumbent employees on the rolls as of September 30, 1947. (2) Obtain and submit the required forms properly prepared for each incumbent employee to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Certify the completeness of the coverage to the Civil Service Commission in accordance with the procedure prescribed." Similar regulations are also set forth in the Federal Personnel Manual with respect to the responsibilities of the employing department or agency in so far as Loyalty Forms relating to appointees are concerned.

At the present time Loyalty Forms and fingerprints received in the Bureau are handled on a current basis and, as stated above, unless it is absolutely necessary to return Forms or fingerprints to the State Department for correction, the same are processed in an expeditious manner.

ACTION:

None.. This is for your information.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

March 8, 1950

FROM : Mr. S. J. Tracy

SUBJECT: SENATOR McCARTHY'S LIST OF ALLEGED LEFT WING EMPLOYEES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

[redacted] of the Federal Security Agency telephonically advised me that a Mr. Stanley Wilcox (or Wilson) informed a member of the AF of L that his name was number 63 on Senator McCarthy's list. He further stated that he had been ordered to Russia as an expert and that he and his wife had made all preparations, including the purchase of about \$300 worth of food to take with them, when their travel orders were cancelled. He indicated that it created quite a personal hardship. It was suggested by a friend of his in the AF of L that he take his problem to Paul Keyser of the Labor Department, an AF of L contact, and ask Mr. Keyser to speak to Mr. Puerifoy about the matter.

[redacted] is a former teacher of languages at some university. His wife, prior to her marriage was employed in the same office with [redacted] and so far as he can remember, there was nothing to indicate that she had any left-wing leanings. He does not know her husband.

[redacted] is passing on the above information for whatever value it may be to the Bureau.

SJT:edm

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: March 8, 1950

*Handwritten:* FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

ATTENTION: Assistant Director  
D. M. LADD

*Handwritten:* SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations by Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

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b7c

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

In accordance with instructions received by SAC GUY HOTTEL from Assistant Director D. M. LADD on March 7, 1950, Special Agents [redacted] and WILLIAM J. McGRATH, Jr. attended the meeting of the Foreign Relations Sub-Committee, investigation of State Department personnel, in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office Building on March 8, 1950.

This hearing was opened by Senator MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Sub-Committee Chairman, who stated that the Sub-Committee received a mandate from the Senate which contained the authority to investigate and hear charges of disloyalty against the government by employees of the Department of State and other such agencies against whom charges have been heard and to subpoena the loyalty files against all such persons.

Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was sworn in as the first witness.

Chairman TYDINGS then referred to prior testimony of Senator MCCARTHY in which Senator MCCARTHY had stated on the floor of the Senate that one employee of the State Department who was employed in December 1945 as a Translator had been investigated during 1946 and that this investigation showed evidence which caused his later dismissal due to homo-sexual acts and connection with the Young Communist League. He further stated that on January 22, 1946 the Division of Security and Investigations, State Department, recommended the discharge of this individual and on February 19, 1946 his services were terminated. On April 1, 1946 this termination act was rescinded. Senator MCCARTHY's testimony showed that there was a CSA report dated September 27, 1947 which was replete with information that a high official of the State Department tampered with the records of the State Department and personally contacted witnesses and asked them to retract their testimony concerning the aforementioned employee. Senator TYDINGS then asked Senator MCCARTHY whether or not he could furnish the Committee the name of this official in the State Department who was charged with tampering with official records and covering up the activities of disloyal employees.

Senator MCCARTHY did not disclose the name of this high official at this time and brought out that he would present to the Committee in

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INDEXED - 68

121-23278-22  
~~62-39749-1453~~  
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*Handwritten:* memo to [unclear] 3-9-50  
51 APR 25 1950  
51 APR 4 1950

*Handwritten:* Do we know who he is talking about?  
K.

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due course all material and evidence which he had in his possession. He stated that for the Sub-Committee to get complete information regarding all individuals that he will mention it will be necessary that the Sub-Committee subpoena four sets of files to wit the State Department investigations file complete with the sub-rosa section, the State Department personnel file, CSC files and FBI files. He further stated that all cases discussed will have derogatory data developed by the FBI.

Senator McCARTHY then proceeded with Case No. 1 and named ~~DOROTHY~~ KENYON, a present employee of the State Department who was receiving \$2,000 per annum and who is presently a US member assigned to a committee at the UN. He stated DOROTHY KENYON was affiliated with twentyeight front organizations, nine of the twentyeight being listed by the Attorney General and that her record dates back some ten to fifteen years. He then proceeded to present to the Committee photostatic copies of documents which would show her connection with these subversive organizations.

The Committee was recessed until 10:30 AM on March 9, 1950.

There is enclosed herewith for your information the opening statement to the Sub-Committee by Senator McCARTHY, which had been previously given to the Press and Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON's testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee on Tuesday, February 28, 1950, which had also been given out to the Press.

Enclosures

121-0

WJM:JFM

SECRETARY ACHESON'S LOYALTY YARDSTICK

From testimony of Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, before Senate Appropriations Committee  
Tuesday, February 28, 1950

The first category constituting a security risk is a person who engages in, supports, or advocates treason, subversion, or sedition, or who is a member of, affiliated with, or in sympathetic association with Communist, Nazi, or Fascist Parties, or of any foreign or domestic party or movement which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means or whose policy is to advocate or approve the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States; or a person who consistently believes in or supports the ideologies and policies of such a party or movement.

The second category is a person who is engaged in espionage or who is acting directly or indirectly under the instructions of any foreign government; or who deliberately performs his duties, or otherwise acts to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interest of the United States.

The third category is a person who has knowingly divulged classified information without authority and with the knowledge or belief or with reasonable grounds for the knowledge or belief that it will be transmitted to agencies of a foreign government, or who is so consistently irresponsible in the handling of classified information as to compel the conclusion of extreme lack of care or judgment.

The fourth category is a person who has habitual or close association with persons known or believed to be in categories A or B (i.e., first and second categories), to an extent which would justify the conclusion that he might, through such association, voluntarily or involuntarily divulge classified information without authority.

After the information I have received is collated and examined, it will be turned over to this Committee. I shall withhold nothing and

~~the information which has been made available to me.~~ shall make available to the Committee the information which has been made available to me.

I have carefully studied the standards of loyalty, as set forth by Secretary of State Acheson.

I agree with them wholeheartedly.

I have come to the conclusion, however, that these standards of loyalty are meaningless unless they are applied to all government employees without exception.

It is the exception that I wish to bring to the attention of the Committee.

I am convinced that in a sizable number of cases these standards have not been applied properly.

One bad risk is too many and a very few might well be disastrous to our National Security.



*Opening Statement by Senator McCarthy  
and given to the Press*

I am grateful to the Committee for its invitation to appear here today, and make available information which has come to me from a variety of sources bearing on the security of our Nation.

Certainly we are all in accord on the premise that every possible precaution should be taken to protect the National Welfare and time and experience has shown us that subversive and un-American actions cannot stand the light of day.

To that end, I shall make available to this Committee the names and background of persons who are, or have been in the service of the Government who, by virtue of their background and activities do not deserve the confidence and trust placed in them.

The fair security risk does not exist. Every man or woman in the employ of the United States government is a bad or good security risk.

We have had, through our courts, our governmental investigating bodies, our public press and radio, a shocking and frightening series of reports on men and women in high and low places in our government who transferred their allegiance to a foreign and dangerous ideology.

It is obviously impossible for me, without investigative personnel, funds and authority and without full and free access to the voluminous

and comprehensive files of numerous Government agencies to give you gentlemen an adequate picture of this distressing situation.

I hope that this distinguished Committee, charged by its colleagues in the Senate with a difficult and exhaustive duty, will be able to find a solution to a hitherto insoluble problem.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT (ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R-WISC.)

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

PURPOSE

To furnish you with information concerning the State Department's identification of the cases referred to by Senator McCarthy before the Senate.

BACKGROUND

By memorandum dated March 3, 1950, Mr. Belmont informed me that Supervisor Roach had been advised by the State Department that they had identified all of the 81 cases cited by Senator McCarthy and that the files on these cases had been transferred to the White House. You noted that "We should make very certain we are in clear as to our investigations in these cases."

You will recall that by memorandum dated February 24, 1950, summary memoranda were furnished to you on 68 individuals referred to by Senator McCarthy which we were able to identify from a comparison of his testimony with the material furnished to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee. Although the Senator in his testimony talked of having 81 cases, a review of his testimony showed that he omitted four cases, lumped six others as typical of Voice of America employees and cited two cases which were identified as referring to the same individual. Thus, there were only 70 cases cited by Senator McCarthy which could possibly be identified and we identified 68 of them.

The list of names furnished to us by the State Department as representing the individuals referred to by the Senator lists 71 individuals and 68 of them are the ones we previously had identified. It is interesting to note that one of the cases identified by the State Department is "Case No. 35," which was omitted entirely by Senator McCarthy in his testimony before the Senate. The State Department identifies this case as referring to one Melvin Shell, not otherwise identified, and indicates he terminated his employment with the State Department on December 24, 1948. A check of the Bureau's files on the name Melvin Shell fails to disclose any information.

Thus, of the 70 cases actually mentioned by the Senator which were subject to possible identification, the State Department has been able to identify the two cases on which we did not have sufficient facts to arrive at an identification, namely, cases numbers 19 and 36. The State Department further indicates that 33 of the persons on their list are still employed.

In connection with Case number 36, Senator McCarthy, in his testimony before the Senate stated "This individual is 43 years of age. He is with the Office of Information and Education. According to the file, he is a known Communist. I might say that when I refer to someone as being a known Communist, I am not evaluating the information myself. I am merely giving what is in the file. This individual also found his way into the Voice of America broadcast. Apparently the easiest way to get in is to be a known Communist."

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58 MAR 25 1950 EX-34

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In regard to "Case No. 36," the State Department identifies this case as pertaining to one Fred William Smith. It is noted the State Department inserted a question mark after the name, possibly indicating that they are not sure of this identification. The State Department further indicated that Fred William Smith presently is employed but they did not furnish any identifying data concerning this individual. Former Special Agent Robert E. Lee, in his material furnished to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, referred to one Frederick W. Smith (Schmidt), who was employed in New York City with the Office of Information and Educational Exchange, State Department. Lee identified this case as being No. 40 and advised that the State Department files indicate that Smith's application was very sketchy; that there had been no investigation conducted; that Smith was 43 years of age and that the case was awaiting a report from the New York Office. Mr. Hamilton Robinson, in his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee on January 28, 1948, stated that case No. 40 was reported as having been "approved." This individual is apparently identical with Frederic William Smith, also known as Frederic William Schmidt, who is the subject of a Voice of America investigation conducted by the Bureau during June and July, 1948, copies of the reports prepared having been sent to the State Department on July 27, 1948. He is also the subject of an investigation conducted in 1942, for the Office of the Coordinator of Information. Copies of the reports prepared were sent to the Office of the Coordinator of Information on June 19, 1942. During the Voice of America investigation, the Washington Field Office checked the records of the Security and Investigations Division of the State Department, which reflected that Smith had been given security clearance on November 21, 1947. Further, that these records contained no further pertinent information. The Voice of America investigation disclosed that Smith was a close acquaintance of Paul Hagen, who, according to persons interviewed during the investigation, was a former member of the Communist Party of Germany. Bureau files reflect that Paul Hagen was at one time editor of the publication "Die Rote Fahne," alleged official organ of the German Communist Party.

In connection with "Case No. 19," the State Department identifies this case as referring to Hans H. Landsberg and indicates that he has never been employed by the State Department. Our files disclose that one Hans Herman Landsberg, who is possibly identical with the individual in question, was investigated by the Bureau in 1949 under Executive Order 9835 as an employee of the Department of Commerce who formerly had been with the Office of Strategic Services. The investigative reports were sent to the Civil Service Commission on July 14, 1949, and to date we have not received a disposition from the Loyalty Review Board.

You will recall that in addition to the above, in the case of Estelle Gordon and T. Achilles Polyzoides, the Bureau had not conducted previous investigations. In my memorandum of March 6, 1950, this was pointed out to you and Mr. Tolson

noted in connection with Estelle Gordon that "We should order a preliminary inquiry on Gordon at once." You indicated "Yes." This has been done. In respect to T. Achilles Polyzoides, my memorandum of March 6, 1950, pointed out that an investigation presently is being conducted under the Atomic Energy Act concerning Polyzoides. Mr. Tolson noted, "We should expedite this investigation; Liaison should advise Jack Neal of the current investigation." You noted "Yes." On March 8, 1950, Mr. Jack Neal of the State Department was informed of this investigation. The investigation is being given expeditious attention and copies of the reports will be furnished not only to the Atomic Energy Commission but also to the Civil Service Commission and the State Department.

As mentioned above, the State Department has advised that they have identified 33 individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy who are still employed. In addition to the individuals mentioned above, an analysis of the cases of the others still employed by the State Department reflects that Loyalty type investigations, Voice of America investigations, preliminary inquiries, applicant type investigations or security investigations have been conducted where information in the Bureau's possession warrants or where the State Department has furnished disloyal information to the Bureau for investigation. Of course it is possible that the State Department has disloyal information in its files concerning the cases which have been identified by the Bureau as well as other cases which Senator McCarthy may possibly have in his possession, which has not been brought to the Bureau's attention.

ACTION

None, This is for your information.

Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Fletcher  
Loyalty Section

ERNST THEODOR ARNET

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

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

"This is an interesting case showing the extent to which some of their superior officers will go when they find that some of these very unusual individuals are going to lose their jobs. He was appointed in December 1945 as a translator in the State Department. A report from another Government investigating agency under date of January 9, 1946, advised that the subject should [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] He had extremely close connections with other individuals with the same tendencies, and who were active members of Communist-front organizations, including the Young Communist League.

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

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

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

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

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

33

ENCLOSURE

~~62-3944-1454~~  
121 2 30 78-24

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Ernst Theodor Arndt. The Bureau files reflect we conducted a loyalty investigation of Arndt from December 14, 1945, to March 3, 1949; a Departmental espionage investigation from June 15, 1938, to December 12, 1938; an Espionage - C investigation from February 20, 1940, to August 26, 1942; and he was afforded an interview under the provisions of the Hatch Act on March 6, 1942. (121-13297; 77-9361; 65-800)

Investigation has disclosed information that Arndt was reported to have exhibited pro-Nazi sympathies and to have associated with members of the German Embassy. Investigation developed no evidence of espionage or subversive activities.

Investigation reflected information indicating [redacted]

According to Bureau files, Arndt has indicated he was employed by the State Department from December 6, 1945, to May 17, 1948, when he resigned. He had also been employed by the State Department in 1936 as a German translator. From 1936 to 1939, he was employed by the Department of Justice in the Alien Property Division. In October, 1946, information was received from the Office of Naval Intelligence that Arndt was employed by the State Department in the Special War Profitees, German Embassy Group, in the Office of Research and Records. It was reported by ONI that at the time Arndt applied for a position with the State Department, the Division of Control disapproved Arndt's appointment, but this disapproval was overruled by the then Acting Secretary of State, whose name was not known, and Arndt was subsequently appointed.

Case files reflect that Arndt has stated he was dismissed by the State Department on February 19, 1946, and was subsequently cleared by the Secretary of State who had delegated the case to Deputy Assistant Secretary

of State J. Anthony Fauch. Arndt has furnished information that he was formerly cleared by the State Department on April 1, 1946, as to loyalty and security. Arndt was appointed as a research analyst (translator) on August 3, 1948, with the Department of the Air Force, Washington, D. C., which is his last known employment.

Reports reflecting the results of the loyalty investigation were furnished the Civil Service Commission under date of March 3, 1949. The Civil Service Commission under date of November 7, 1949, advised regarding the disposition of the case that Arndt was "eligible on loyalty."

In addition to the Civil Service Commission, information relating to Arndt has been disseminated to the following: The Attorney General, Office for Emergency Management, Department of State, Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, Department of the Army, and the Office of Naval Intelligence.  
(121-13297; 77-9361; 65-800)



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

### PURPOSE

To inform you of the identity of the State Department employee referred to yesterday by Senator Millard E. Tydings at the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee as being terminated by the State Department on February 19, 1946, for "homosexual acts and connection with the Young Communist League," the termination being rescinded April 1, 1946, through intervention of a "high official of the State Department." The identity of the "high official of the State Department" is also set forth for your information.

### BACKGROUND

You will recall the Washington Field Office, by letter dated March 8, 1950, advised the Bureau regarding certain details taken up at the opening session of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee hearing on State Department personnel. Senator Tydings referred to prior testimony of Senator McCarthy in which he had stated on the floor of the Senate that one employee of the State Department who was employed in December, 1945, as a translator had been investigated during 1946 and this investigation showed evidence which caused his later dismissal due to homosexual acts and connection with the Young Communist League; that on January 22, 1946, the Division of Security and Investigations, State Department, recommended the discharge of this individual and on February 19, 1946, his services were terminated; that on April 1, 1946, this termination act was rescinded; that a CSA report, dated September 27, 1947, was replete with information that a high official of the State Department tampered with the records of the State Department and personally contacted witnesses asking them to retract their testimony concerning the aforementioned employee. Senator Tydings asked Senator McCarthy whether he could furnish the Committee with the name of this official in the State Department who was charged with tampering with official records and covering up activities of disloyal employees.

You noted concerning this information, "Do we know who he is talking about?"

From a comparison of Senator Tydings' remarks, as set forth above, with the previous testimony of Senator McCarthy before the Senate, as published in the Congressional Record under date of February 20, 1950, it is obvious that the State Department employee he is talking about is Ernst Theodore Arndt who McCarthy originally referred to as "Case No. 14."

Arndt was employed by the State Department from December 6, 1945, to May 13, 1948, when he resigned. He subsequently was appointed as a Research Analyst (Translator) on August 3, 1948, with the Department of Air Force, Washington, D. C., which is his last known employment. As an employee of the Department of Air Force he was the subject of a full field loyalty investigation which was completed on

NRJ:LHS

Attachment 5 8 MAY 25 1950

RECORDED - 68 121-23278-24  
INDEXED - 68 121-23278-1454

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*Handwritten initials and signatures*

March 3, 1949, and we have received advice from the Loyalty Review Board under date of November 7, 1949, to the effect that Arndt was "eligible on loyalty." There is attached for your information a copy of a summary concerning Arndt which was submitted to you by my memorandum of February 24, 1950, in the group of summary memoranda originally submitted to you on the cases cited by Senator McCarthy which the Bureau had been able to identify as of that time. (121-13297)

With respect to the "high official of the State Department" referred to by Senators Tydings and McCarthy, from an examination of the loyalty reports on Ernst Theodore Arndt and the material provided to us confidentially by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on January 29, 1948, the State Department official in question has been identified as Joseph Anthony Panuch, who is no longer with the Department of State. [REDACTED] b7D

[REDACTED] However, this individual subsequently advised that the information he previously had supplied to the Bureau in 1938 concerning Arndt was true and that the aforementioned affidavit had been urged falsified by Joseph Panuch, who identified himself to this individual as employed in the office of the then Assistant Secretary of State Russell.

With regard to Joseph Anthony Panuch, our files show that he was employed November 15, 1945, to January 23, 1947, as Deputy Administrator to Donald S. Russell, former Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of State. He subsequently was appointed as Special Adviser to the Commander in Chief, European Command, and Military Governor, Office of Military Government for Germany, effective July 25, 1947. You will recall that a full field loyalty investigation was instituted concerning Panuch on February 25, 1949, upon receipt of his loyalty form from the Office of Military Government for Germany. This investigation was based on information provided to the Bureau confidentially by Morse Allen, Security Officer, Economic Cooperation Administration, and formerly an investigator in the Security Section, Department of State, to this effect: that while employed at the State Department Panuch definitely indicated he was not in favor of the campaign being waged by the Security Section of the State Department to rid that Department of Communists and Communist sympathizers and, further, that Panuch was believed to be one of the main stumbling blocks in the attempts to dismiss employees of the State Department who were considered subversive.

You may recall that the receipt of the loyalty form on Panuch was called to your attention and it was pointed out, among other things, that, according to Fred Lyon and Jack Neal of the State Department, Panuch in 1946 had started a rumor that the Director of the FBI was not able or willing to back up the cases of Alger Hiss and Gustav Duran which had been submitted to the State Department; that an article had appeared in the May, 1947, issue of the Times-Herald regarding the trial of Carl Aldo Marzani wherein Marzani was quoted as recounting certain conversations with his former boss, J. Anthony Panuch, to the effect that Marzani did not have

to worry so long as Donald Russell (former Assistant Secretary of State) and Panuch were there; that in October, 1947, our liaison representative confidentially obtained information from the State Department to the effect that Joseph Panuch was then attached to the staff of General Clay, U. S. Military Governor of Germany, in a civilian capacity, acting as a Special Assistant to General Clay, and during the course of an investigation five State Department employees were found guilty in varying degrees of homosexual acts or acts of perversion, among whom was Joseph Panuch; that in July, 1948, Colonel C. W. Clarke, M.D., expressed to our liaison representative that he was surprised to learn that Panuch was one of the most influential men in the American Zone of Germany and had become, according to Colonel Clarke, a chief adviser and a "fair-haired boy" of General Clay.

You may further recall that prior to initiating a full field loyalty investigation on Panuch, we discussed the matter with IDA to determine if the Army desired a loyalty investigation. Upon discussion of the matter with IDA, it was indicated by IDA officials that investigation of Panuch in Europe by the Army probably would not receive the enthusiastic concurrence of General Clay; that the Army desired an investigation of Panuch with the understanding that any investigation in Europe be withheld until completion of the Bureau's investigation in the United States and that if investigation in the United States indicated possible disloyal activity which might authorize the Army to act under P.L. 803, it was believed at such time an investigation of Panuch could be undertaken by the Army in the European Command whether General Clay liked it or not. This unusual request was submitted for your approval and we thereafter conducted and completed the full field loyalty investigation of Panuch in the United States and sent the reports to the Civil Service Commission on April 13, 1949.

Aside from the original allegations of Morse Allen to the effect that Panuch was not in favor of the campaign being waged by the Security Section of the Department of State to rid the Department of Communists and Communist sympathizers and that Panuch was believed to be one of the main stumbling blocks in the attempts to dismiss employees of the State Department who were considered subversive, little information was developed of a substantive nature indicating disloyalty on Panuch's part. Allen when reinterviewed requested anonymity and in support of his original allegation cited the case of Carl Marzani, who was recommended by the Security Section for dismissal from the State Department because of previous Communist activities. Allen indicated this recommendation was blocked by Panuch, who became a bottleneck on the disposition of Communist cases. However, Allen pointed out that he had no evidence which would in any way connect Panuch with the Communist element in the State Department and had no personal knowledge regarding Panuch's loyalty.

Robert Bannerman, former Chief of the Security Section, Department of State, who also requested anonymity, observed that Panuch was not in favor of the effort being made by the Security Section to get rid of Communists employed in the State Department; that Panuch would not accept the reports and recommendations of the Security Section at face value but would continually send them back for further investigation and in this way delayed the program of the Security Section which

believed it had sufficient evidence to fire an employee for security reasons before such a recommendation was made. Bannerman felt that Panuch was a security risk because of his personality and his above-described actions in the State Department.

Samuel Klaus, Assistant to the Legal Adviser, Department of State, commented that Panuch had felt the investigators in the Security Division, State Department, were not doing an adequate job in getting facts which he insisted they do before taking action and although the State Department had the power to summarily fire an employee suspected of disloyalty without disclosing reasons for such action, Panuch felt that this power should not be exercised until the facts and reasons to substantiate such action were on hand. Klaus cited the Marzani case as an example in this regard. A similar comment was also made by William Walter Chapran, Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Administration, State Department, who stated that Panuch, being a lawyer, took a legal approach to security investigations and wanted sufficient legal evidence and facts that would stand up in a court of law before firing an employee. Associate Justice William Douglas, United States Supreme Court, made the same comment concerning Panuch and pointed out that Panuch, because of a close personal relationship with Douglas, had frequently discussed problems involved in the Marzani case with him, that Panuch looked at matters from a lawyer's point of view and felt he should have the type of evidence required before a court of law to take action before firing a Federal employee.

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, Donald Russell, when interviewed stated that he had delegated the problem of security and detection of Communists within the State Department to Panuch who conducted several successful investigations which resulted in dismissal of State Department employees; that Panuch is anti-Communist and took an active part against alleged Communists and Communist sympathizers in the State Department and there was absolutely no reason to doubt the loyalty of Panuch.

Robert C. Alexander, Assistant Chief, Visa Division, State Department, who requested anonymity, commented that it was his observation Panuch, while employed at State was "so naive that Communists could be crawling all over him and he wouldn't know it"; that for a long time Panuch refused to take any action on the Marzani case and "held the Marzani case in his lap until the case nearly blew up in his face." You will recall that Marzani was convicted in the U. S. District Court for concealing Communist affiliation while at the State Department and sentenced to serve one to three years in prison.

No information was volunteered by witnesses interviewed during the investigation to the effect that Panuch had in any way engaged in homosexual acts or acts of perversion. Accordingly, no information in this regard was contained in the reports disseminated to the Civil Service Commission. During the course of the investigation of Panuch, numerous prominent individuals who were well acquainted with Panuch were interviewed and all attested to his loyalty. Among these were Robert Patterson, former Secretary of War; H. Struve Hensel, former Assistant Secretary of Navy; William Douglas, Associate Justice, Supreme Court; Judge Jerome N. Frank, U. S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, New York; Judge Alfred C. Coxe, U. S.

District Court, Southern District, New York. It is noted that John E. Feurifoy, Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, indicated that he had known Panuch since 1942 and that although they were not intimately acquainted, he had no reason to question Panuch's loyalty. John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, indicated he knew Panuch in 1945 while Panuch was employed with the Office of War Mobilization and though not intimately acquainted, he had no reason to question Panuch's loyalty.

By letter of August 19, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board advised the Bureau that Panuch had been "cleared on security - P.L.808." Since that time we have received no additional information from the Department of the Army and there is nothing in our files which would indicate that Panuch is not still employed by the Army. (121-16537)

ACTION

None. This is for your information.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. LADD  
FROM : A. H. BELMONT

DATE: March 9, 1950

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*Informant*

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

b6  
b7c

[redacted] of the Washington Field Office, called to advise that the hearings of the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, continued this morning with Senator McCarthy as witness.

Senator McCarthy continued his observations on the case of Dorothy Kenyon. He refused to name the high official concerning whom he talked on March 8, 1950. He reiterated that it was important to get the FBI files, as these were the only ones not tampered with. He stated that the State Department files had been rifled and tampered with. Senator McCarthy advised that this issue will test the authority of the Committee to subpoena files. He refused to give the Committee the documents in his possession regarding the high official and accused the Committee of having as its purpose the disclosure of his informants so that the Committee could take punitive action regarding his informants in the State Department. He called the Committee a tool of the State Department. Senator McCarthy said that the FBI file on Kenyon is more complete than the information he has furnished and shows that she was affiliated with more than twenty-eight subversive organizations. He pointed out that in connection with the Loyalty Program the FBI does not screen employees and makes no recommendations in Loyalty cases. He said that the FBI has done a good job on the Loyalty Program and the FBI is not responsible for security risks in the State Department.

[redacted] advised that the Committee is considering having members of the State Department Loyalty Board appear before the Committee with reference to these cases. The hearing was adjourned until further notice.

The Washington Field Office was instructed to confirm this information by letter.

OBSERVATIONS:

As pointed out in my memorandum of March 8, 1950, it is very possible that the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations will attempt to secure FBI files relating to the individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy.

121-23278-25

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57 APR 25 1950

EX-15

*Cr*  
*Love*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *Office* GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY)  
LGE

DATE: March 9, 1950

ATTN: Assistant Director  
D. M. LADD

In accordance with verbal instructions by Assistant Director D. M. LADD TO SAC GUY HOTTEL on March 7, 1950, Special Agents KENNETH D. ANENSON and WILLIAM J. McGRATH, JR. attended the meeting of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigation of State Department personnel in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office, on March 9, 1950.

The hearing was opened by Senator TYDINGS, who asked Senator McCARTHY if he had the name of the individual that he promised the Committee at yesterday's hearing, which was referred to as Case #14. Senator McCARTHY then handed the Committee the name of the subject of this Case #14 and stated that the name of the high official in the State Department, who was accused of altering records, would be found in this person's file. At this point, Senator McCARTHY reiterated that it would be very important for the Committee to get the State Department looseleaf and loyalty files together with the Civil Service Commission and FBI files. He advised that the Committee can now test their authority of subpoena by obtaining these files. Chairman TYDINGS replied that "we will, in due time, attempt and obtain access to these files."

The Subcommittee then pressed Senator McCARTHY for the name of the high State Department official and asked whether or not he had this name in his possession or in his personal files. Senator McCARTHY stated that numerous names were reflected in his files and, in his own mind, he believed he knew who this high State Department official was; however, the only way that the Committee would be able to ascertain definitely who the official was would be to get possession of the State Department secret files.

The Committee then pressed Senator McCARTHY as to just what documents and evidence he had in his possession concerning this high State Department official and also questioned him as to how he knew or had reason to know who this official might be. Senator McCARTHY then stated that he was well aware of the purpose behind their wanting this information - that it was to find out the names of the individuals who had furnished information to him, so that the names could be turned over to the Department of State so that the necessary heads would fall. Senator McCARTHY stated that he was sorry that the Committee has turned out to be a tool of the State Department. Chairman TYDINGS, at this point, repudiated McCARTHY's statement and advised that the Committee will exhaust every avenue to investigate the charges made.

Enclosure  
WJMcG, KDA: bh  
121-0

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*36*  
*EX-55*

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
RE: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Senator McCARTHY then brought out the point that it would be a valuable aid to the State Department to be aware of just what documents he had in his possession, if any, in the way of photostatic copies of their files, because if the story of rifling of files is true, then the Department of State would know just what documents to make available to the Committee and would not "be caught short."

Senator McCARTHY then discussed the Loyalty Board at the State Department and stated that he questioned their competence and ability to perform the job designated when a Board could review so many loyalty cases and only find one person who had to be dismissed from the Department and find every other person loyal to the Government.

The Committee then decided that they would call before it, at some future time, all nine members of the Loyalty Board at the State Department; with the latter decision being made that they would wait until they had received further information from Senator McCARTHY relative to the exact number of cases he knew of in which the Loyalty Board cleared the employees and where the Civil Service Commission Board, at a later date, noted that a mistake must have been made and sent this information back to the State Department Loyalty Board.

After considerable discussion concerning the setup of the Loyalty Boards in the various agencies, together with the Appeal Boards, Senator McCARTHY stated that he wanted to make this clear, that the FBI does no screening and makes no recommendations whatsoever, simply conducts the investigation and sends the investigative report, upon completion, to the agency concerned which, in turn, makes the necessary decision. He stated that in the case of ~~DORIS~~ KENYON that the FBI did an excellent job and intimated that the FBI report, as furnished to the State Department, contained information relating to her membership in organizations cited as subversive in excess of the twenty-eight, as mentioned by him in the original accusations.

Senator McCARTHY, at this point, also wanted to reiterate his prior statement about the necessity of subpoenaing all files and wanted to state that the FBI file could be depended upon not to have been tampered with in any way.

Senator McCARTHY also stated that the FBI was, in no way, responsible for the presence of any persons considered security risks now in the State Department.



WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI  
RE: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

The Subcommittee then asked Senator McCARTHY whether or not he had any information regarding the members of the present Loyalty Board at the Department of State, to which he replied that he is presently compiling information regarding various members of the Loyalty Board and will present this later to the Subcommittee.

Senator McCARTHY then continued with presenting evidence in the KENYON matter to the Committee and also advised that Case #2, which would be taken up next, was infinitely worse than the KENYON Case.

In closing the hearing, Senator TYDINGS read aloud a telegram from Judge DOROTHY KENYON of New York, requesting that she be allowed to appear before the Committee to refute the accusations made against her by Senator McCARTHY. The Committee meeting was adjourned with Senator TYDINGS stating that the next meeting would be announced later in the day.

There is enclosed, for your information, a prepared statement which was given to the press.

121-23278-26

~~60 71923-54~~

ENCLOSURE

*Prepared statement given to Press  
on 3/9/50.*

I understand the Chairman would like me to answer the following questions on Case Number 14: 43539

(1) "Will I give him the name of this individual?" The answer is "Yes", and I now hand him that name.

(2) "Can I give him the name of the State Department official mentioned in the secret files in that case and am I making any 'charge' against that official?" The answer is "No". The committee can make such charge against this or any other individual in this or any other case as it sees fit — that is the task delegated to the committee by the Senate. Only those whom I name am I charging as bad security risks. However, the committee may find many whom it desires to charge in like manner.

If the Chairman desires the name of this particular State Department official, I can tell him how to obtain it in a very simple and easy manner — by subpoenaing the files in this case. However, to get the complete story in this case, it undoubtedly will be necessary to get not merely the State Department's loose leaf loyalty and personnel files, but also the files of the Civil Service Commission and the F.B.I.

If the Chairman considers this morals case more important than the other cases, then I have no objection to recessing the hearings until the committee obtains those files.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

copy:ahs

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: March 10, 1950

FROM : MR. V. P. KEAY

SUBJECT: FORMER SA EUGENE RINTA

Mr. Musulin, ONI, on March 7, 1950 advised the Liaison Section that he had discussed the subject of sexual perversion of CIA and State Department employees with former agent Eugene Rinta. Musulin indicated that Rinta was conducting an inquiry for Senator McCarthy regarding the sexual perversion habits of such employees, and that Senator McCarthy planned to expose the CIA employees, along with the State Department employees, in his present hearings on the Hill regarding subversives in the State Department.

ACTION:

None. This is for informational purposes only.

CDD:mk

121-23275-✓  
~~10-39749~~  
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45 MAR 22 1950

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*[Handwritten signature]*

THIS COPY TO BE DESTROYED

Original copy filed in

5:25 PM

March 10, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Morgan called to inform me of a request that is going to be made of me. He stated he received a call from Senator Millard Tydings today who asked him to come to his office and when he got there Les Biffle and Senator Scott Lucas were also in his office. Mr. Morgan stated Senator Tydings wanted him to act as his counsel on the current investigation of the State Department and in the course of his discussion the Senator stated he was going to ask me for the assignment of some four Agents to his committee to help on it. I stated I was very glad to know about this.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. H.*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc - Mr. Nease

Tolson JEH:EH  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED - 49

INDEXED - 49

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 6:25 AM  
DATE 3-10-50  
BY \_\_\_\_\_

121-23278-27  
62-31777-1450  
MAR 13 1950

15 1950

ASCA  
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT SENT TO  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES (JFKARCA)  
DATE 1/21/95 EDWARD P. MORGAN  
EPA

March 10, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

In connection with the investigation being conducted by a Senate subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate into the charges made by Senator McCarthy that subversive elements are employed in the State Department, I have been advised that it is very likely that the subcommittee may request of you the assignment by the FBI of some Agents to the Committee to conduct investigations into these charges.

I bring this matter to your attention because I would strongly urge that this Bureau not be directed to assign personnel to the Senate Committee for the purposes indicated. It has been a consistent policy of the Department over a long period of years not to accede to requests of Congressional Committees for the assignment of Special Agents of the Bureau to conduct investigations for such Committees. Many requests have been made over a period of years for such personnel and they have all been denied.

There seems to be very good reason for this policy in that the FBI is already considerably over-burdened with its legitimate work without rendering investigative assistance to Committees of Congress, and, secondly, many of the matters into which Committees are making inquiries from time to time are of such an extreme controversial character as to make it undesirable for the FBI to be injected into such matters. In the particular instance in question, the FBI has investigated many of the personnel of the State Department and submitted reports thereon to the Civil Service Commission and to the State Department. These reports have given all of the facts which the FBI has been able to develop. Of course, no conclusions were reached in our reports as the Bureau has strongly confined its function to that of being a fact-gathering organization. Obviously, if Agents of the Bureau should be assigned to such a Committee, it would be an indirect way for the Committee to get access to the files of the FBI which, up to the present time, have consistently been denied to all Congressional Committees.

RECORDED - 143 Respectfully,

INDEXED - 143

John Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

MAILED 3  
MAR 13 1950  
COMM - FBI

- Tolson
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Egan
- Gurnea
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Pennington
- Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

*called h. q.'s office  
3/11/50*

EX-9

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Call: 11:03 AM

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd *ok*

DATE: March 13, 1950

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd *EHW*

SUBJECT: **COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT**  
(Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy)  
**LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo  b6
- Mohr  b7C
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

At the above time I talked to Special Agent [redacted] of the Washington Field Office concerning Senator McCarthy's testimony which he began this morning, March 13, 1950.

Senator McCarthy identified as "Case No. 2" Haldore Hanson, whom the Senator described as an expert on Chinese affairs. Senator McCarthy said Hanson is to be the head of a new divisional establishment (apparently in the State Department) of an "Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development." According to Senator McCarthy, this group will be spending hundreds of millions of dollars of the taxpayers money.

Senator McCarthy described Hanson as having been affiliated with the State Department since February, 1942, and the Senator then began to list the alleged Communist connections of Hanson. He said that these date back to 1939 and he said that Hanson has been associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations which he described as presently being headed by Mr. Field, who has Communist connections.

At the time of [redacted] call, Senator McCarthy was continuing to list the alleged Communist connections of Henson.

It might be noted that "Case No. 2", according to the Bob Lee list and as identified by the Bureau, pertains to John Carter Vincent. A special summary on Hanson is in the process of preparation, and it will be submitted promptly. It might be noted that a full field loyalty investigation was completed by the Bureau and submitted to the Civil Service Commission June 24, 1948. A disposition notice was received September 30, 1948, to the effect that Hanson had been "retained."

It might be noted that the Field referred to by Senator McCarthy is presumably Frederick Vanderbilt Field, whose Communist connections are well known. He is not the head of the Institute of Pacific Relations; rather Clayton Lane, a person who has openly expressed anti-Communist sympathy is the head of this organization.

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INDEXED - 20

~~62-39749-140~~

EHW:WMJ

MAR 14 1950

3

EX-115

*Misery*

58 MAY 25 1950

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE:

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd

March 13, 1950

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT (Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy) LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

[redacted] of the Washington Field Office called at 11:45 a.m. with regard to the continuation of Senator McCarthy's testimony this morning.

At the outset [redacted] stated that Senator McCarthy had said that Case #1 and Case #2, which he has mentioned in the last two or three days, were not in the group of cases which he mentioned in his testimony on February 20, 1950. Case #1 pertains to Dorothy Kenyon, and Case #2, as it now stands, pertains to Haldore Hanson.

Senator McCarthy went on to refer to his information concerning Hanson, stating that Hanson had written a book "Human Endeavor," which was published around 1939. This book concerns the activities of Hanson while in China and refers to the Chinese civil war. Senator McCarthy claims that this book shows Hanson's admiration for the Communist regime. He said he had trouble getting a copy of the book, since the copies have mysteriously disappeared, but that he obtained one copy from the publisher. In his testimony Senator McCarthy quoted portions of the book.

Senator McCarthy concentrated on this book as indicating the views of Hanson. He further stated that former Congressman Fred Busbee had discussed this same book on the floor of the House on May 14, 1945, thus calling the book to the attention of the Department of State.

He went on to refer to Hanson's activities in the Institute of Pacific Relations and his writing for the publication, Anerasia. (It will be recalled that Anerasia was the publication of Philip Jacob Jaffe.)

Case #3 - Dr. Esther Laukin Brunauer (A copy of the Bureau's write-up on this individual is attached)

Senator McCarthy went on to identify Case #3 as being the captioned person, which in his previous testimony was Case #47. He said that she is a member of the United Nations Ethnic Scientific and Cultural Organization. She is an Assistant Director of Policy, receiving \$9,000 a year. He said his information indicates that immediate action is necessary with regard to Dr. Esther Brunauer. He indicated that she was a member of the Communist Party and that the status of her husband is most important and he would not present it at a public hearing but indicated he would refer to it in executive session.

RECORDED - 46

INDEXED - 46

58 MAY 16 1950



He went on to say that both the Brunauers, according to information available, have been listed as Communist Party members. He said that the husband has a confidential position with the Navy Department.

He went on to say that Esther Brunauer was executive secretary of the Association of University Women, and that she has been in various Communist front groups in the consumers field. He also stated that she presided at a meeting in Washington of the American Friends of the Soviet Union, on June 11, 1936.

Mrs Mrs

Senator McCarthy identified the husband of Esther Brunauer as Stephen Brunauer, a Commander in the United States Navy, presently on active duty, and a scientist on several top secret projects. He stated that both Esther and Stephen Brunauer are members of the Communist Party, as reported by another government agency. He considered this case of urgent importance and stated immediate access to State Department loyalty and personnel files, to the files of the Civil Service Commission and, of double importance, immediate access to the FBI files, was necessary. In his opinion the investigative agencies have done excellent work in this case and it is unbelievable that the Brunauers have been able to get top secret clearance in various government agencies in the face of the information developed. He does not feel that the members of the Senate subcommittee are qualified to make the necessary investigation. He feels that highly trained government investigators should be employed to make this investigation and that preferably they should be FBI men who are available.

He also introduced in evidence certain documents concerning front organizations to which the Brunauers belonged.

At the time of [redacted] call concerning the Brunauers (12:05 p.m.) he said that Senator McCarthy was identifying Case #4 as that concerning Owen J. Lattimore. A memorandum is being prepared concerning Lattimore.

b6  
b7c

ADDENDUM -

I have instructed that a separate memorandum be prepared on Stephen Brunauer.

EHW  
*[Handwritten signature]*

4

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD *DL*

DATE:

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd *EW*

March 13, 1950

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations of Senator McCarthy)  
*Joseph R.*

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

At 1:25 p.m. Special Agent Stephen A. Smith of the Washington Field Office called to supply the additional developments in connection with Senator McCarthy's testimony.

It was indicated that the staff and the investigative personnel of the subcommittee will be named shortly.

Senator McCarthy reiterated that it was highly important that the committee obtain the many files of the FBI, ONI and Department of State on Stephen A. Brunauer (as indicated previously, a memorandum is being prepared on Brunauer). *Handwritten notes and signatures on right margin.*

RECEIVED

Senator McCarthy stated that a good deal of the material he presently possesses was not originally in his possession when he addressed the Senate on 2/20/50. He further stated he has received a constant flow of letters from Republicans.

The subcommittee concluded its hearings for Monday, March 13, 1950, at approximately 1:20 p.m.

EHW:CSH

Handwritten marks: '4' and 'L'.

121-23278-31

RECORDED - 46

INDEXED - 46

EX-99

Handwritten signature: *James [unclear]*

53  
58 MAY 16 1950

Ltr. to Director

March 13, 1950

RE: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

43517

American Association of University Women; that she was active in front enterprises in the consumers fields and that she had presided at a Washington meeting of the American Friends of the Soviet Union on June 11, 1936.

Mr + Mrs Senator MC CARTHY further stated that ESTHER BRUNAUER is the wife of STEPHEN BRUNAUER, a Hungarian by birth, who was a Scientist and has had the rank of Commander in the U. S. Navy.

At this point, he advised it was highly important that this Committee immediately, in accordance with their mandate from the Senate, obtain the files of the FBI, Naval Intelligence, and the State Department on the activities of STEPHEN BRUNAUER and set forth a list of three items which the Committee should immediately seek to learn the answers to. It was doubly important that they obtain the files of the FBI.

There is enclosed herewith complete text of testimony by Senator MC CARTHY concerning ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER and numbered on pages twelve-A through fourteen.

Senator MC CARTHY further advised that in his opinion the Committee should immediately appoint an experienced investigative staff to begin immediate investigation of the individuals he has named. He further advised that if at all possible, the Committee should obtain the services of Special Agents of the FBI who might be available at this time to conduct such investigation.

Senator MC CARTHY then furnished the name of Case Number 4 before the Sub-Committee and named OWEN J. LATTIMORE. He identified this individual as a former high official in the State Department and who now is located at John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, where he is Director of a course in Problems of the Far East. He further advised that LATTIMORE was born in Washington, D. C., but spent his entire youth in China and the Far East. He also advised that LATTIMORE is considered one of the top United States officials in Far Eastern matters.

MC CARTHY further advised that at the present time LATTIMORE is not on the payrolls of the State Department but added that because of his vast background and experience he is often called in as a Consultant on current Far Eastern problems. He also advised that LATTIMORE has been closely associated in an advisory capacity to the ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN administrations for many years. He also advised that when HENRY WALLACE was Vice President, LATTIMORE was his chief adviser on a trip WALLACE made to Siberia.

Ltr. to Director

March 13, 1950

RE: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

43515

Senator MC CARTHY also advised that during the past several years, State Department policy has been influenced by two publications which he listed as No. 1 Far Eastern Affairs, and No. 2 Pacific Affairs. He advised that in 1941 Mr. LATTIMORE was the Editor of Pacific Affairs, and is now listed as a Trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Senator MC CARTHY also advised that LATTIMORE has been closely associated with several organizations which have been declared as Communist fronts by the Attorney General. He also advised that LATTIMORE has been a prolific writer and has written ten volumes concerning Asia and the Far East. Senator MC CARTHY also stated that the Columbian, Knights of Columbus magazine for September, 1949, contained an article concerning the fall of China which stated that OWEN LATTIMORE gets most of the credit for the fall of China.

A mimeographed statement concerning the testimony regarding OWEN J. LATTIMORE could not be obtained at this time.

There is enclosed herewith a mimeographed statement in which Senator MC CARTHY called to the attention of the Committee the press campaign Secretary ACHESON is presently putting on in these Loyalty cases. In his testimony Senator MC CARTHY altered the prepared statement by stating that if Mr. ACHESON had the necessary guts he should stand up like a man and take the blame for this situation and quit making a goat of PEURIFOY.

During the course of Senator MC CARTHY'S testimony before the Sub-Committee, he stated that in his opinion the Government investigative agencies have done an excellent job in developing information concerning individuals engaged in subversive activities in the United States and that he finds it unbelievable that in spite of the derogatory information developed by these Government agencies, these individuals have been given top secret clearance by their agency.

Following testimony before the Committee, Chairman TYDINGS stated that the staff of the Committee would be named shortly and added that he hoped this staff could begin work on investigating the individuals named by Senator MC CARTHY sometime this week.

Senator MC CARTHY also stated following his testimony concerning the aforementioned individuals that the material to be presented (March 14, 1950) was not originally in his possession on February 20, 1950,

Ltr. to Director

March 13, 1950

RE: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPT.

when he made his original charges on the floor of the Senate. He advised that there has been a constant flow of information in the form of letters which contained tips and leads, some of which are working out remarkably fast.

The Committee is scheduled to meet tomorrow morning and hear further testimony by Senator MC CARTHY and at the present time it is believed that DOROTHY KENYON will appear before the Committee during the afternoon.

42516

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Jaffe was arrested, indicted, and found guilty of having been in illegal possession of several hundred secret documents from the State, Navy, War, and other Government Department files.

Mr. Chairman, I have before me a document entitled "Department of State, Departmental Announcement 41." The heading is "Establishment of the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development." Then in parenthesis, by way of explanation of this rather high-sounding name, we find "Point Four Program."

The first paragraph of the order reads as follows:

- "1. Effective immediately there is established under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs of the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development (TCD)."

On page 4 we find that the chief of this Technical Cooperations Project Staff is one Haldero Hanson.

Paragraph 2 on Page 1 sets forth the following responsibilities of Hanson's division:

"The Interim Office is assigned general responsibility within the Department for (a) securing effective administration of programs involving technical assistance to economically underdeveloped areas and (b) directing the planning in preparation for the Technical Cooperation and Economic Development (Point Four) Program. In carrying out its responsibilities the Interim Office will rely upon the regional bureaus, Bureau of United Nations Affairs, and other components of Economic Affairs area for participation in the technical assistance programs as specified below, and upon the central administrative offices of the Administrative area for the performance of service functions."

121-23278-32

From this it would appear that his division will have a tremendous amount of power and control over the hundreds of millions or billions of dollars which the President proposes to spend under his Point Four Program, or what he has referred to as the "Bold New Plan".

Hanson's appointment is not made by the President, but by the State Department and is not subject to any Senate confirmation. Therefore, it would seem rather important to examine the background and the philosophy of this young man.

The State Department Biographical Register gives what would on its face seem to be a chronological story of an increasingly successful young man. It shows that he graduated from college, for example, in 1934 at the age of 22; that he was a teacher in Chinese colleges from 1934 to 1937; and then a press correspondent in China from 1936 to 1939; a staff writer from 1938 to 1942; then in 1942 he got a job in the State Department at \$4,600. a year; that in 1944 he was listed as a specialist in Chinese affairs at \$5,600; that in 1945 he was made Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State at \$6,500; that in May of 1948 he was made assistant chief of the area division number 3; that on June 28, 1948 he was made acting chief for the Far Eastern Area, Public Affairs Overseas Program Staff; that on November 14, 1948 he was made Executive Director of the Secretariat of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation. There is certainly nothing un-

121-23278-32

usual about this biography. Nothing there to indicate that this man might be dangerous in the State Department as Chief for the Far Eastern Area Public Affairs, Overseas Program Staff, during a time when the Communists were taking over China. However, much is left out of this biography. It does not show, for example, that this young man was running a Communist magazine in Peiping when the Japanese-Chinese war broke out. It does not show, for example, that he spent several years with the Communist cadres in China, writing stories and taking pictures which the Chinese Communists helped him smuggle out of the country. Nor does this biography show that this man, after his return from China, wrote a book — a book which sets forth his pro-Communist answer to the problems of Asia as clearly as Hitler's Mein Kampf set forth his solutions for the problems of Europe.

Nothing that he has said or done since would indicate that he repudiates a single line of that book.

This man clearly believes that the Communists in China stand for everything that is great and good. His is not the picture of a mercenary trying to sell his country out for thirty pieces of silver. In reading his book, you are impressed with the fact that he truly believes the

Communist leaders in China are great and good men and that all of Asia

Take, for example, what he had to say about Mao Tse-tung, the head

121-23278-32



Hanson

of the Communist Party at that time and now the Communist ruler of China, and Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the 8th Route Communist Army, and according to Life Magazine of January 23, 1950, Number Two man in prestige to Mao Tse-Tung.

In Chapter 23, entitled "Political Utopia on Mt. Wut'ai", in describing a meeting with an American Major Carlson, here is what he had to say:

"We stayed up till midnight exchanging notes on guerrilla armies, the farm unions, and the progress of the war. I was particularly interested in the Communist leaders whom Carlson had just visited and whom I was about to meet. Mao Tse-Tung, the head of the Communist Party, Carlson characterized as 'the most selfless man I ever met, a social dreamer, a genius living fifty years ahead of his time.' And Chu Teh, commander in chief of the 8th Route Army was 'the prince of generals, a man with the humility of Lincoln, the tenacity of Grant, and the kindness of Robert E. Lee'."

For a man slated a chief of the bureau which may have the job of spending hundreds of millions of dollars throughout the world this indicates, to say the least, a disturbing amount of hero-worship for the number one and number two Communist leaders in the Far East today.

On page 349, he condemns the right wing groups in the Chinese government for "fighting against the Democratic revolution as proposed by Mao Tse Tung and the Communists."

On the same page he points out that anti-Red officials within the government were making indirect attacks upon the Communists and that "leaders of the Communist youth corps were arrested by military officers at Hankow. I myself was the victim of one of these incidents and

121-23278-32

found that local officials were the instigators."

43522

From Hanson's book it appears that the Nationalist government knew of his close collaboration with the Communist Army. For example, on page 350, we find that his passport was seized by the police in Sian when they found that he was traveling from Communist guerrilla territory to the Communist headquarters. He states that the man responsible "for this illegal action was governor Ching Ting - Wen -- one of the most rabid anti-Red officials in China. The governor's purpose was merely to suppress news about the Communists."

Before quoting further from this book written by Mr. Hanson, it might be well to give a clearer picture of the job which Secretary Acheson has picked out for him. The State Department document lists some of the duties of his bureau as follows:

1. Developing over-all policies for the program.
2. Formulating general program plans and issuing planning directives.
3. Coordinating specific program plans developed by the regional bureaus and making necessary adjustments.
4. Approving projects, determining action agencies, and allocating funds for U.S. bilateral programs.
5. Directing negotiations and relationships with inter-governmental agencies and with other U. S. agencies participating in the coordinated program or otherwise carrying on technical assistance activities.

121-23278-32

1. Initiating and developing plans for technical assistance programs for individual countries or groups of countries within their respective regions.
2. Reviewing program proposals affecting their regions which originate from any other source.
3. Negotiating and communicating with foreign governments.
4. Directing State Department personnel assigned abroad to coordinate and give administrative and program support to, bilateral programs.
5. Continuously evaluating programs and projects within regions.
6. Proposing program changes.
7. Initiating instructions to the field carrying out their responsibilities and reviewing all other instructions concerned with technical assistance programs.

This gives you some idea of the tremendous powers of the agency in which Mr. Hanson is a top flight official.

Let us go back to Hanson's writings:

All through the book he shows that not only did he have complete confidence in the Communist leaders but that they also had complete confidence in him.

Chen-Tsao acted as his couriers, smuggling packets of films and news stories for him with the aid of Communist guerrilla spies into Peiping.

In this connection I might say that he very frankly points out that the Communists do not tolerate anyone who is not completely on their side. Hanson makes it very clear all through the book that he is not only on the

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Communist side, but that he has the attitude of a hero worshiper for the Chinese Communist leaders.

His respect and liking for the Communist leaders permeates almost every chapter of the book. For example, on page 284 and page 285, he tells about how some ragged waifs whom he had gathered into his sleeping quarters regarded Mao Tse Tung and Chu Teh as "Gods". He then goes on to tell about their favorite Communist General, Holung, and states that they convinced him that Holung was a very extraordinary man whom they described as "big as a Shantungese, heavy as a restaurant cook but quick as a cat in battle." He then goes on to describe on page 285 how, when he met General Holung, he found him to be much as the hero-worshipping boys had described him. "He is, said Hanson, "a living picture of Rhett Butler from the pages of Gone With the Wind."

This praise of Chinese Communist leaders -- goes on page after page. On Page 278, he describes Communist General P'eng as the most rigid disciplinarian and "the most persistent student of world affairs".

In Chapter 26, he speaks with apparent bated breath of the "Brain Trust" of Communist leaders who were immortalized by Edgar Snow in his Red Star over China.

On page 295 in referring to other...  
"Should this book ever fall into Communist hands, I must recommend you two lonely men made excellent company during my three weeks in Yen-an".

121-23278-32

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After describing in complimentary manner this university and the students, on page 296 he says, "Every cadet divides his time between political and military subjects. On the one hand he listens to lectures on Marxian philosophy, the history of the Chinese Revolution, the technique of leading a mass movement; on the other hand he studies guerrilla tactics, the use of military maps, and the organization of a military labor corps."

On page 297 he points out that no tuition is charged at the academy and that each student is supplied with uniform, books and food, plus a pocket allowance, and then has this to say: "Some recent visitors to Yenan have spread a report that the academies are supported by Russian rubles -- a thin piece of gossip. I was told by several Chinese leaders, including Mao Tse-Tung, that the largest contributions came from American sympathizers in New York."

On page 297 and 298, Hanson relates that in talking to one of the Nationalist war-lords. "I suggested that he could learn a great deal from the Communists about discipline and integrity of leadership."

On page 303, Hanson has this to say, "My attitude toward Communist China's leaders was a mixture of respect for their personal integrity and a resentment of their suspiciousness. They impressed me as a group of hardheaded, straight shooting realists."

121-23278-32

chopping off the heads of landlords -- all of which is true", because of  
"hungry farmers". That the farmers are still hungry after the

121-23278-32

After an interview with Mao Tse Tung he states, "I left with the feeling that he was the least pretentious man in Yanan and the most admired. He is <sup>a</sup> completely selfless man." 43525

Following is Hanson's description of how the Reds took over. I quote from page 102:

"Whenever a village was occupied for the first time, the Reds arrested the landlords and tax collectors, held a public tribunal, executed a few and intimidated the others, then redistributed the land as fairly as possible."

In Chapter 28, in comparing the Communists to Chiang Kai-shek's troops, Hanson had this to say:

"I left Yanan with only one conviction about the Communists; that they were fighting against the Japanese more wholeheartedly than any other group in China."

He then goes on to condemn "Red-baiting" officials in Chungking.

On page 312 of his book, Hanson quotes a Communist editor as stating as follows:

"Our relationship to the USSR is no different than that of the American Communist Party. We respect the work of Russia's leaders and profit by their experience wherever we can, but the problems of China are not the same as those of Russia. We plan our program from a Chinese point of view."

Hanson then adds, "The explanation seemed logical enough to me."

In connection with Hanson's position as Chief of the Technical Cooperation Projects Staff, in charge of Truman's Point Four Program, the following on pages 312 and 313 of his book would seem especially

121-23278-32

significant. He quotes Mao Tse Tung as follows:

"China cannot reconstruct its industry and commerce without the aid of British and American capital."

Can there be much doubt as to whether the Communists or the anti-Communist forces in Asia will receive aid under the Point Four Program with Hanson in charge?

Gentlemen, here is a man with a mission - a mission to communize whose the world - a man whose energy and intolligence coupled with a burning all-consuming mission has raised him by his own bootstraps from a penniless operator of a Leftist magazine in Peiping in the middle thirties to one of the architects of our foreign policy in the State Department today -- a man who, according to State Department announcement #41 will be largely in charge of the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars in such areas of the world and for such purposes as he decides.

Gentlemen, if Secretary Acheson gets away with his plan to put this man to a great extent in charge of the proposed Point Four Program, it will, in my opinion, lend tremendous impetus to the tempo at which Communism is engulfing the world.



455/17

landlords' heads have been removed apparently never occurred to him.

On page 31 he explained that it took him some time to appreciate the appalling problems which the Chinese Communists were attempting to solve."

In Chapter 4 of Hanson's book, he presents the stock Communists' arguments for the so-called Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1939.

Secretary Acheson is now putting Hanson in the position to help the Communists solve the "appalling problems" in other areas of the world with hundreds of millions or billions of American dollars.

The obvious area in which this man will start using American money to help the Communists solve the people's problem will be Indo-China and India.

It should be pointed out that this case was brought to the attention of State Dept. officials as long ago as May 14, 1947. At that time, the Honorable Fred Busbey, on the Floor of the House discussed this man's affinity for the Communist cause in China.

121-23278-32

*Evans-2*

I should now like to take up the case of Esther Caukin Brunauer, Assistant Director of Policy Liaison, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, at a salary of \$9,706 a year according to the current Federal Register.

I urgently request that this committee give serious consideration to the details of this case and act immediately to ascertain the facts.

Mrs. Brunauer was for many years Executive Secretary of the American Association of University Women.

Mrs. Brunauer was instrumental in committing this organization to the support of various front enterprises, particularly in the so-called consumer field. One such instance of this activity was reported in the New York Times of April 27, 1943. In that case the American Association of University Women joined with Consumers Union, The League of Women Shoppers, and other completely Communist controlled fronts. I have explained to the committee that these organizations have been declared subversive by various governmental agencies.

Exhibit "R" indicates that Mrs. Brunauer presided at a Washington meeting of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. This organization has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, the House

*(more)*

121-23278-32

Committee on Un-American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. The principal speaker at this meeting was Myra Page, long an avowed leader of the Communist Party and frequent writer for the Daily Worker and other Communist periodicals. 43529

Certainly this committee has no doubts as to the domination by the Communist Party of the American Youth Congress. It has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General and other governmental agencies.

Exhibit "S" shows Esther Caukin Brunauer was a signer of the call to the annual meeting of the American Youth Congress in 1938.

Esther Brunauer is the wife of Stephen Brunauer, a Hungarian by birth. He is a scientist who has had the rank of Commander in the United States Navy and his scientific work has involved some of the topmost defense secrets which the armed forces of this country possess.

I think it highly important that this committee immediately, in accordance with their mandate from the Senate, obtain the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Naval Intelligence, and the State Department on the activities of Stephan Brunauer, the husband of this ranking official of the State Department.

~~I ask that the committee immediately seek to learn whether or not~~

Stephan Brunauer *luc*

121-23278-32

1. Seen the subject of a constant investigation by government agencies over a period of ten years.

2. A close friend and collaborator of Noel Field, known Communist who recently and mysteriously disappeared behind the Iron Curtain.

3. He has admitted to associates that he was a member of the Communist party.

I am reluctant to go any further into this case but I am prepared to produce competent witnesses who will testify to the importance of immediate action in this matter.

It can be readily shown that at least three government agencies have been sifting the activities of a small group of people whose work seriously threatens the security of the country.

Certainly the Communist front activities of Mrs. Braunauer are sufficient to seriously question her security status.

Encl - 5

15

In closing, I must call the attention of the committee and the public to the very unusual campaign Secretary Acheson is putting on to avoid blame in these loyalty cases. All of the onus is being cleverly loaded onto the shoulders of a harmless and likeable young man by the name of John Peurifoy. Every one of Secretary Acheson's press releases is issued in the name of Peurifoy. Whenever the Secretary wants to do a bit of name calling Peurifoy is the front and the shield. Clearly, however, Peurifoy has no more power to discharge Hanson and some of the other high officials than a White House aide would have to discharge the President. I suggest that Mr. Acheson stand up like a man and take the blame for this sorry situation and quit making a goat of young Peurifoy who must do as he is told or lose his job.

43531

121-23278-32

DIRECTOR, FBI

March 13, 1950

ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR D. M. LADD  
GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Testimony of Senator JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

In accordance with the verbal instructions of Assistant Director D. M. LADD to SAC GUY HOTTEL on March 7, 1950, Special Agents ROBERT E. LENIHAN and WILLIAM J. MC CRATH, JR. attended the meeting of the Foreign Relations Sub-Committee, investigation of State Department personnel, held in the Caucus Room, Senate Office Building, on March 13, 1950.

Testimony was open<sup>ed</sup> before the Committee by Senator MC CARTHY, who gave the Committee a list of organizations which have been declared subversive. 42500

Senator MC CARTHY then presented Case Number 2 before the Sub-Committee and named HALDOR HANSON and stated that this man occupies one of the most important offices in the State Department. He stated that he is now Executive Director of the Secretariat of the Inter-departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and that his duties are defined in Department of State Departmental Announcement Number 41, dated February 21, 1950. He stated that HANSON was a contributor to "Pacific Affairs", the official publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations; that he also wrote for the magazine Amerasia; and he then quoted at length from a book which HANSON had written entitled Human Endeavor, which was published about 1939. (Senator MC CARTHY was not sure of the date of publication.)

There is enclosed herewith the complete text of Senator MC CARTHY'S testimony concerning HALDOR HANSON on pages one through twelve of the enclosure.

Senator MC CARTHY then presented Case Number 3 on his list and identified this case as being identical with Case Number 47 as presented on the floor of the Senate on February 20, 1950.

He named ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER, Assistant Director of Policy Liaison, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, at a salary of \$9,706 per annum according to the current Federal Register. He advised Mrs. BRUNAUER was for many years Executive Secretary of the

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121-0  
Encls.

121-233-78-32

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Ltr. to Director

March 13, 1950

RE: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

American Association of University Women; that she was active in front enterprises in the consumer fields and that she had presided at a Washington meeting of the American Friends of the Soviet Union on June 11, 1936.

Senator MC CARTHY further stated that ESTHER BRUNAUER is the wife of STEPHEN BRUNAUER, a Hungarian by birth, who was a Scientist and has had the rank of Commander in the U. S. Navy.

At this point, he advised it was highly important that this Committee immediately, in accordance with their mandate from the Senate, obtain the files of the FBI, Naval Intelligence, and the State Department on the activities of STEPHEN BRUNAUER and set forth a list of three items which the Committee should immediately seek to learn the answers to. It was doubly important that they obtain the files of the FBI.

There is enclosed herewith complete text of testimony by Senator MC CARTHY concerning ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER and numbered on pages twelve-A through fourteen.

Senator MC CARTHY further advised that in his opinion the Committee should immediately appoint an experienced investigative staff to begin immediate investigation of the individuals he has named. He further advised that if at all possible, the Committee should obtain the services of Special Agents of the FBI who might be available at this time to conduct such investigation.

Senator MC CARTHY then furnished the name of Case Number 4 before the Sub-Committee and named OWEN J. LATTIMORE. He identified this individual as a former high official in the State Department and who now is located at John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, where he is Director of a course in Problems of the Far East. He further advised that LATTIMORE was born in Washington, D. C., but spent his entire youth in China and the Far East. He also advised that LATTIMORE is considered one of the top United States officials in Far Eastern matters.

MC CARTHY further advised that at the present time LATTIMORE is not on the payrolls of the State Department but added that because of his vast background and experience he is often called in as a Consultant on current Far Eastern problems. He also advised that LATTIMORE has been closely associated in an advisory capacity to the ROOSEVELT and TRUMAN administrations for many years. He also advised that when HENRY WALLACE was Vice President, LATTIMORE was his chief adviser on a trip WALLACE made to Siberia.

Ltr. to Director

March 13, 1950

RE: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Senator MC CARTHY also advised that during the past several years, State Department policy has been influenced by two publications which he listed as No. 1 Far Eastern Affairs, and No. 2 Pacific Affairs. He advised that in 1941 Mr. LATTIMORE was the Editor of Pacific Affairs, and is now listed as a Trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Senator MC CARTHY also advised that LATTIMORE has been closely associated with several organizations which have been declared as Communist fronts by the Attorney General. He also advised that LATTIMORE has been a prolific writer and has written ten volumes concerning Asia and the Far East. Senator MC CARTHY also stated that the Columbian, Knights of Columbus magazine for September, 1949, contained an article concerning the fall of China which stated that OWEN LATTIMORE gets most of the credit for the fall of China.

A mimeographed statement concerning the testimony regarding OWEN J. LATTIMORE could not be obtained at this time.

There is enclosed herewith a mimeographed statement in which Senator MC CARTHY called to the attention of the Committee the press campaign Secretary ACHESON is presently putting on in these Loyalty cases. In his testimony Senator MC CARTHY altered the prepared statement by stating that if Mr. ACHESON had the necessary guts he should stand up like a man and take the blame for this situation and quit making a goat of PEURIFOY.

During the course of Senator MC CARTHY'S testimony before the Sub-Committee, he stated that in his opinion the Government investigative agencies have done an excellent job in developing information concerning individuals engaged in subversive activities in the United States and that he finds it unbelievable that in spite of the derogatory information developed by these Government agencies, these individuals have been given top secret clearance by their agency.

Following testimony before the Committee, Chairman TYDINGS stated that the staff of the Committee would be named shortly and added that he hoped this staff could begin work on investigating the individuals named by Senator MC CARTHY sometime this week.

Senator MC CARTHY also stated following his testimony concerning the aforementioned individuals that the material to be presented (March 14, 1950) was not originally in his possession on February 20, 1950,



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Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
 ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR D. M. LADD  
 FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD  
 SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
 (Testimony of Senator JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY)  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: March 13, 1950

43513

*St...*

In accordance with the verbal instructions of Assistant Director D. M. LADD to SAC GUY HOTTEL on March 7, 1950, Special Agents [redacted] and WILLIAM J. MC CRATH, JR. attended the meeting of the Foreign Relations Sub-Committee, investigation of State Department personnel, held in the Caucus Room, Senate Office Building, on March 13, 1950.

Testimony was open before the Committee by Senator MC CARTHY, who gave the Committee a list of organizations which have been declared subversive.

Senator MC CARTHY then presented Case Number 2 before the Sub-Committee and named HALDORE HANSON and stated that this man occupies one of the most important offices in the State Department. He stated that he is now Executive Director of the Secretariat of the Inter-departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and that his duties are defined in Department of State Departmental Announcement Number 41, dated February 21, 1950. He stated that HANSON was a contributor to "Pacific Affairs", the official publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations; that he also wrote for the magazine Amerasia; and he then quoted at length from a book which HANSON had written entitled Human Endeavor, which was published about 1939. (Senator MC CARTHY was not sure of the date of publication.)

There is enclosed herewith the complete text of Senator MC CARTHY'S testimony concerning HALDORE HANSON on pages one through three of the enclosure.

Senator MC CARTHY then presented Case Number 3 on his list and identified this case as being identical with Case Number 47 as presented on the floor of the Senate on February 20, 1950.

He named ESTHER CAULKIN BRUNAUER, Assistant Director of Policy Liaison, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, at a salary of \$9,706 per annum according to the current Federal Register. He advised Mrs. BRUNAUER was for many years Executive Secretary of the

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 Encls.

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APR 28 1950

TO : MR. D. M. LADD  
FROM : E. H. Winterrowd  
SUBJECT : COMMUNISTS IN STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations of Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: March 14, 1950  
12:15 p. m.

42512

Special Agent [redacted] of the Washington Field Office called again at this time to advise as follows regarding the further testimony of Senator McCarthy: (It might be noted that Senator McCarthy is presently reading to the subcommittee from prepared testimony, at a rapid pace, without interruptions.)

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b7c

The subcommittee (which has been designated the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, conducting an investigation of State Department Personnel) is now taking up the case of John Stewart Service who the Senator said is presently assigned to Calcutta, India as a foreign service officer. The Senator advised the committee of some of the background of Service and stated that on March 3, 1950 a post-audit was conducted by the Civil Service Commission Loyalty Review Board, which did not agree with the State Department Loyalty Board (which had cleared Service). The Civil Service Board advised the State Department that it was of the opinion a new State Department Board should be formed in this case. The Senator indicated that evidently the State Department had released news items on several occasions indicating that Service had been cleared.

The Senator went on to give a lengthy discourse on the Jaffe case and the connection of Service with the case. (It will be recalled that this involved the theft of State Department documents.) The Senator stated that Service was considered one of the untouchables in the State Department.

The Senator mentioned that Service was not indicted by the grand jury in the Jaffe case, and one reason the House UnAmerican Activities Committee did not take action against the grand jury was that they considered the documents taken not to be admissible, due to the method in which they were obtained by the FBI. He then quoted the House Committee as saying that they felt a motion by the defense to suppress the admission of the documents would have been sustained due to the manner in which they were obtained by the FBI.

(Memorandum on John Stewart Service has been dictated and will be submitted.)

CHH

124

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~~62-39749-1471~~  
NOT RECORDED  
119 MAY 5 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd

SUBJECT:

**COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

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b7c

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

Special Agent [redacted] of the Washington Field Office called at 5:25 P.M. today to furnish the following additional developments of the hearing conducted by the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, looking into the loyalty of State Department employees.

The afternoon session continued with the prepared statement of Judge Dorothy Kenyon who read from this statement and explained her membership in various alleged front organizations or her lack of memory of such membership. (A copy of this statement has been obtained and will be submitted by the Washington Field Office.)

RECEIVED

The statement was utilized by members of the Subcommittee to question Judge Kenyon and the Agents in attendance stated that the most significant question was: Was Judge Kenyon questioned in the State Department prior to her employment with regard to the affiliations? Judge Kenyon said she had not been so questioned but wished that she had been so questioned.

The hearing adjourned after Judge Kenyon was questioned and it was announced that an Executive Session of the Subcommittee would be held tomorrow, March 15, 1950. No date was set for the next open session of the Subcommittee.

The Washington Field Office will submit a letter detailing that which transpired at the Subcommittee hearing today.

EHW:WML

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RECORDED - 62

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MAR 17 1950

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52 MAR 28 1950

TO: Director

- |                          |                                |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| _____ Mr. Tolson         | _____ Mr. Belmont              |
| _____ Mr. Clegg          | _____ Mr. Laughlin             |
| _____ Mr. Glavin         | _____ Mr. Hennrich             |
| _____ Mr. Harbo          | _____ M                        |
| _____ Mr. Nichols        | _____ M                        |
| _____ Mr. Rosen          | _____ Mr. Baumgardner          |
| _____ Mr. Tracy          | _____ Mr. Keay                 |
| _____ Mr. Q. Tamm        | _____ Mr. Stanley              |
| _____ Mr. Mohr           | _____ Mr. Whitson              |
| _____ Miss Gandy         | _____ M                        |
| _____ Mr. Nease          | _____ Mr. Ferris               |
| _____ Mr. Pennington     | _____ Foreign Service Desk     |
| _____ Mr. Winterrowd     | _____ Mr. Callan               |
| _____ Mr. J. A. Carlson  | _____ See Me                   |
| _____ Mr. Hargett        | _____ Call Me                  |
| _____ Mrs. Henley        | _____ Appropriate action       |
| _____ Miss Jess          | _____ Note & return            |
| _____ Mrs. Davidson      | _____ Send file                |
| _____ Chief Clerk's Off. | _____ Bring up-to-date         |
| _____ Records Section    | _____ Correct                  |
| _____ Personnel Files    | _____ Re-date                  |
| _____ Mechanical Sec.    | _____ Please initial & return  |
| _____ Ident. Division    | _____ Place on record & return |
| _____ Technical Lab.     | _____ Place on record          |
| _____ Reading Room       | _____ Per conversation         |
|                          | _____ Advise status            |

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd *DL*

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd *EW*


SUBJECT: **COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Special Agent  of the Washington Field Office called the writer with respect to the proceedings of the Senate Subcommittee looking into the loyalty of State Department employees, on the morning of March 14, 1950.

He advised that Mr. Edward P. Morgan had been appointed General Counsel for this Subcommittee. *Ed Morgan*

The first case dealt with by Senator McCarthy this morning was that of Gustavo Duran, former State Department employee who resigned October 4, 1946. He subsequently went to the United Nations and he is now with the International Relief Organization. *Gustavo Duran*

In connection with Senator McCarthy's testimony on Duran, he referred to an intelligence agency which contains information that he was not making this report confidential data. 

A memorandum is in the process of preparation on Gustavo Duran.

EHW:WMJ

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EX-87

MAY 4 1950

*Rev*

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE:

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd

March 14, 1950

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations of Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

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b7c

Special Agent [redacted] of the Washington Field Office called at 11:45 a.m. to advise as follows regarding the continuation of Senator McCarthy's testimony before the sub-committee hearing:

Senator McCarthy continued on the case of Gustavo Duran by reading a military report which dealt with the accusation that Duran was one of the leaders in the Communist Youth Organization in Spain. No dates were given. The Senator submitted a picture allegedly of Duran, [redacted]

b7D

It was the contention of the State Department that this Duran was not identical with the Duran employed by the State Department. However, Senator McCarthy mentioned a letter from the Assistant Military Attache of the Dominican Republic, stating that it was the same individual.

The Senator stated that Duran is presently employed with the United Nations; that he was unable to ascertain his exact position, but understood his work was in connection with the screening of displaced persons entering the United States, and he was alleged to have been recommended for the United Nations by a member of the President's Cabinet.

The Senator also mentioned Dr. Harlow Shapley in connection with Duran, but it was not determined what the connection was.

(It will be recalled that a memorandum is in process of preparation on Duran.)

The Senator then took up the case of an unknown individual whom he declined to name, who had resigned from the State Department in 1948 and at present is alleged to be in a sensitive position with CIA. This unnamed individual was accused of being a sexual pervert. In this connection, he recalled Secretary Acheson's statement concerning sexual perverts being a security risk. He mentioned that this individual had been arrested by the local police department on sex crimes.

(It is entirely possible that the unnamed person who went from the State Department to CIA in [redacted] office. It will be recalled that

RECORDED - 43

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326

EX-87

[Handwritten signature]

our Identification files, under FBI [redacted] reflect an arrest of [redacted] by the Washington Police Department for "investigation - disorderly conduct and pervert." Our files also reflect that we received an applicant print from CIA, on October 15, 1948, which in accordance with the usual procedure was returned to them, with a copy of the criminal record of Offie. A copy of a memorandum dated March 8, 1950 concerning Carmel Offie is attached.)

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b7C

4

EHW:CSH

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd *DL*

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd *EHW*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

b6  
b7C

At approximately 4:30 P.M., Special Agent [redacted] of the Washington Field Office called with respect to the hearing being held by the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which is looking into the loyalty of State Department employees.

Special Agent [redacted] said that Judge Dorothy Kenyon was being questioned concerning her affiliations and that she was non-specific in her answers or that she claimed lack of knowledge.

Special Agent [redacted] further stated that Mr. Edward P. Morgan was in the audience and, according to the Special Agents covering the hearing, he appears to be observing the reaction of those present.

EHW:WMLJ

*E.P.M.*

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RECORDED - 46  
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EX-99

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HSCA  
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS (HSCA)  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES (USCARCA)  
DATE 1/21/95 Edward P. Morgan

EQ



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : G. H. Scatterday

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

b6  
b7c

At 3:30 P.M. this date Special Agent  of the Washington Field Office advised as follows:

Dorothy Kenyon has just completed her testimony before the Subcommittee. She completely and categorically denied all of Senator McCarthy's allegations and denied affiliation with some of the organizations which she specifically named. She commented that she did not know that some of the organizations of which she was a member were subversive, and upon finding that to be a fact, immediately withdrew. She stated that she had been an attorney for one of the organizations.

Kenyon stated she was constantly fighting with her Russian equivalent at the United Nations and cited a Russian news release which was critical of her.

She stated that she is a member of Americans For Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other organizations, that she is a registered Democrat, and that she characterizes herself as an "independent liberal and Rooseveltian Democrat." Her entire testimony was read rapidly from a prepared statement and efforts are being made by the Washington Field Office to obtain a copy thereof.

Following the completion of her testimony, she was greeted by loud and spontaneous applause and it was announced that she would be the last witness today.

GHS:MMJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-14-97 BY 5668 SLD/KSR  
(JFK)

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EX-136

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

FROM : A. H. Belmont *ABZ*

SUBJECT: FREDERICK SCHUMAN  
 (Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy,  
 R-Wisconsin)

DATE: March 14, 1950

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Rosen

Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

PURPOSE

To record the results of a check by Supervisor Roach of the Liaison Section with the State Department concerning Frederick Schuman, who was mentioned by Senator McCarthy on the floor of the Senate today.

BACKGROUND

Since information was received indicating Senator McCarthy had referred to Frederick Schuman, a lecturer and consultant for the State Department, Supervisor Ralph Roach contacted Mr. Amshey of the Department of State to ascertain whether Schuman actually is an employee of that Department. According to Mr. Amshey, Frederick Schuman is not and never has been an employee of the Department of State. The only reference in the State Department to such an individual concerns one Frederick Lewis Schuman, who was "brought in" as a lecturer in 1946. Mr. Amshey stated the Department of State from time to time calls in prominent individuals, such as scientists or teachers, for the purpose of lecturing to State Department officers. Apparently Schuman was one of such individuals who was brought in in 1946. However, according to the records of the State Department he never has been an employee of that Department.

Mr. Roach was unable to obtain any further identifying data regarding Frederick Lewis Schuman.

RECOMMENDATION

None. This is for your information. A check of the indices of the Bureau indicates a main Internal Security file on Frederick Lewis Schuman, which will be reviewed and a summary memorandum prepared.

*Comments re State Department*

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EX-68

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50 MAR 27 1950

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TO: Director

<u>Mr. Tolson</u>	<u>Mr. Tolson</u>	<u>Mr. Belmont</u>
<u>Mr. Clegg</u>	<u>Mr. Ladd</u>	<u>Mr. Laughlin</u>
<u>Mr. Glavin</u>	<u>Mr. Clegg</u>	<u>Mr. Hennrich</u>
<u>Mr. Harbo</u>	<u>Mr. Glavin</u>	<u>M</u>
<u>Mr. Nichols</u>	<u>Mr. Nichols</u>	<u>M</u>
<u>Mr. Rosen</u>	<u>Mr. Rosen</u>	<u>Mr. Baumgardner</u>
<u>Mr. Tracy</u>	<u>Mr. Tracy</u>	<u>Mr. Keay</u>
<u>Mr. Q. Tamm</u>	<u>Mr. Harbo</u>	<u>Mr. Stanley</u>
<u>Mr. Mohr</u>	<u>Mr. Belmont</u>	<u>Mr. Whitson</u>
<u>Miss Gandy</u>	<u>Mr. Mohr</u>	<u>M</u>
<u>Mr. Nease</u>	<u>Tele. Room</u>	
	<u>Mr. Nease</u>	<u>Mr. Ferris</u>
<u>Mr. Pennington</u>	<u>Mr. Gandy</u>	<u>Foreign Service Desk</u>
<u>Mr. Winterrowd</u>		<u>Mr. Callan</u>
<u>Mr. J. A. Carlson</u>		
<u>Mr. Hargett</u>		<u>See Me</u>
		<u>Call Me</u>
<u>Mrs. Henley</u>		<u>Appropriate action</u>
<u>Miss Jess</u>		<u>Note &amp; return</u>
		<u>Send file</u>
<u>Mrs. Davidson</u>		<u>Bring up-to-date</u>
		<u>Correct</u>
<u>Chief Clerk's Off.</u>		<u>Re-date</u>
<u>Records Section</u>		<u>Please initial &amp; return</u>
<u>Personnel Files</u>		<u>Place on record &amp; return</u>
<u>Mechanical Sec.</u>		<u>Place on record</u>
<u>Ident. Division</u>		<u>Per conversation</u>
<u>Technical Lab.</u>		<u>Advise status</u>
<u>Reading Room</u>		

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd *EHW*

SUBJECT:

**COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

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b7C

At 12:45 P.M., Special Agent  of the Washington Field Office called to give further developments in connection with the testimony of Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy has now named Professor Frederick Schuman of Williams College, who is a consultant and lecturer at the State Department. He described Professor Schuman as a member or sponsor of or affiliated with numerous Communist front organizations. *Beunghoff*

Senator McCarthy then gave a list of 25 names to the Subcommittee. These names were not made public. It was indicated, however, by Senator McCarthy that all had been investigated by the FBI and all were considered by him to be security risks. He stated that all are employed or "controlled" by the State Department.

The Subcommittee has adjourned until 2:30 P.M., when it is expected that Judge Dorothy Kenyon will appear before the Subcommittee.

A separate memorandum is being prepared on Professor Frederick Schuman.

EHW:WMJ

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RECORDED - 46

INDEXED - 46

EX-99

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MAR 30 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT

(Allegations made by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, R-Wisc.)

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### PURPOSE

Pursuant to your request, to furnish you with summary memoranda on Stanley Wilcox, Rowena Sheldon Bellows Rommel, John Stewart Service and Richard Montgomery Service.

### BACKGROUND

You will recall that there has been some indication to the effect that during Senator McCarthy's presentation of names before the Senate Committee investigating possible subversive individuals in the State Department, the cases of the following individuals may be used by him:

**STANLEY WILCOX** - Formerly identified by the Bureau as being identical with "Case No. 63," previously mentioned by Senator McCarthy in the Congressional Record dated February 20, 1950. Attached is a copy of a summary memorandum showing the results of the loyalty investigation conducted on Wilcox in 1948, which summary was furnished the Director as an attachment to my memorandum dated February 24, 1950.

**ROWENA SHELDON BELLOWS ROMMEL** - Formerly identified as "Case No. 51," referred to by Senator McCarthy in the Congressional Record dated February 20, 1950. Attached is copy of summary memorandum previously prepared for the Director on February 24, 1950, concerning individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy.

**JOHN STEWART SERVICE** and

**RICHARD MONTGOMERY SERVICE** - Regarding information that Senator McCarthy possibly may refer to the case of "Robert W. Service," a search of the Bureau's indices fails to reveal a loyalty case on any Robert W. Service. However, since Senator McCarthy has on previous occasions referred to John Stewart Service, who is a Foreign Service Officer in the State Department, it is believed the Senator may present the case of John Stewart Service or his brother, Richard Montgomery Service. You will recall a summary setting forth the results of the loyalty investigation of John Stewart Service was furnished to the Director with your memorandum dated February 15, 1950, regarding possible disloyal individuals in the State Department. A copy of this memorandum is attached for your information. There is also attached a summary memorandum regarding Richard Montgomery Service, brother of John Stewart Service, on whom we also conducted a full field loyalty investigation in 1949.

### ACTION

Note. This is for your information.

Attachments  
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March 14, 1950

GUSTAVO DURAN, aka  
Gustavo Duran Martinez

Background:

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Gustavo Duran Martinez was born November 14, 1906, at Barcelona, Spain. In compliance with Spanish custom he dropped his mother's name, Martinez, upon her death and has since been known as Gustavo Duran. According to Duran's own statement in an interview conducted on April 29, 1946, his father's name was Jose Duran Labad, born at El Grade, Province of Huesca. His mother was Pedra Martinez Sirera, born at Huesca, capital of the Province of Huesca. Both his father and mother are presently deceased, his father having died in Madrid in April, 1939, and his mother in 1940. According to Duran, his mother and father were both of Spanish citizenship. Duran's father was an electrical engineer and during the Spanish American War served in the Spanish Army, reaching the rank of Captain. Duran has stated that he has one brother, Ernesto Duran Sirera, aged twenty-six or twenty-eight, who is a civil engineer presently residing in Madrid, Spain. His two sisters Josefina Duran De Lopez and Araceli Duran De Martin both reside in Las Palmas, Canary Islands.

Duran received his elementary education both in Barcelona and Madrid, Spain. He also attended the Commerce School in Madrid, the "Instituto del Cardinal Cisneros" in Madrid and the University of Madrid. He did not receive a degree from any university. From 1927 to 1934, Duran lived in Paris, France, where he furthered his musical education and also worked for the painter, Nestor, who is a relative by marriage. According to Duran, he served as manager and secretary for Nestor while in France.

In 1933 he became an employee of the Spanish section of Paramount Pictures, Paris, France, and at the time the Spanish section moved to Spain, Duran returned to Madrid continuing in that company's employment until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. According to employment records and Duran's own statement, on the day of the outbreak of war, Duran joined the Republican Army and thereafter was elevated to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. During 1929, Duran for a period of nine months had complied with the compulsory military law in Spain and was honorably discharged as a noncommissioned officer, sergeant, on November 1, 1928. Duran advised that on July 18, 1936, at the time the Spanish Army revolted, he was activated into the organized militia of the Spanish Republican Army. On approximately November 30, 1939, after the defeat by Franco Forces, Duran's activity with the Republican Army ceased and he escaped as a refugee to England, where he resided until May

Classified by 2909  
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Date of Declassification Indefinite  
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CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE 2-21-80 DRK/wel  
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of 1940. On December 4, 1939, at Totnes, England, he married Bonte Romilly Crompton, an American citizen. He left Liverpool, England, and entered the United States at New York City on May 28, 1940, under the Spanish Immigration quota. Soon after arriving he applied for United States citizenship and on November 3, 1942, he was naturalized in Washington, D. C., as an American citizen. U

Employment records which have been corroborated by Duran's own statements reflect that after leaving Spain, he was employed from August, 1939, to May, 1940, in London, England, by the Film Center; from March, 1941, until October, 1941, he was an employee of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City; and from November 19, 1941, to September, 1942, he was employed in the Music Division of the Pan American Union serving in that capacity also under the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In September, 1942, he was transferred to the United States Embassy in Havana, Cuba, as a member of the Pan American Union. In January of 1943, he became an auxiliary foreign service officer at the Embassy in Havana. His employment while at the Embassy continued until May 14, 1945, at which time he went to Buenos Aires, Argentina, as assistant to the Ambassador, Spruille Braden. On September 23, 1945, Duran returned to the United States and was employed as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State, Spruille Braden. (Duran statement 77-26928-1, 64-27446-37) U

Results of Investigation:

Castor Lasada, who served as a Major in Duran's brigade, has advised that Duran had a quarrel with the Communist Party, opposed the Commissar system in the Republican Army, and when Duran was serving on the East Coast of Spain, his expulsion from the Communist Party was proposed but not acted upon. In this regard it will be noted that Duran during the interview on April 29, 1946, stated that he could not have been expelled from the Communist Party as he was never a member, and Duran further vaguely recalled having known someone by the name of Lasada during the Spanish Civil War but stated he recalled him only casually. (64-27446-35) U

Through a confidential informant, [redacted] Reports furnished the following information concerning Duran: Name, Gustavo Duran Martinez; born Barcelona, Spain in 1906; son of Jose and Pedra Duran, was pianist and travelled with group to Berlin, Cologne, and Paris returning to Madrid from Paris in the year 1934; rented apartment at Calle Hermosilla 3, on March 15, 1935 and occupied same during Spanish Civil War; previously lived with parents at Calle Santa Engracia, Madrid; began contact with the Communist element in the year 1934, worked cautiously and helped unite the Socialist and Communist youth; was a member of the Communist Party; [redacted] joined Spanish Militia as officer and was Captain, then served as Major in the International Brigade and made Lieutenant Colonel in year 1938. (64-27446-90) b7D C

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Confidential Informant T-1 has advised that Duran organized a small group of artists and musicians to fight Franco in the Spanish Civil War. Duran's unit entered the Fifth Regiment in Madrid, which regiment was totally controlled by Communists and most of the principal Spanish Communists came from this regiment. This informant advised that the Communists had confidence in Duran and made him a Lieutenant Colonel in the Fifth Regiment. The regiment was famous in Madrid and was constantly propagandized by the Communist Party in popular songs, and regimental hymns concerning the regiment mentioned General Lister and Gustavo Duran. This source advised that General Lister was reported to have been the most famous Spanish Communist at the time, and the fact that Duran was the only other person mentioned in the hymns indicated Duran's importance. (64-27446-45)

According to the confidential informant, Duran was probably not a member of the Communist Party, but definitely obeyed their orders in Madrid. This source advised that it is possible that Duran fought against Republican and CNT Forces prior to the Madrid surrender. Duran served as an interpreter in the International Brigade and also commanded the Twentieth Army. Duran was wounded during the battle of Ebro. He subsequently escaped from Spain at Gandia, Valencia. This informant also reported that he had received unsubstantiated information that Duran had engaged in the Communist torturing of Falangists. Also, according to this source, who definitely identified him as being the same Gustavo Duran who worked for the United States Embassy in Buenos Aires, Duran while in Buenos Aires did not mix with his old associates and preferred not to talk to them regarding his activities in Spain.

According to Dr. Alfredo Matilla, presently a professor at the University of Puerto Rico, Duran was a composer-musician and an employee of a film company whom he met in 1935 in Madrid, Spain. Matilla advised that in September, 1936, he heard that Duran was in Extremadura serving under General Escobar, a known Communist professional soldier. Duran at that time was a Major and had also been attached to the staff of General Kleber of the International Brigade due to his knowledge of several languages. Matilla advised that he believed Duran to be a Communist during the Spanish Civil War, but that Duran's relations were bad with the Communist Party which considered Duran unaggressive. Matilla advised that he has no knowledge regarding Duran's actual Party membership. According to Matilla, Duran has stated that the Communists abandoned him to Franco Forces as unimportant. Dr. Matilla also advised that he considers Duran honest and loyal to the United States, a non-Communist and detached from Spain's politics. (64-27446-44)

Enrique Casal Chapi, presently a professor at the University of Puerto Rico, advised that he was a close friend of Gustavo Duran for five years prior to the Spanish Civil War. He further states that he believes Duran to have had Communist theory sympathies at the beginning of the Civil War, but had abandoned these theories by the end of the war and has not resumed them. Enrique Chapi stated that he obtained this impression regarding Duran's sympathies while in conversation with Duran in about 1936. (64-27446-44)



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The Falange newspaper "Arriba" in an article published on April 8, 1949, in Madrid, Spain, gave the following unverified details of the subject's career. Duran first came to Madrid in the late Twenties with the painter, Nestor, and frequented artistic circles as a pianist. He was in a ballet company which traveled throughout Europe, including Berlin, and finally arrived in Paris where Duran stayed until the proclamation of the Spanish Republic in 1931. Allegedly because of Soviet agents in France, Duran returned to Spain to become a leader of the Communist Youth Party under the guise of musical activities, and resided at Calle Santa Engracia, Madrid, Spain. Duran was nicknamed "Porcelain" because of his light complexion. At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Duran seized the Convent on Plaza Chamberi and was sick there with typhus in August, 1936. Duran was one of the chiefs of the hurriedly organized Spanish Militia. Duran also was a personal friend of Republican Generals Lister and Modestva, attaining the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. When the International Brigade was formed on the Madrid Front, Duran was attached to the Russian General Staff with headquarters at Tarancon. (64-27446-52)

Through Confidential Informant T-15 who was a [redacted] [redacted] it was ascertained that Duran was rumored in Army circles to be [redacted] Also in this connection Edward Chasres, a Spanish official in the Foreign Exchange Institute, Madrid, Spain, has advised that Duran was known to him in Madrid before the war [redacted] (64-27446-48)

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Duran, according to Confidential Informant T-3, displayed no interest in politics until about 1934, when he became completely Communist in his belief, a member of the Communist Party financially aiding "Mundi Obrero," Communist newspaper. Duran was also prominent with the "Unified Socialist Youth" after its merger with the Communist Youth group. According to the informant, Duran was closely associated during this period with Rafael Alberti, a Spanish poet and Communist, who in 1931 made a trip to Russia meeting Stalin and Gorki and who now lives in Russia. (64-27446-53)

Confidential Informant T-4, who served with Duran during the Spanish Civil War, stated that Duran was very intelligent, a fluent linguist, who served as an aide to the Russian General Kleber and was a member of the Spanish Communist Party, but was more active with military matters. This informant advised that Duran was a brave officer serving with the Sixty-ninth Brigade and afterward with the Army Corps on the Eastern Coast Front. This source also stated that Duran was effeminate in his appearance, but that he knew of no perversion during his military career. This informant also advised that Duran was acquainted with the Communist General Lister, but unlike Lister did not engage in Communist propaganda activity during the Spanish Civil War and that Duran was not openly sympathetic to Russia.

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According to this informant, he first met Duran in about December, 1936, in Madrid, at which time Duran was serving as an aide to General Kleber. He again met Duran in April, 1937, in the El Pardo Sector where Duran commanded the Sixty-ninth Brigade, and in July, 1937, Duran and the informant took part in the military operation at "Brunet." In September, 1937, Duran went to the Spanish East Coast to organize a division. According to this informant, it is his belief that Duran was a member of the "Unified Socialist Youth" and the Spanish Communist Party, but that Duran did not hold an official position; however, he enjoyed the protection of the Party. This informant advised that he, the informant, was confined to prison in Madrid in 1940, having been mistaken for Duran and was questioned regarding the execution of the Nationalist prisoners by the Sixty-ninth Brigade. Later the identity of the informant was clarified and he was released. It was ascertained that an individual known as Casimiro Duran Munoz, who was Commander of the Thirty-sixth Brigade, was responsible for the assassinations in the "Tunnel of Death" in October of 1937. Gustavo Duran, the subject of this memorandum, it is noted was Commander of the Sixty-ninth Brigade at that time. (64-27446-53, 46, 47)

Confidential Informant T-6 has advised that he is familiar with Duran's military and political background in Spain. He has stated that Duran was a member of the Communist Party in Spain and served as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish Republican Army. In the opinion of this informant Duran is still a Communist and is subtly influencing the Assistant Secretary of State, Spruille Braden, to the detriment of American Foreign Policy in Latin-American Affairs. (64-27446-36)

Louis Salines Garcia, a Lieutenant Colonel of the Republican Army during the Spanish Civil War, has advised that he himself did not participate in the Madrid surrender disorder and is ignorant of Duran's whereabouts at that time, however, Salines emphatically assured that Duran was a Communist during the Spanish Civil War, worked hand and glove with the Communists and defended the Communist cause throughout the Civil War. This informant has no knowledge of Duran's present political ideology. (64-27446-38)

Francisco Marcos Rana, who is today an open member of the Communist Party of Spain and who fought with Duran during the entire Spanish Civil War and knew him well, advises that at the end of the war Duran commanded the Twenty-First Army Corps at Valencia, Spain, and that he remained at Valencia during the Madrid disturbances. According to this informant, Duran remained in Valencia prior to and during the struggle between the Communists and the Republicans at Madrid and did not participate in that struggle. He also states that Duran was a member of the Communist Party of Spain as were most of the officers of the Sixty-Ninth Army Corps. According to the informant, Duran during the war was a fervent militarist, but subsequent to Duran's departure from Spain he abandoned his Communist ideology and is today sincerely pro-American. The informant further states that he has had no contact with Duran since the end of the Spanish Civil War. (64-27446-43)

Dr. Juan Chabas, who was Juvenile Court Judge in Madrid prior to the Spanish Civil War and who fled from Madrid on November 7, 1936, advised that his son was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish Loyalist Army and fled from Madrid prior to Franco's entering the city. Dr. Chabas stated that his son had been a Communist in Spain and was very close to Gustavo Duran. Duran and Dr. Chabas' son fought together in Spain during the war and according to Dr. Chabas, Duran became a Communist although it is believed by him that Duran was not actually a member of the Communist Party at the beginning of the war, although he had many friends among the Communists and had worked with them. According to Dr. Chabas, it was not until after the war had begun that Duran joined the Communist Party. (64-27446-2page 3)

During the interview conducted with Duran on April 29, 1946 by agents of the FBI, Duran advised that he had never been a member of the Communist Party, nor has he ever been a member of the Unified Socialist Youth. He advised that there were two Socialist groups which merged some time prior to the Civil War with the Communist Party, but he was unfamiliar with this organization. Duran also stated that he has never given aid or assistance of any kind to the Communist newspaper "Mundo Obrero". Concerning his leadership of a youth brigade, Duran stated that he became a Major in August or September of 1936, and at that time was asked to organize a battalion of machine guns on motorcycles. He stated that there was no such thing as a motorized youth brigade and that the battalion which he organized existed mostly on paper. He stated further that the membership of the brigade contained all types of individuals and that to his knowledge the socialist youth did not make up a majority of this group. The battalion or brigade went into battle as an infantry unit at a place called "Navalcarnero." Duran further advised that he was activated in the Spanish Republican Army as a sergeant and received his commission rank by selection of other members of his battalion and that the first rank given him by decree of the Minister of War was that of Lieutenant Colonel. He served, however, for some time as a Major although this rank was not official. Duran also advised that he served on the staff of the Russian General Kleber as liaison officer between Kleber and General Miaja who was his superior officer. He served on General Kleber's staff as an interpreter in November and December, 1936. General Kleber was commander of the Eleventh International Brigade and later became commander of the North Sector of the forces defending Madrid. Concerning General Lister, Duran stated that Lister to his knowledge never

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attained the rank of General, but was probably a Colonel. He further advised that Lister was not a personal friend and that his brigade during the battle of Casa de Campo in April, 1937, was tactically assigned under General Lister's command. Concerning General Modestva, Duran advised that his connection was exactly the same as with General Lister, purely tactical. General Modestva was commander of the Fifth Army Corps and Duran's brigade was under his tactical command during the battle of Burnet in 1937. Also, in January, 1938, during the second phase of the battle of Teruel, Duran was again under the command of General Modestva. Duran denied that they were personal friends and stated that his relationship was not particularly good during the battle of Teruel and that he, Duran, filed a complaint to the Supreme Command concerning General Modestva's actions. Duran further advised that he commanded the Sixty-ninth Brigade holding the rank of Major. His command of this brigade was from the first days of January, 1937 until the first days of July, 1937. The Brigade which was a mobile unit fought under many commands including the battle of Casa de Campo under General Lister, mentioned above as well as under General Miaja. It also fought under the First Army Corps during the battle of La Gernja. Duran denied that he has ever had any command in the Twenty-second Army Corps, however, during the battle of Teruel he commanded the Forty-seventh Division, which was assigned to the Twenty-second Army Corps commanded by Lieutenant Colonel E. Ibarrola. He was under this command from late February or early March 1938, until the end of the so-called battle of Aragon, at which time Franco reached the sea and cut Spain in half. Duran also stated that he was under General Rojo, General Chief of Staff in the Army of Maneuvers. Also he commanded the Twentieth Army Corps, which was a unit of the Army of Levante, serving in that capacity as a Lieutenant Colonel. At the close of the war, Duran advised that he was in command of the Twentieth Army Corps and received his orders to surrender from General Menendez, who was his commanding General.

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According to Confidential Informant T-10, Duran from 1929 to 1932 was active in musical circles in Paris. In 1932 he returned to Spain working toward the organization of a Leftist syndicate. In 1933 he became associated with the Communist Party, in which he was outstanding due to his intelligence and knowledge of languages. This informant indicated that during the Spanish Civil War, Duran was the commander of a combat car unit on the Madrid Front, and that he attempted to administer discipline through cruel methods thereby causing chaos and havoc within his own ranks.

The informant also advised that through the Russian Government, Duran was named as the Chief of the S.I.M. (Servicio Inteligencia Militar), with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, placing his services at the disposal of the Communist Party. Duran, according to the informant, appointed approximately four hundred Communist agents, which action evoked the suspicion of the Popular Front Party to the point that the Minister of Defense, Indalecio Prieto, ordered his dismissal. Duran, according to the informant, fled to Valencia taking with him one hundred thousand pesetas entrusted to him by the Ministry of Defense as an installment for the first month's expenses and also taking with him an official car of the S.I.M. It was also stated that Duran came to have great influence in the "Red Army" because of his friendship with an unidentified Russian person who apparently had considerable influence. At this time also, according to the informant, Duran became friendly with the novelist, Ernest Hemingway, and it was pointed out that Duran was referred to by Hemingway in his book "For Whom the Bell Tolls." On fleeing Spain, Duran settled in London where he "exploited the notoriety" which Hemingway had given him and married an influential American citizen, who assisted him in becoming a naturalized American citizen.

According to this informant, Duran was identified as having had command as Lieutenant Colonel of the forty-seven divisions of the Army of Maneuvers, the Twentieth Army Corps and the Twenty-second Levantine Army Corps. This informant also distinguished the Gustavo Duran to which the above information referred from Casimiro Duran Munoz, who was also a Lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish Republican Army and who was organizer of the assassinations committed in the so-called "Tunnel of Death."

According to Confidential Informant T-11, Gustavo Duran from 1929 to 1932 studied in Paris in the company of Leftist writers, musicians and painters and was the protege of the famous French painter, Nestor. Duran returned to Spain in 1932 joining the Communist Party in 1933 and rendered the Party very valuable services as liaison man with Communists abroad.

Confidential Informant T-12, who is close to Communist circles in Spain and also close to individuals who knew Duran prior to the Spanish Civil War, has advised that Gustavo Duran is the son of a Spanish Army officer

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and a musical and theatrical student. He was known politically in Madrid as a fervent Communist. When the Spanish Civil War broke out Duran voluntarily joined the Communist militia and subsequently was assigned under the command of Colonel Mangada on the Madrid Front. Duran, according to this source, spent the best part of the war on this front ascending, with the aid and support of the Communist Party in the military, until he reached the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, the highest grade in the Spanish Republican Army given to non-professional officers. Duran later served as a Chief of the Army Corps on the Valencia Front. This source advised that close friends who served under him and with him cited him as an intelligent leader who always worked for political rather than military ends. According to this source, persons who knew Duran in Spain are unanimous in their opinion that he is the product of the Communist School, who follows the code "The end justifies the means" and these persons believe that Duran can adapt himself to new situations which may be ultimately beneficial to the political beliefs which he honors. Accordingly, this informant advised that despite Duran's pretense of conforming with the ideals of American democracy he is merely using these tactics for his own ends. Also it has been reported that the Communists have boasted that they had within the American Embassy in Cuba, an entirely trustworthy man who would act as a source of information for them and according to this source the opinion had been advanced that Gustavo Duran was possibly the man to whom they referred.

This informant also advised that the Gustavo Duran who was former Assistant in the American Embassy in Havana was identical with the individual mentioned in the above information.

Mr. Woodruff Wallner, State Department, on April 15, 1946, advised that he was the former American Vice Consul in Valencia, Spain, for a total of eight months, arriving in Valencia in the Summer of 1938. At the time of his arrival Gustavo Duran was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish Republican Army, commanding the Republican Unit which was defending the area surrounding Valencia. This front was an inactive front and the Spanish Republican Unit headed by Duran was engaged in defensive tactics only. Mr. Wallner advised that he met Duran through the usual course of business, inasmuch as Duran was friendly with Colonel Stephen Fuqua, American Military Attache (presently deceased). Duran was described by Mr. Wallner as being a "nice chap" who spoke good English and was regarded as a friendly element among the Spanish Republican sources. There was no indication at that time that Gustavo Duran was a Communist or a radical, however, Mr. Wallner pointed out that Duran could have been an active Communist at the time without the matter coming to his knowledge. On or about March 24, 1939, Gustavo Duran approached Mr. Wallner in the American Consulate stating that word had come from Madrid to surrender to the Franco Army and that further communications between Valencia and Madrid had been disrupted. Duran was seeking asylum inasmuch as Franco troops

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were beginning to penetrate the city occupying the same under the terms of surrender. Mr. Wallner stated that at this time a state of seige existed in Valencia and Duran was excited and emotionally upset and pled for asylum in the American Consulate in order to escape death at the hands of the Franco Army. Mr. Wallner related that he informed Duran that an American Consul could not afford asylum to a foreigner and suggested to Duran that he hide somewhere in Valencia until some plan could be worked out to assist him. Wallner instructed Duran to send a note by a woman or a small boy giving his hideout location. On the following day Mr. Wallner had luncheon with a British Vice Consul, who was identified as Alexander Ballentine. Ballentine was friendly with Duran and had used Duran as an informant and readily agreed to assist Duran in escaping. Mr. Wallner stated that late in March, the exact date unknown, he accompanied Alexander Ballentine in a British Embassy car to the house in Valencia where Duran was hiding out. Duran was smuggled into the car dressed in civilian clothes and did not appear to be a Spanish National. Mr. Wallner further related that according to Ballentine's story Duran was driven to the waterfront and placed aboard a launch in the harbor which carried Duran safely to a British destroyer anchored off shore. Ballentine is alleged to have introduced Duran to the port authorities as a French diplomat and hurried Duran by the port authorities in such a manner that he was not recognized by the [redacted] (64-27446-59)

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Juan Jose Manso, a Spanish Communist and Deputy to the last session of the Cortes in Mexico City, has advised that he, Manso, investigated Duran's activities in Cuba and sent reports to the Spanish Communist Party in France advising them of Duran's change of political affiliations and employment by the American Government. Manso stated that Angel Custodio, a Spanish Communist Party member employed by the newspaper "Hoy" in Havana, Cuba, was severely reprimanded by Spanish Communist Party leaders for attending social affairs with Spruille Braden and Duran. The reprimand was based on Duran being considered a traitor to the Spanish Communist Party. (64-27446-43)

In September, 1945, while Duran was serving in Argentina, Duran's wife is known to have resided in Washington, D. C., at the home of Dr. Ludwig Witold Rajchman, Polish representative to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Dr. Rajchman is a known contact of the Soviet Embassy and is reported by sources outside the Bureau as being a suspected agent of the NKVD.

According to Duran, in statements made during the interview of April 29, 1946, upon being advised that he would return to the United States from Buenos Aires, Argentina, Duran requested his wife to come to Washington, D. C., to obtain a place for the family to reside. Mrs. Duran contacted real estate agents and through a friend, Rosalind Walling, with whom she had gone to school, Mrs. Duran was told of a room at the home of a family whom Mr. Walling had known in connection with the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. Mrs. Duran took the room and prior to that time had never met Dr. or Mrs. Rajchman but was introduced to them upon her arrival. The Durans

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remained at that place for approximately one month, and a few days after Duran's arrival, he advised that his wife introduced him to Mrs. Rajchman, and a few days later through Mr. and Mrs. Walling he was introduced to Dr. Rajchman. According to Duran, at that time Rajchman made neither a favorable nor unfavorable impression upon Duran. Subsequent to that time Dr. Rajchman made a trip to Poland and Duran did not see him until approximately November of 1945. At that time Mrs. Rajchman telephoned the Durans, stating that she desired to have them attend a dinner at her home and the French Ambassador would also be in attendance. During the course of the evening a political discussion was held at which time Dr. Rajchman, according to Duran, made "fantastic conversation" to the effect that it was the purpose of the United States to wipe Russia completely off the map. Duran stated that he did not agree with Dr. Rajchman's statements and further resented Rajchman making these statements in the presence of the French Ambassador. Therefore, he left the home at 10:00 on that evening and neither he nor his wife have ever seen Dr. and Mrs. Rajchman again.

Confidential Informant T-14, who is considered reliable, has advised that according to the information in that informant's possession, Mr. Duran informed other individuals who contacted her while living at the Rajchman home that she and Gustavo Duran were staying "with friends" until they could find a place to live. Also according to this informant, Mr. and Mrs. Duran had complete freedom of the Rajchman house and apparently shared many friends with the Rajchman family. It is noted further that this informant has advised that Mrs. Duran first lived at the Rajchman home on approximately September 28, 1945, and according to the informant, remained at the Rajchman residence until the first week of November, 1945; also, this informant has advised that as late as December 12, 1945, the Durans and Rajchmans are known to have been in contact and on that particular date Mrs. Duran offered to help Mrs. Rajchman secure homes for Polish refugees. Also, the informant advised that plans were made on that date for Mrs. Rajchman to give a Christmas Party for Mrs. Duran's daughter. (64-27446-59)

It had previously been reported that Duran had made the statement regarding his residence at the Rajchman home, that his wife had secured the room through a newspaper ad appearing in the Washington papers. It is noted in this regard that an examination of the Washington Post, Washington Times-Herald, and the Washington Evening Star failed to reflect any classified advertisements for a room at the Rajchman home immediately prior to the date at which time Mrs. Duran began her residence at that address. (64-27446-59)

As previously mentioned, Gustavo Duran married Bonte Romilly Crompton in England on December 4, 1939. Duran's wife is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. David Henry Crompton of Rye, New York, and Wilton, New Hampshire. It is reported that the notation, "Bonte Crompton, Wilton, N.H.", was found among the papers of one Leon W. Davis of Detroit, Michigan, at the time of his arrest on February 6, 1940, in connection with charges of violation of United States laws based on enlistments in the Spanish Loyalist Army of Spain. Davis stated that Bone Crompton was a tourist whom he had met during his travels in France. During the interview on April 29, 1946, Duran stated that to his knowledge his wife had never been associated with the Communist Party or any organization which embraced its principles.



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Another Government agency advised on October 18, 1948 that a reliable source in France informed that Duran "has been in the pay of the Communists for the last fourteen or fifteen years". This source further advised that Duran was born in Spain and commanded a Republican Division during the Civil War and associates with highly important officials of the U. S. Government in Washington. Further that during 1932 and 1933 Duran spent some time in the USSR where he was given thorough training in Communism. Despite the fact that Duran has denounced Communism, the source believes that he retains his enthusiasm for the Party. (64-27446-146)

Confidential Informant New York City T-1, a reliable informant, advised in June, 1949 that Gustavo Duran was employed as Chief of the Section of Cultural Activities in the Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, Lake Success, New York, and according to information available has been with that organization since the latter part of 1946. (62-27446-114,151)

On September 20, 1948, Gregory G. Bern, author of the book entitled "Behind the Red Mask," advised the Los Angeles Office of the FBI, that Gustavo Duran was a member of the Soviet Secret Police during the Spanish Civil War. (62-81580-13)

In February, 1949, Herbert Solow, a member of the Editorial Staff of "Fortune" Magazine, New York City, was interviewed in connection with the case entitled "Jay David Whittaker Chambers, aka: Alger Hiss, aka et al, Perjury, Espionage - R, Internal Security - R". During the interview Solow advised that he had heard that Gustavo Duran was attached to the State Department and was believed sympathetic toward Communism. (74-1333-2995 p 15)

By letter dated March 28, 1947, another government agency advised that "One of the Communists personalities high up in this movement (International Brigade) is Gustavo Duran, a former State Department official." (100-7060-370)

In the November, 1949 issue of the "Partisan Republican" edited by the Political Education Committee of the Partisan Republicans of California, Los Angeles, California, there appears the following under the title "The Farcical Loyalty Program": "Gustavo Duran, was a member of the NKVD, the Soviet secret police in Spain during the Civil War in 1936. He came to the United States and, being a Communist, easily obtained a high position in the State Department." (62-90289-5)

By letter dated May 3, 1946, a comprehensive Summary of information concerning Gustavo Duran was transmitted to Mr. Spruille Braden, Assistant Secretary of State, who had requested this information. (Serial 82 of 64-27446)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : A. H. Belmont *abz dk*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, R-Wis.)

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

### PURPOSE

Pursuant to your request, there is attached hereto a summary memorandum on Gustavo Duran, aka Gustavo Duran Martinez. U

### BACKGROUND

You will recall that you requested a summary memorandum on Gustavo Duran because it appeared that Senator McCarthy would mention Duran in his forthcoming testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee. U

It will be noted that the Bureau conducted an investigation concerning Duran under the caption "Internal Security, Hatch Act" as a result of a request made on April 10, 1946, by Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden and on May 3, 1946, a comprehensive summary of information developed during the investigation of Duran was furnished to Mr. Braden. Copies of reports prepared were not sent to the State Department, since the investigation although carried under the caption "Internal Security - Hatch Act" was a special inquiry type of investigation. You will recall that you interviewed Duran during this investigation at which time he was questioned concerning his previous activities. Subsequent thereto it was determined on October 4, 1946, that Duran had resigned from the State Department to accept a position with the United Nations in New York and as of June, 1949, Duran was employed as Chief of the Section of Cultural Activities in the Department of Social Affairs, United Nations, Lake Success, New York. Subsequent to the special inquiry conducted in 1946, the Bureau has not conducted an active investigation concerning Duran, however, material has been received from time to time under the caption "Internal Security - R". By report dated June 20, 1949, the New York office advised of Duran's connection with the United Nations and the case has been in a closed status since that date. The information contained in the Bureau's files is voluminous and in order to give you the benefit of pertinent information contained therein it was necessary to prepare a lengthy summary memorandum. U

It will be noted that a Loyalty investigation was not conducted concerning Duran, since he left the State Department, prior to the issuance of Executive Order 9835 which instituted the Loyalty Program and his position with the United Nations does not come within the purview of the Order. U

### RECOMMENDATION

None. This is for your information.

~~INDEXED - 19~~

RECORDED - 19

Attachment EK-76  
EFM:lsh:kmh

EX-76

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*Handwritten initials/signature*

*Handwritten initials/signature*

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See file with 4/1 5-6-50

March 14, 1950

WILLIAM TREADWELL STONE

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 46 is the case of a man who holds a high position in the State Department. He had been affiliated with the magazine Amerasia from May 1937 to November 1941. This magazine consistently followed the Communist Party line. It was under the direction of Philip Jaffe and William Vanderbilt Field. Field has been a leading Communist and was one of the heads of the American Peace Mobilization, which the President and the Secretary of State publicly labeled as a tool of communism. Jaffe, as Senators will recall, was convicted and fined in connection with John Service incident. It will be recalled that the FBI picked up Service for having delivered secret State Department documents to Amerasia. The State Department files show that this individual has been working very closely with these two men. On March 22, 1946, the State Department's own security agency recommended as follows:

"It is recommended that action be instituted to terminate subject's service with the State Department. It is suggested to achieve this purpose that an appropriate officer of the Department should inform him that his continued presence in the Department is embarrassing to the Department and that he be given an opportunity to resign. If he should not resign voluntarily, action should be instituted under Civil Service Rule No. 12, to terminate his services with the Department.

"The Department, however, took no action upon this recommendation.

"After that recommendation, the files show that this individual requested a fellow traveler to seek a position with the Board of Economic Warfare. The file further shows that this individual has been visited on several occasions by an alien fellow traveler. He has also recommended two former employees of the Amerasia Editorial Board to positions with the State Department. In other words, Mr. President, the usual tactics of getting into an important position and then bringing in fellow Communists.

"A report dated August 18, 1947, recorded an interview with a former member of the Editorial Board of Amerasia who labeled this individual as 'far to the left—awfully close to a fellow traveler.' This individual was a subscriber to the Daily Worker. The file names a Communist Party member who has twice worked for this individual. The Biographical Register of the State Department shows him to be still in a position of importance there."

ENCLOSURE

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### Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau's files indicates that this individual is apparently identical with William Treadwell Stone, who, as of May 27, 1949, was employed as Director of the Office of Information and Educational Exchange, Department of State.

The Bureau's records reflect that a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation together with a Voice of America investigation was conducted concerning William Treadwell Stone which developed the following information.

From 1924 to 1941 Stone was connected with Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York City. In January, 1927, the Foreign Policy Association was reported to have been sponsored in its inception by the American Civil Liberties Union and at that time favored United States recognition of the USSR. In June, 1927 the Director of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State, advised that the Foreign Policy Association was considered to be pro-Soviet in its views and propaganda. (62-80315-5 pg 2)

In October, 1945 a reliable informant advised that Ruth S. Rifkin, who had been employed as a secretary by Stone and others at the Foreign Policy Association, had transferred her membership in the Communist Party from the Peter Stuyvesant Club, New York City, to the undercover "Government Group" in Washington, D. C. Ruth Rifkin secured employment with the Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Department of State, May, 1943 and was transferred to the Foreign Economic Administration when this administration was established. William Treadwell Stone was at this time employed as Assistant Director of the Foreign Economic Administration. Ruth Rifkin is presently employed by the National Lawyers Guild in Washington, D. C. (62-80315-4 pg 4; 121-10973-14 pg 3)

In February, 1942 William Treadwell Stone was listed as a reference on an application filed with the Foreign Economic Administration, Department of State, by Just Lunning. Lunning was reliably reported to have been a known contact of numerous subjects in the Gregory Case and was later discharged from a responsible position at the Department of State. (62-80315-3)

In 1937 Stone became a member of the original Editorial Board of "Anerasia" of which magazine Frederick Vanderbilt Field was Chairman and Philip Jacob Jaffe, Editor. In 1946 Jaffe was indicted and fined for the possession of secret State Department documents which had been delivered to him by John Service, an employee of the Department of State. In 1941

Frederick Vanderbilt Field was head of the American Peace Mobilization and at the present time, according to reliable informants, is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and a writer for the Daily Worker. (121-10973-14 page 6; 62-80315-8) U

November 19, 1939, while Stone was employed as the Washington Correspondent of the Foreign Policy Association, he was visited by Adam Von Trott Zu Zolz, a German alien who was suspected of engaging in German espionage and Communist activity. (121-10973-14 page 2) U

During an interview with Clinton Hartley Grattan, conducted by special agents of the Bureau in connection with a Hatch Act investigation, Grattan advised that he had been asked by Stone to take a position under him with the Board of Economic Warfare, Department of State. The records of the HCUA reflected that Grattan had written an article for "Fight" magazine, the official publication of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and was a contributor to and an advisory editor of the magazine "Champion," the official organ of the Young Communist League. Stone, in a subsequent interview, stated that he considered Grattan a "liberal writer" but definitely not a "radical." (121-10973-14 page 7) U

An informant of known reliability advised in December, 1945, that Stone was a friend of Maurice Halperin. This informant reported that Halperin was known to have been in contact with several persons suspected of engaging in Soviet espionage activities in the late 1930's and early 1940's in Washington, D. C., and New York City. (121-10973-14 page 2) U

A reliable informant advised that William T. Stone, Room 1359, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., was a subscriber to the Daily Worker in 1941. According to the Biograph Encyclopedia of the World, Stone was Director of the Washington Bureau, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., from 1933 to 1941. The Washington offices of the Foreign Policy Association are located in the National Press Building. (100-3-60-75-163) U

Copies of Loyalty of Government Employees reports concerning Stone were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission on July 30, 1948, and to the Office of Special Investigations, Department of the Air Force on April 7, 1949. U

The Bureau file reflects that as of May 27, 1949, Stone was still employed as Director, Office of Information and Educational Exchange, Department of State, Washington, D. C. U

March 14, 1950

HALDORE EUGENE HANSON  
Executive Assistant to Assistant Secretary  
for Public and Cultural Relations  
U. S. Department of State

Background

Haldore Eugene Hanson was born on April 22, 1912, at Virginia, Minnesota. From 1934 through 1937 Hanson served as a teacher of English at the YMCA Commercial College, Peiping, and Central China College, Wuchang, both in China. During 1936 through 1937 he was Hankow Correspondent for the Associated Press, the North China Herald, and editorial writer for the Hankow Herald. From 1937 through 1939 Hanson was a correspondent for the Associated Press at Shanghai, China, and was assigned to the Japanese troops, the Chinese Guerrilla Forces and with the Chinese Central Government Forces. The employee was engaged in writing the book "Humane Endeavor" from February to September, 1939. He was again employed by the Associated Press in Chicago, Illinois, from September, 1939 to 1942. In February, 1942 he started employment with the Department of State, Washington, D. C., and from September, 1947 to the present (May, 1948) he has been Acting Chief, Office of Information and Education Exchange, Far Eastern Division, Department of State.

Basis for Investigation

The Congressional Record of May 14, 1947, reveals that on that date Congressman Fred E. Busbey, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., made a speech dealing with the activities and composition of the Cultural and Information Division of the U. S. State Department. He stated the activities of this division were "conducted by a group of pro-Communist fellow-travelers and muddleheads; they filled the ether and tons of paper with a combination of material favorable to the Soviet Union and the Communists, or just plain twaddle." Among the personnel conducting the program of this division he mentioned Haldore E. Hanson, Assistant Secretary of the Office of Information and Culture. According to Congressman Busbey, the employee by his writings indicated that he enjoyed the complete confidence of the Chinese Communists when he was in China, had been given official documents by the Chinese Communists and safe conduct through their lines. In this same speech Hanson was identified with the Central Hopei Mass Movement which was stated to be a part of the official Communist plan. Congressman Busbey further alleged that Hanson enthusiastically related in his writings the aims and achievements of the Chinese Communists.

Results of Investigation

The following is a summary of the disloyal information developed as a result of the investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning the captioned individual under the provisions of Executive Order 9835:

A copy of the aforementioned speech by Congressman Fred E. Busbey as

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contained in the Congressional Record of May 14, 1947, commencing on page 5433, was enclosed as an exhibit in furnishing the results of the loyalty investigation to the Civil Service Commission. Also enclosed as exhibits were photostatic copies of several magazine articles written by the employee, some of which were referred to in the speech by Congressman Busbey. These articles were identified as follows:

"Smuggler, Soldier and Diplomat," Review of Reviews, February, 1937, Page 67

"China's 50-50 Chance," The Nation, Page 400, April 8, 1939

"The Situation in Central Hopei," The China Weekly Review, May 7, 1938

"With the Fighting Reds Inside the Japanese Lines," Asia, August, 1938, Page 453

"China Has an Army," Review of Reviews, July, 1937, Page 54

Representative Fred E. Busbey, U. S. House of Representatives, was interviewed and he stated that he was not personally acquainted with the activities of the employee. He stated that his knowledge of Hanson was obtained from research which had been included in a speech which he made on the floor of the House of Representatives and which is contained in the Congressional Record referred to above. Representative Busbey could furnish no further information regarding the loyalty of the employee.

The "Chicago Daily News" for June 11, 1947 contains a by-line of Wallace R. Deuell of the "Daily News" Foreign Service. This by-line states in part:

"Here are Busbey's (Congressman Fred E. Busbey, 3rd Illinois Congressional District) statements about Hanson, and Benton's (Assistant Secretary of State William Benton) replies as given in the Assistant Secretary's memorandum:

"Busbey 'A book by Hanson entitled Humane Endeavor shows that Hanson travelled with the Chinese Communist Armies, was given safe conduct through their lines, travelled in the Commander's motor-car, and received Chinese Communist documents.'

"This shows that Hanson enjoyed the complete confidence of the Chinese Communists.

"Reply - 'Mr. Busbey does not state that Mr. Hanson's book is a description of the Japanese invasion of China in 1937-38, that

Mr. Hanson was writing as a War Correspondent of the Associated Press, that he carried Press Credentials from both the American Embassy and the Chinese National Government, and that the Associated Press assigned him to cover the North China front, which was defended by the Communist Armies.

"Mr. Hansen's despatches, as well as his book, pointed out that the Chinese Communists were still engaged in proselytising, despite the Japanese invasion.

"Mr. Kent Cooper, General Manager of the Associated Press, sent Mr. Hanson his personal commendation on these reports from the Communist front, and Mr. Hanson's reports were reprinted at length in both 'Time' magazine and 'Reader's Digest'."

The Washington Times Herald of May 22, 1947 carried an editorial on page 14 entitled, "Voice of What?" This article reads in part: "Conducted by a group of pro-Communist fellow-travelers and muddleheads, they fill the ether with tons of material favorable to the Soviet Union and the Communists, or just plain twaddle. The quotation is from a recent speech in the House by Representative Fred E. Busbey (R) of Illinois about the 'Voice of America'." This article further reads in part: "Benton's three top assistants in charge of the 'Voice of America' broadcasts have been Messrs. William T. Stone, Haldore E. Hanson, and Charles H. Thomson.

"Stone is an ex-member of the Editorial Board of 'Amerasia' magazine, which has printed large amounts of pro-Russian copy. Hanson was for long a soldier of fortune in China, where his best friends and confidants were Chinese Communists. He was shifted hurriedly to another State Department niche when the Congressional heat was turned on the 'Voice'. Thomson has had considerable to do with production of pro-Communist movies, and is on record with some loud praises of the Communists' activities in the Spanish Civil War."

Mention was made in Congressman Busbey's speech that Hanson joined a group in Peiping, China, headed by Edgar Snow and his wife, who were organizing a new political magazine. Reliable informants of the FBI have related that Edgar Snow and his wife are Communist Party sympathizers, are acquainted with prominent Communists, and have written pro-Communist literature.

A memorandum from the Director's Office dated March 3, 1948 states that Bob Lee advised that a very responsible State Department employee told him that he had heard from Mrs. Bouchard, who is Legal Representative for the AFL on the Hill, that she had seen at the AFL Headquarters a photostatic copy of Hanson's membership card in the Communist Party. Further, a memorandum dated March 9, 1948 from Mr. W. R. Glavin of this Bureau relates that while discussing other matters with Congressman Karl Stefan he mentioned that Sam Davenport had advised him that an individual



by the name of Hanson, presently employed in the State Department, is to go to China soon, may be Communistically inclined and that Sam Davenport supposedly had seen or has in his possession a photostatic copy of a Communist Party membership card of Hanson's.

In the course of the loyalty investigation Congressman Karl Stefan was interviewed, at which time he stated that the foregoing information had been furnished to him by Sam Davenport, who, in turn, stated that he got this information from William C. Bourne of the State Department. In turn, when Bourne was interviewed he stated that Muna Lee of the State Department had given him this information and she, in turn, upon interview, stated that the information emanated from Selma Borchardt. The latter, upon interview, stated that she had never seen such a card nor did she know of anyone who had seen such evidence of membership in the Communist Party. The investigative reports do not mention the above allegation specifically since, as noted above, the allegation was traced to its original source [redacted] and found to be without basis. However, interviews were reported with Samuel R. Davenport, William C. Bourne, Muna C. Lee and Selma M. Borchardt. Davenport, Bourne and Miss Lee indicated generally that they had no information reflecting on Hanson's loyalty. Miss Selma M. Borchardt, Vice-President and Legislative Representative, American Federation of Teachers, American Federation of Labor, advised that she was not personally acquainted with the employee but knew him only by his writings, all of which she had read. She stated that she did not believe Hanson to be a member of the Communist Party, but rather one who is rather "ignorant of the real motives of Communism." She explained this by referring to a statement of Hanson in one of his writings to the effect that, "Everything good in China has been brought about by the Communists." Miss Borchardt stated that she considered this statement unintelligent. She advised that judging from his writings Hanson is unaware of the moral and political destructiveness of the Communists and because of this she stated he is to be considered as a "security risk." Miss Borchardt added that she did not question the loyalty of the employee but did question his fitness for the job which he holds.

Raymond D. Chadwick, Dean of the Duluth Junior College, advised that Hanson had been an editorial writer for the school paper as well as an associate editor while he attended the Duluth Junior College from September, 1930 until June, 1931. Dean Chadwick made available a letter that Hanson had written to Maude Young, the debate teacher at Duluth Junior College, dated June 12, 1936 from which the following is quoted: "Last night I was over at a Jewish friend's house, discussing Carl Marx; this fellow is a former stock broker in New York, and Peiping's number one communist intellectual." A photostatic copy of this letter was furnished to the Civil Service Commission in transmitting the results of this investigation.

[redacted] informed that she recalled Hanson as a student at the Duluth Junior College and stated that he had corresponded with her after he had settled down in China. She identified the letter previously referred to and said that Hanson was the type of person who would go to almost any end to broaden his thinking and for that reason associated with men of "every political belief" to obtain their viewpoints. With reference to the letter in question, she stated that Hanson's contact with Peiping's number one communist intellectual was indicative of his endeavor to broaden his education and obtain experience in new political thought.

Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, writer and lecturer, Chelsea Hotel, New York City, furnished information on March 1, 1948 that Haldore E. Hanson, an employee of the State Department in the Division of Cultural Relations, had worked actively with the Chinese Communists prior to joining the State Department in 1942. Stolberg also reported that Hanson had contributed to "Amerasia" and to "Pacific Affairs." When reinterviewed Stolberg stated that he had obtained his information on Hanson during the course of gathering material for his writings. He added that his information was obtained from research and from persons close to the State Department who were acquainted with Communist activities. He made an extensive search of his files but was unable to locate any notes or papers relating to the employee. Mr. Stolberg recalled that Hanson had been actively associated with the Chinese Communists during his years in China prior to joining the State Department and also that Hanson had written articles for "Amerasia" and "Pacific Affairs." However, he was unable to recall the exact source of his information.

[redacted] New York City, stated that he was not personally acquainted with Haldore Hanson but had noted that Hanson had written articles for "Amerasia" and "Pacific Affairs." [redacted] referred to his notes and remarked that he had a reference to an article written by Haldore Hanson which appeared in the September, 1938 issue of "Pacific Affairs." [redacted] stated that in his opinion the Chinese Communists would not have allowed a reporter to travel behind their lines unless he was a Communist or pro-Communist.

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"Amerasia" was cited in a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, page 1446, in a list of Communist Party and Party line organizations.

"Pacific Affairs" is published by the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Institute of Pacific Relations was referred to as "a notorious Communist front" in an article by David Sentner in the "New York Journal American" on May 8, 1947.

Mr. Louis Budenz, former Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker," East Coast Communist daily newspaper, stated, "The Communist Party did have very great influence in the Institute of Pacific Relations and at times controlled its policy."

Various articles by Haldore Hanson were published in "Pacific Affairs" and "Amerasia," copies of which were furnished to the Civil Service Commission in transmitting the results of the loyalty investigation. These articles are set forth as follows:

"The People Behind the Chinese Guerrillas" published in "Pacific Affairs" September, 1938, page 285. This article is an analysis of the Communist led Chinese Guerrilla Forces and the strategy used by them to enlist the support of the people

In "Pacific Affairs," June, 1939, pages 184 and 185, Hanson comments on an article by R. Ernest Dupuy, "The Nature of Guerrilla Warfare"

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"Firebrands and Chinese Politics" is published in "Amerasia," April, 1939, pages 78 - 82

"Japanese Balance Sheet in China" is published in "Amerasia," June, 1939, page 158

Mr. William Benton, Chairman of the Board, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, advised that when he replaced Archibald MacLeish as head of the Cultural Division of the U. S. State Department, Haldore Hanson was assigned as one of his two assistants. Mr. Benton stated that he soon learned that Hanson's name was on various "government Communist lists" and he decided to look into the matter. Mr. Benton stated that he read Hanson's file in the State Department and decided that "it was full of suspicion" without any conclusive evidence that Hanson was a Communist. Mr. Benton stated that he then called Hanson in for questioning and Hanson denied being a Communist. Mr. Benton stated that he then asked Hanson to relate any incidents in his life that he could think of which might cause people to think him to be a Communist. Mr. Benton stated that Hanson told him that he could only think of two things: (1) That he had been with the Associated Press in China and had covered the activities of the Chinese Communists. He later had written a book and several articles about China which had been published in "Amerasia;" and (2) He had spent a week end at the home of a wealthy man who was a financial supporter of "Amerasia." Mr. Benton was unable to recall the name of the man that Hanson had mentioned but said that Hanson stated that he received the week end invitation as a result of submitting articles to the "Amerasia" office after his return from China. Mr. Benton stated that Hanson was his assistant for about 18 months and "during that time I never saw one shred of evidence to indicate that he is a Communist or even pro-Communist. You can say for me that I never heard him say anything that would cause me to question his loyalty. Of course, I do not know what he might have been doing after working hours." Mr. John Howe, Assistant to Mr. Benton, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, stated that he had been an assistant to Mr. Benton while in the State Department and had worked with Haldore Hanson for two years. Mr. Howe stated: "I saw Hanson almost every day for two years and during that time I never heard him say one disloyal word. You can say for me that I had no cause to question Hanson's loyalty."

Miss Eloise ReQua, Director, Library of International Relations, 84 East Randolph, Chicago, Illinois, was listed by the employee as a character reference in 1942. Upon interview Miss ReQua advised that she had been well acquainted with Haldore Hanson and his wife, Bernice, for the past 10 or 12 years, stating that the employee first came to her attention due to literary contributions he had made to the publication "Institute of Pacific Relations" which she recalled were factual accounts of his experiences in China during the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and North China. Miss ReQua did not have copies of this material and stated that the Institute was no longer in existence. She added that on Hanson's return to the United States in 1939 he was invited by her to speak at off-the-record round-table

discussions held at the Library of International Relations, but she stated there was nothing in the content of these talks which would reflect on his loyalty as an American citizen. [redacted] advised that she regarded Hanson and his wife as loyal Americans and that nothing to the contrary had ever come to her attention.

Confidential Informant New York T-1 in October, 1945 reported that in the first annual report of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship Eloise ReQua was among those listed as signing a letter of that organization issued by its Initiating Committee. Confidential Informant [redacted] who at times has furnished unreliable information, reported that [redacted] was listed as a sponsor of the Chicago Society for American-Soviet Relations in a letter explaining that organization's becoming affiliated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and advising that the Chicago Society for American-Soviet Relations was changing its name to Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship. This same informant supplied a letter dated October 1, 1943, under the letterhead of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which letter listed [redacted] among the organization's sponsors. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was listed by the Attorney General on November 24, 1947, as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. b7D

Quincy Wright, Professor of International Law, University of Chicago, residing at 5744 South Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, advised that he was acquainted with Haldore Hanson. He stated he had visited with Hanson in Washington on several occasions during the war. He described Hanson as a loyal American citizen. Confidential Informant New York T-1 in October, 1945, reported that Quincy Wright was among those listed as signing a letter issued by the Initiating Committee of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship and so listed in the first annual report of that council.

The files of Washington T-1 (Security Division, Department of State) contained a personal history statement by Hanson dated February 4, 1942. One of the references mentioned on this form is Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University, Editor and Envoy. Reliable informants have advised that Owen Lattimore is an associate of pro-Soviet and pro-Communist sympathizers as well as known Communist Party members. He is reported to have appeared on a program sponsored by the American Peace Mobilization and in 1941 to have been a sponsor of a meeting of the Washington Committee to aid China. He is also reported to have been a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

It is to be noted that after the invasion of Russia by Germany in 1941, the American Peace Mobilization became known as American People's Mobilization. The American Peace Mobilization has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has also been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The Washington Committee for Aid to China has been declared by the House Un-American Activities Committee in its report of March 29, 1944, as a Communist front. U

Washington T-2, stated that the Washington Committee for Aid to China was completely controlled by the Communist Party.

Washington T-3 stated that the Washington Committee for Aid to China was infiltrated by and finally controlled by the Communist Party.

Copies of the book "Humane Endeavor" written by the employee were not transmitted to the Civil Service Commission as exhibits to the loyalty reports but the Civil Service Commission was advised in the letter transmitting the reports that a copy of this book was available at the Library of Congress.

The results of the investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning the employee under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission on June 24, 1948. By letter dated September 30, 1948 the Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, U. S. Civil Service Commission, advised that the employee was being "retained" in his position.

March 14, 1950

CHARLES ALEXANDER THOMSON  
Director  
Office of the Assistant for  
Public and Cultural Relations  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Charles Alexander Thomson was born November 15, 1893, at Springfield, Ohio. He was appointed as Assistant Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, on February 15, 1939.

Basis for Investigation

The Congressional Record of May 14, 1947, page 5435, contained the following statements made by Congressman Fred E. Busbey (R. Indiana) regarding Charles Alexander Thomson:

"Another member of the leading triumvirate in Mr. Benton's office is Charles Alexander Thomson. In a study entitled 'The War in Spain,' published in Foreign Policy Reports of May 1, 1938, page 39, he has the following eulogy of the work of the Communists:

"To the Communists must go the major credit for the introduction of order and unity in this nondescript army. \*\*\* On the Government side, the most important political developments have been: (1) the rise of the Communist Party; (2) the working alliance effected by the Communists with the right-wing Socialists and the Republican Parties; \*\*\* (3) the decline of Communist influence and its later resurgence in the cabinet formed on April 4, 1938. \*\*\* When Franco troops approached Madrid early in November 1936, a new and decisive foreign influence appeared on the scene. Russian aid had arrived—not only airplanes and tanks, but also advisers, technicians and the forces of the International Brigade, in many instances recruited by Communist agencies. Thanks in great part to Soviet influence, the Spanish revolution was not destined—as has so often been the case in history—to pass from the hands of moderates to those of extremists. Instead, the Communists cast their weight against radical trends; they proclaimed that the purpose of the war was not to advance social revolution, but to defend a legal and democratic government.

"The Spanish Communists must be credited with significant achievements. They led in transforming the militia into a disciplined army, and encouraged a unified command. They worked to unify and strengthen the central government as against the local committees. They put a check on wholesale socialization of industry and collectivization of agriculture. They sought to substitute discipline under centralized authority for the spontaneous and disorderly enthusiasm of the masses. They demanded that the social revolution be definitely subordinated to the task of winning the war.

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"The Communists, whose numbers had not exceeded 50,000 prior to the revolt, derived power to enforce these policies from various factors. First, of course, was aid from the Soviet Union. A second factor was superior organizing ability shown by their success in marshaling support both within the army and behind the lines. The Communists won the allegiance of General Miaja and many other officers, largely controlled the commissar system and the censorship, and were particularly strong in the Madrid forces and in the aviation corps. In the third place, the Communists skillfully exploited a policy of moderation toward socialization of industry and agriculture, which gained the support of numerous middle-class elements, notably small business men and the richer peasants. In consequence their numbers showed a marked increase, being estimated at 220,000 in January 1937, and 400,000 in September of the same year.

"This report is in complete contradiction to the statements of numerous anti-Franco authorities to the atrocities and disruption committed by the Communists under their Russian commissars in the Spanish Civil War.

"According to Mr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, former American Ambassador to Spain, in his book, *Wartime Mission to Spain*, Mr. Thomson was responsible for the appointment of Abel Flenn as cultural attache in Spain. Mr. Flenn's ideology can be determined from his recent book, *Wind in the Olive Trees*, which is severely critical of every phase of American policy in Spain during the war. His pro-Communist bias is evident throughout the book which has been enthusiastically promoted by the Communist press and Communist book shops.

"According to the *Daily Worker* of July 4, 1946, page 11, Mr. Thomson entered into hearty cooperation with Tom Brandon, producer and distributor of pro-Communist films. This is enough to show where Mr. Thomson stands."

#### Results of Investigation

Congressman Fred E. Busbey was interviewed during the loyalty investigation, at which time he advised that he had no additional information regarding Charles A. Thomson other than what is set forth in the Congressional Record of May 14, 1947.

It will be noted that Thomson has not previously been identified as one of the individuals referred to by Senator McCarthy; however, in the material furnished by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on January 29, 1948, which was taken from the State Department files, Thomson is described as "Case No. 58." The State Department files indicate that Thomson was at that time assigned to UNESCO. According to information received on October 22, 1946, from several sources, it is reported in the State Department files that Thomson associated and was in sympathy with various left wing elements; allegedly the friend of Charles Page, who was removed from the Department of State on the basis of his long record of Communist activities; and, together with William Treadwell Stone, was trying to secure a position for Page in the Cultural Relations Division of the Department, even though his record as a

Communist was well known. A notation appears in the State Department files that Thomson and Stone were both employed in the Cultural Relations Division during the time of Lee's investigation. The State Department files also indicate that in an article appearing in the Daily Worker in 1946 Thomson allegedly addressed a meeting concerning films for UNESCO along with Thomas J. Brandon of the Film Council of America, a well known propagandist. The State Department files also indicated that the investigation of Thomson, was pending at that time.

During the loyalty investigation the records of Washington T-1 (State Department) were examined and reflected the following comments in answer to the statements of Congressman Busbey as set forth above:

1. Foreign Policy Reports, published by the Foreign Policy Association in New York, are balanced and objective statements on current international issues giving conclusions supported by evidence. Each report, before publication by the FPA, is submitted to outstanding authorities for criticism.

The Congressman, in his statement, removed three paragraphs from the context of this report by Mr. Thomson. The paragraphs concern the military discipline and organizing ability of Spanish Communists. The Congressman did not quote a number of paragraphs in the same report by Mr. Thomson concerning the work of the Communist Political Police, including references to assassinations and clandestine prisons.

2. Abel Flenn never served as Cultural Attache in Madrid. Abel Flenn is not mentioned in Mr. Hayes' book.

Abel Flenn was sent to Spain by OWI early in 1944 to take charge of picture exhibits. He was ordered home by OWI after several months of service in Spain. OWI records available in the Department of State show that Mr. Flenn was terminated involuntarily on January 9, 1945. He never had any connection with the State Department and Charles Thomson had nothing to do with his appointment by OWI.

(Ambassador Hayes does mention in his book, page 75, that he wrote to Charles Thomson requesting appointment of a Cultural Attache. He also states on page 77 that Professor John Van Horne of the University of Illinois, a specialist in Spanish language and literature, was sent. Ambassador Hayes speaks favorably of the work of Professor Van Horne.)

3. The Daily Worker, on July 4, 1946, page 11, says nothing about Mr. Thomson entering into hearty cooperation with Tom Brandon.

The Daily Worker story reports that the American Council on Education invited 82 national organizations to discuss an international film program for UNESCO. The article concludes: "The meetings were addressed by Thomas J. Brandon, New York Film Council; William H. Wells of UNRRA; Charles A. Thomson and others." This is the only reference to Charles Thomson.



A photostatic copy of the pertinent page of the Congressional Record, a photostatic copy of the article entitled "War in Spain," and a photostatic copy of the article appearing in the July 4, 1946, issue of the Daily Worker were transmitted with the reports as exhibits. U

In the May 22, 1947, issue of the "Washington Times Herald" an editorial appeared captioned "Voice of What," which was a denunciation of the State Department's Voice of America Program. The editorial relates that the Voice of America Program was the State Department's radio set-up under Assistant Secretary of State William Benton and that Benton's three top assistants in the Voice of America Program were Messrs. William T. Stone, Haldore E. Hanson and Charles A. Thomson. The editorial describes Stone as being a member of the Editorial Board of Amerasia magazine, which printed large amounts of pro-Russian copy; further, that Hanson was a long time soldier of fortune in China where his last friends and confidants were Chinese Communists. According to the editorial, Hanson was shifted hurriedly to another State Department "niche" when the Congressional heat was turned on the Voice of America. In connection with Thomson, the editorial related that he had had "considerable to do with the production of pro-Communist movies, and is on record with some loud praises of the Communist activities in the Spanish Civil War." U

In connection with William Treadwell Stone and Haldore E. Hanson, mentioned above, it will be noted that they are subjects of full field loyalty investigations conducted in 1948 based upon Congressman Busbey's accusations of Stone and Hanson which appeared in the Congressional Record of May 14, 1947, when Congressman Busbey was speaking about the activities and composition of the Cultural and Information Division of the State Department. Congressman Busbey, in his testimony, indicated that Hanson and Stone were a part of this Division, concerning which he related the following: "But the activities of the Cultural and Information Division of the State Department must not be confused with a sound program. As carried on today, they are a monstrosity costing the nation millions of dollars and serving no constructive purpose for the United States. Conducted by a group of pro-Communists, fellow travelers and muddle heads, they fill the ether and tons of paper with a combination of material favorable to the Soviet Union and the Communists, or just plain twaddle." U

Congressman Busbey further stated in his testimony that William Treadwell Stone had previously been a member of the Editorial Board of the magazine Amerasia from 1937 to 1941, whose manager was Philip Jacob Jaffe, who had been indicted and fined for the possession of confidential government documents. U

Regarding Charles A. Page, who was mentioned in Lee's material as being a friend of Thomson, the files of Washington T-1 (State Department) reflect that he, Page, was found to be a "definite security risk," who was removed from the Department on the basis of his long record of Communist activities. In this connection Washington T-2, a reliable informant, has identified Charles A. Page as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. William Dawson, former United States Ambassador to Uruguay, advised that he had been acquainted with Thomson and his program in the Cultural Relations Division of the State Department. He stated that he knew Thomson and Charles A. Page had been associated in that program and that they were friends; further, that he himself felt that he was responsible for the appointment of Page as Cultural Attache to Montevideo, Uruguay, inasmuch as when he was Ambassador to Uruguay he had requested Page to come to Uruguay at that time to be employed. Dawson stated that regardless of the association of Page and Thomson he did not believe that Page was a Communist and that even though Page might be Communistically inclined, that he did not believe that would indicate that Charles A. Thomson was inclined toward Communism or disloyal to the United States. U

Washington T-3, a reliable informant, advised that Mr. Thomson is probably not opposed to Communism but that Thomson himself is not a Communist or tinged with Communism. He stated that when he knew the employee in Central America many years ago, Thomson had associated with persons who were at least "pro-Communist or leaned toward Communism." The informant stated that he considers the employee to be loyal to the United States. U

Washington T-4, a reliable informant, advised that he knew Charles A. Thomson in Central America during 1930 and 1931. He stated that Thomson had associated with pro-Communists and some known Communists in Central America. T-4 stated that he could not say definitely that Thomson was pro-Communist but felt that Thomson could be considered at least "not to be trusted." The most apt description that the informant could give was a term applied to him rather generally, "the anti-American American." In explanation of this term T-4 advised that the name was attached to him inasmuch as it seemed that everything American Thomson opposed. The informant declined to furnish a signed statement and does not desire to appear before a Loyalty Board. U

Washington T-5, a reliable informant, advised that he had attended numerous UNESCO conferences with the employee. He stated that he could not point to any provable actions of disloyalty by specific instances or activities on the part of the employee but that "to say the least thought he was a person of poor judgment and indiscretion and would consider him a security risk for making such appointments to the State Department as Charles A. Page, a known Communist." Washington T-5 stated that Thomson and associates of Thomson must be judged by the "whole pattern of their activity." He stated that "if they allow infiltration of pro-Communist individuals and appoint pro-Communists and Communist sympathizers, it must be said at least that their judgment and discretion are to be questioned from a security point of view and that, therefore, they constitute security risks." The informant refused to give a signed statement and will not appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board. U

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were checked during the investigation and noted to contain the statement reflected by the Congressional Record dated May 14, 1947, made by Congressman Fred E. Busbey regarding Charles A. Thomson.

Co-workers, associates and neighbors advised that they consider Thomson to be a loyal American.

Reports to CSC July 7, 1948.

Disposition

"Retained," February 4, 1949.

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*g*

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd *Dr*

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont *g Bz*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY -  
R - WISCONSIN)

DATE: March 14, 1950 *mt*

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Rosen

Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

## PURPOSE

To furnish you with summary memoranda on Charles Alexander Thomson and Haldore Eugene Hanson pursuant to your request. Also, attached for your assistance is summary memorandum on William Treadwell Stone.

## BACKGROUND

You will recall that Senator McCarthy referred to Haldore E. Hanson in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Monday, March 13, 1950, as having "pro-Communist proclivities." In connection with Charles Alexander Thomson, you requested a summary on him since it appeared that Senator McCarthy would mention Thomson in his forthcoming testimony.

It will be noted that in the May 14, 1947, issue of the "Congressional Record," Congressman Fred E. Busbey made allegations concerning the Cultural and Information Division and the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs of the State Department. Included in his allegations were William Treadwell Stone, Director of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, Haldore E. Hanson, Assistant Secretary of the Office of Information and Culture, and Charles A. Thomson, who Busbey referred to as another member of the leading triumvirate in Mr. William Benton's Office. Congressman Busbey identified Stone as being a former member of the Editorial Board of Amerasia magazine, whose managing editor, Philip Jacob Jaffe, was indicted and convicted and fined for the possession of confidential government documents. In speaking of the Cultural and Information Division of the State Department, Congressman Busbey stated, "The activities of the Cultural and Information Division of the State Department must not be confused with a sound program. As carried on today, they are a monstrosity costing the nation millions of dollars and serving no constructive purpose for the United States. Conducted by a group of pro-Communists, fellow travelers, and muddle heads, they fill the ether and tons of paper with a combination of material favorable to the Soviet Union and the Communists, or just plain twaddle."

It will be noted that the Bureau conducted full field investigations on Hanson, Thomson, and Stone based on Congressman Busbey's allegations as reported in the "Congressional Record" of May 14, 1947, as set forth above. The reports prepared during the investigation on Thomson were sent to the Civil Service Commission on July 7, 1948; on Hanson June 24, 1948; and on Stone July 30, 1948.

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Attachments filed in index  
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It will be further noted that William Treadwell Stone was previously identified by the Bureau as being Senator McCarthy's "Case No. 46," which he referred to in his testimony before the Senate on February 20, 1950. By your memorandum dated February 24, 1950, a summary of information on Stone was submitted to the Director.

RECOMMENDATION

None. For your information.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE:

FROM : D. M. Ladd *pl*

March 14, 1950

SUBJECT: ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR McCARTHY OF COMMUNISTS AND SPIES IN STATE DEPARTMENT

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Handwritten initials and signatures are present over the routing slip.*

At the request of Mr. Donald S. Dawson of the White House, Mr. Roach called on him this afternoon, at which time William Boyle, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was present.

Mr. Dawson stated the White House had learned that there was a leak in the Loyalty Review Board (Seth Richardson's group), in view of the fact that Senator McCarthy this morning had stated that the loyalty case of John Stewart Service, a State Department employee, was being referred back to the State Department by the Loyalty Review Board. According to Dawson, McCarthy made this disclosure prior to the time that the Board had actually referred the case back to the State Department and, therefore, it was evident to them that a leak had occurred in the Board and the information had been passed on by a member of the Board to McCarthy.

Both Dawson and Boyle wanted to know if the Bureau would investigate this leak. Dawson stated if the Bureau would undertake this investigation he would like to have it handled as expeditiously as possible. Boyle commented that "if we can satisfy ourselves of the identity of the person giving the information to McCarthy, we will fire him outright." Dawson commented that he had heard a rumor that a member of the Board, whom he was unable to identify, had recently been seen in McCarthy's office and, further, that this same person allegedly had lobbied against the Senate confirmation of Service as United States Ambassador at the time his case was on the Hill.

In Mr. Roach's presence Dawson placed a call to the Capitol, but was unable to contact his source for further details or verification of this rumor. He stated, however, that he would do so if the Bureau decided to go into the case and he would pass the information on to us.

Both Dawson and Boyle asked that this matter be called to your attention and stated they were hopeful the Bureau would undertake investigation. Mr. Roach pointed out to these gentlemen that the matter appeared to be purely administrative, within the Loyalty Review Board, and something that they would probably desire to check out themselves or have investigators of the Civil Service Commission handle. Mr. Dawson stated this was undoubtedly

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INDEXED - 111

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true, but he still desired to make the request of the Bureau and wanted to know if you would call him this afternoon concerning your decision or would get word to him.

RECOMMENDATION -

It is recommended that the Bureau not undertake this investigation in view of the political aspects involved, as well as the fact that it is purely administrative within the Loyalty Review Board. If you concur, Mr. Dawson will be so informed by Mr. Roach this afternoon.

I concur. Also because to start inquiry now would no doubt result in resentment by the Senate both Democrats & Republicans. If any investigation were to be made of the incident to do it now would be bad timing.

RRR:CSH

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Mr Dawson informed of Bureau's decision and reason therefor as set forth in last paragraph on page one.

3/15/50

*[Handwritten signature]*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

42541

112

Communists in State Department

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

I took a telephone call by reference from your office from Mr. Seth W. Richardson of the President's Loyalty Review Board. He referred to the present discussion on the Hill on the part of Senator McCarthy with reference to loyalty cases. He stated that this morning in a speech made by McCarthy he, McCarthy, made reference to a decision handed down by the Loyalty Review Board on March 3, 1950 in the case of John Stewart Service. This decision amounted to an overrule of the Department of State Loyalty Board and a referral back to that Board for further consideration of the Service case.

Mr. Richardson stated that this decision had been held very close in the Loyalty Review Board and had not been communicated to the State Department until this afternoon after McCarthy's speech.

His purpose in calling was to determine whether the FBI would conduct an investigation as to who in his group had disclosed this information.

I told Mr. Richardson that this was strictly an administrative check within the operation of his own office and did not amount to a violation which this Bureau could investigate.

I told him it was a matter either for himself or Civil Service to check on but that the FBI could be of no assistance to him in connection with this problem.

He expressed appreciation.

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Letter to Director

47-10

The American Committee for the Protection  
of Foreign Born;  
National Council of Arts and Sciences;  
American Slav Congress;  
National Conference on American Policy in  
China and Far East;  
Civil Rights Congress;  
Friends of the Soviet Union;  
American Russian Institute;  
American League for Peace and Democracy.

Senator McCARTHY closed his testimony of Professor SCHUMAN by stating that the most casual survey indicates that SCHUMAN is not a card-holding member of the Communist Party, but the difference is so slight that it makes no difference.

Senator McCARTHY then advised the Committee that he was not going to present any additional cases for the day and then submitted to the Chairman a list of 25 names which requires further investigation. He advised that all the individuals are either in the state Department or in closely related agencies and all have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; that such investigation disclosed information which, according to ACHESON'S own yardstick of loyalty, would stamp any, if not all of them as being bad security risks. He further stated that none of the names covered cases which he originally presented on the Senate floor.

There is enclosed herewith the text of the statement to the Committee by Senator McCARTHY concerning the 25 names furnished.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
March 11, 1950	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

DATE: March 11, 1950

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field  
 SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
 (TESTIMONY BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY)  
 LGE

Attention: Assistant Director D. M. LADD

In accordance with the verbal instructions of Assistant Director D. M. LADD to Special Agent in Charge GUY HOTTEL on March 7, 1950, Special Agents KENNETH D. ANENSON and WILLIAM J. McGRATH, JR., attended a hearing held by the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the Caucus Room, Senate Office Building, on March 11, 1950.

Prior to Senator McCARTHY testifying, Senator TYDINGS announced that the Chief Counsel for the Committee was EDWARD P. MORGAN, who was formerly an Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Assistant Agent in Charge of Federal Bureau of Investigation Field Offices, and Special Agent in Charge of Federal Bureau of Investigation Field Offices following which he had been made Chief Inspector at headquarters of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, D. C. He advised that MR. MORGAN had made a special study of Communists and Fascists and had lectured to police all over the world regarding this subject. He advised that MR. MORGAN was no longer affiliated with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and was presently a member of a law firm in Washington, D. C.

Testimony before the Committee was opened by Senator McCARTHY, in which he presented the name of GUSTAVO DURAN. Senator McCARTHY stated that this individual was employed by the State Department and voluntarily resigned on October 4, 1946. Following his resignation, he was employed by the United Nations and at the present time, Senator McCARTHY advised he was informed DURAN was with I.R.O. at the United Nations.

Senator McCARTHY then proceeded to give considerable background information concerning DURAN, which included his activities in Spain, at which time he was an officer in the Spanish S.I.M. which was the Spanish counterpart of the Russian NKVD or OGPO. He presented the committee a picture of DURAN in the uniform of this organization. Senator McCARTHY also furnished the Committee

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INDEXED - 19

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EX-115

*Testimony re  
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 by attached to memo Ladd to Dir  
 dated 3-16-50 re office case.*

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*RS  
 Ladd*

Letter to Director

intelligence reports from an unnamed agency. As an exhibit to the Committee, he furnished letters from the Military Attache at the American Embassy, Madrid, Spain; letters from JAMES F. BYRNES, Secretary of State, to Senator KENNETH S. WHERRY, and a letter from DONALD RUSSELL, Assistant Secretary of State, to Senator WHERRY. He also furnished the Committee a memorandum which was captioned "For the Military Attache at Havana" and signed SPRUILLE BRADEN. He also furnished a report from the Assistant U. S. Military Attache in the Dominican Republic and an excerpt from the book, "Why and How I Left Defense Ministry in the Intrigue of Russia and Spain," by INDALICIO PRIETO, former Minister of Defense for the Spanish Republic cause. All of these documents were to show DURAN'S background as a Communist.

There is enclosed herewith the complete text of testimony by Senator McCARTHY to the Subcommittee, together with the aforementioned exhibits concerning GUSTAVO DURAN.

Senator McCARTHY then proceeded with his next case and furnished the name of DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, a member of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, one of the organizations of the United Nations. He advised that DR. SHAPLEY had participated in the Soviet Peace Conference and that his record with Communist fronts is a long and interesting one.

There is enclosed herewith the complete text of testimony furnished by Senator McCARTHY to the Subcommittee.

*Callow*

Senator McCARTHY then proceeded with his next case and furnished the Committee with the name of an individual which was not made public. He advised that Secretary ACHESON had stated that sex perverts are considered to be poor security risks and that this case involved a person who had been employed by the State Department Foreign Service until 1948, when he resigned. He stated that this individual had a record with the Metropolitan Police Department as a pervert, that he was known to have been a hanger out at Lafayette Park in Washington, D. C., and that during September 1943, was arrested as a pervert, at which time he elected to forfeit \$25.00. Senator McCARTHY advised that this individual is now employed by CIA, receiving from \$10,000.00 to \$12,000.00 per annum.

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Letter to Director

The text of information as presented to the Committee could not be obtained at this time.

Senator McCARTHY proceeded with his next case and furnished the name of JOHN STEWART SERVICE, who is a Foreign Service Officer of the Department of State and presently in Calcutta, India. Senator McCARTHY then proceeded to furnish the Committee considerable background information concerning SERVICE and spent a great deal of time covering the arrest of PHILIP J. JAFFE and others who were arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1945. Senator McCARTHY stated that the Grand Jury which failed to indict SERVICE in this case, was investigated by the House Committee which reported that they would not take any action against the Grand Jury due to the fact that documents which were necessary for prosecution could not be relied upon as evidence due to the fact that it was believed if these were offered in evidence, that a motion by the defense to suppress them would be sustained due to the manner in which the documents were obtained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The suppression of these documents would hinge on the defendants attacking the warrants of arrest.

There is enclosed herewith the complete text of the testimony by Senator McCARTHY to the Subcommittee concerning JOHN STEWART SERVICE.

*Revised*

Senator McCARTHY then proceeded with his next case and furnished the name of Professor FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, who is presently employed at Williams College. He advised that Professor SCHUMAN is a lecturer at the State Department where he gives lectures at this school for new Foreign Service employees. He also advised that Professor SCHUMAN is a Consultant whose services are utilized as an expert on Far Eastern affairs. He stated that Professor SCHUMAN is undoubtedly not on the pay roll today but may be at any time that his services are necessary. He identified Professor SCHUMAN as being active in numerous front organizations as sponsor, member or affiliated with them. He also advised that Professor SCHUMAN was considered to be one of the untouchables at the State Department who determined, forced through and carried out the policies of the State Department.

Among the organizations which he stated that Professor SCHUMAN was a sponsor, member or affiliate, were the following:

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

121-23298-46

Enclosure

(Gustavo Duran)

The Committee will recall that the name of Gustavo Duran was first mentioned by me as a possible bad security risk in a speech which I made in Reno, Nevada.

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

This statement was promptly ridiculed by the Secretary of State who -- through Mr. Peurifoy -- merely said that this man Duran was no longer an employee of the State Department, but had been in the auxiliary foreign service from January, 1943 until September, 1945, and thereafter until October 4, 1946, in the Department. Mr. Peurifoy added that Duran had voluntarily resigned from the State Department on October 4, 1946.

One of the important facts that the Secretary overlooked in making this press release is that this man is still, as of today, a high salaried official in the United Nations. On March 8th my office phoned the office

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of Trygvie Lie to find out exactly what type of work he was doing.

My office was advised that information could not be given to me.

The State Department advised me that Duran is now Chief of the Cultural Activities Section of the Department of Social Affairs, United Nations.

I was surprised to find that the Permanent Secretary of the United Nations<sup>v</sup> felt he could not give to a United States Senator the information as to what this man was doing. However, since that time I have had the matter checked in New York and am informed he is actually with the International Refugee Organization, engaged in work having to do with screening refugees coming into this country. The financial contribution which the United

MORE

States makes toward the running of this United Nations' agency amount to 45.57 percent. (Senate Report 1274, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, prepared by Subcommittee on Relations with International Organizations.)

At the time that Acheson's man attempted to ridicule my statement, he either did not know the facts in the case or he was covering up the information which is in the files and which should have been known to him.

This information, which I shall document for the committee, was known or was available to the State Department. It shows that Duran was (1) well-known for his rabid Communist beliefs and activities, (2) that he

was active in secret Soviet operations in the Spanish <sup>Republican</sup> ~~Republic~~ Army, (3) that a highly confidential report was sent to the State Department by the Military Attache at the American Embassy in Madrid which according to all existing rules called for Duran's immediate dismissal — unless the facts were proven to be wrong. Originally, I understand it was claimed that this was a case of mistaken identity. That claim, I believe, has been subsequently dropped in view of the fact that our intelligence produced pictures of him in the uniform that he wore at the time he was the regional head of S.I.M., which was the Spanish Counterpart of the Russian NKVD or OGPU. I now hand the committee one of those pictures.

✓ At the time this intelligence report reached the State Department, Duran was a highly placed official in a confidential capacity with the State Department in South America.



When the American people read the carefully prepared statement put out by the Secretary of State's office in regard to the Duran statement, they were entitled to rely upon it as being the truth. Unfortunately, anyone who believed that statement got a completely erroneous impression of the actual facts.

Whichever way you wish to interpret this situation I submit to the Committee that it is typical of the carelessness of the top executives of the State Department of this country. The situation I have just discussed is typical of the type of news releases emanating from the State Department; it is typical of the half truths we hear in answer to the information which I have been developing in regard to the bad security risks in that department.

I now submit to the committee the Intelligence Report just referred to in its entirety. It will be noted the State Department received a copy of it. There are certain matters discussed in this report which I do not feel should be made public until the committee has had a chance to thoroughly look into them. I have, therefore, deleted those sections from the copies being handed to the press and will not read them into the record at this time. The entire report, however, with nothing deleted is being handed to each of the members of the committee.

B.I.D. No. 7232

Report No. R-290/46

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

For general use by any U. S. Intelligence Agency

From: Military Attache, American Embassy, Madrid, Spain June 4, 1946

Source: Spanish Army Central General Staff B-3

Area Reported On Spain

Who's Who Gustavo DURAN

Following is the report given the Military Attache by the A.C. of S., [redacted] Spanish Central General Staff, After the M/A asked whether DURAN was known:

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1. "Gustavo DURAN came to Madrid for the first time in the nineteen twenties from the Canary Island, in the company of another Canarian, a painter called Nestor, who was registered by the Spanish police for the same reasons as Duran \*\*\*\*\*. As a friend of Nestor, Gustavo Duran became employed as a pianist in the company of that capacity at "Arcañes nita" and went to Berlin to participate in \*\*\*\*\* caused him to incur the fury of the Berlin police, which finally ousted him from Germany.

2. "Similar trouble happened to him in other European capitals. His \*\*\*\*\*grew to the limit in Paris, which was the preferred center for his activities some years before the advent of the Spanish Republic in 1931, while he was under the protection of his friend Nestor, the painter, who was well known in certain Parisian quarters. About that time the Soviets entrusted Gustavo Duran with some missions and finally appointed him their agent.

3. "Upon the proclamation of the Spanish Republic, the "Porcelana" (as he was nicknamed) returned to Madrid. His identity papers indicated that he was the representative of the Paramount Film Co. However, his true mission was service of the G.P.U. Duran was greatly successful in his activities due to the political protection he enjoyed. He soon became one of the leading members of the Youths of the Communist Party and greatly contributed to the merger of the Communist Youths with the youths of the Spanish Labor Party, thus giving birth to the J.S.U. ("Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas"-United Socialist Youths), of fatful remembrance, since this organization committed the most cold-blooded crimes before 18 July 1936 (date of the military uprising) and during the red revolution which ensued.

4. "During the republican regime (1931-1936) Duran continued practising his \*\*\*\*\*. Together with other "close" friends of his and some young pro-communist poets, among whom Alberty was noted, Duran succeeded in becoming notorious. All them were his tools and all them were made into active communists. In Duran's home located \*\*\*\*\* such meetings took place that the police had to interfere frequently, thus giving occasion to complete his record as \*\*\*\*\* in the files of the General Directorate of Security. This record as \*\*\*\*\* was probably removed by his friend Serrano Poncela, who was the Chief of the "Red" Police during the months of October and November, 1936, in Madrid and political reporter of "Mundo Obrero" (a communist newspaper) and Chief of the J.S.U. Duran's release from his frequent imprisonments for \*\*\*\*\* conduct was due to his powerful political protectors, who blindly obeyed orders from the Soviet political police.

5. "Upon the national uprising (beginning of Civil War) Gustavo Duran took over the nearest convent to his house, called "las Siervas de Maria", located at the old Chamberi Plaza. He was there the "responsable", or chief. He was afflicted there with typhoid fever during the month of August, 1936.

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The "Cause General" (General Judicial Proceedings) has information about the crimes perpetrated by the militia under the command of Duran's "choca" (illegal prison). He was one of the principal leaders of the popular militia created by the communists. He was a personal friend of Lister and Modestó (commanders of red brigades, now Generals in the Russian Army) and soon became captain, major and lieutenant colonel of the "Red" Army. He belonged to the General staff of the "Red" forces which directed the "brilliant" withdrawals of Talavera de la Reina, Maqueda, Toledo, etc.

6. "When the international brigades were brought into the Madrid and Aranjuez fronts, Gustavo Duran formed part of the High Russian General Staff, with headquarters at Tarancon and its vicinity, where they left sad and hideous recollections.

7. "After Tarancon we (the Spanish Intelligence Service) lost track of Duran. It appears that he went to Moscow with a delegation of male and female members of the "Red" Army. It appears that later he was for some time in Paris.

8. "And now he is in Washington as a collaborator of Spruille Braden, Chief of a Section of the State Department."

9. M.A. Comment: A very reliable Spaniard who is anti-Franco in sympathies but is middle of the road republican and extremely pro-U.S. and democratic in his views states that he knows personally that DURAN as commander officer of an international brigade in a small town not far from Madrid ordered the execution of the town electrician and another man who was a mason, neither of whom has committed any act for which they should have suffered this execution.

1332 WENDELL G. JOHNSON  
Colonel, G.S.C.  
Military Attache

The Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry wrote to the State Department on August 2, 1946, demanding the immediate discharge of Duran.

I now submit this letter as my exhibit - marked Exhibit B-2.

EXHIBIT B-2 FOLLOWS ON NEXT PAGE

August 2, 1946

The Honorable James F. Byrnes  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Secretary:

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, on April 18, 1946, I asked for investigation of certain persons holding positions of trust and responsibility in your Department.

It was my purpose then and is now to withhold appropriations that finance the salaries and activities of anyone in the State Department whose allegiance apparently is to some other country rather than to the United States.

You will recall, Mr. Secretary, that when you appeared I questioned you about some of these officials and among them was a Gustavo Duran. This was just prior to the Carter Glass funeral. At that time you stated there was a question of identity of Gustavo Duran. You stated further an investigation had revealed that he was some other person than the man in the State Department, who has been an assistant to Spruille Braden.

It has now come to my knowledge there exists an extensive military intelligence report on this man, Gustavo Duran, and I am reliably informed that several copies of this report have been delivered to the State Department.

I am now making this formal request upon you in my official capacity as a United States Senator, and as a member of the State Department Sub-Committee on Appropriations, that on the basis of this report you immediately discharge Gustavo Duran.

Cordially yours,

KENNETH S. WHERRY

KSW:emn

-9-

After Senator Wherry wrote this letter to the State Department, demanding the immediate discharge of Duran, he received on September 14, 1946, the following letter from Mr. Donald Russell, the Assistant Secretary of State:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1946

My dear Senator:

I am in receipt of your recent inquiry about the security investigation by the Department of Mr. Gustavo Duran. As you know, the Department has a Security Committee which confines itself to reviewing security investigations and to making recommendations based thereon. Of course, this committee has nothing to do with reviewing the qualifications or competency of the person reviewed for a position in the Department other than as security is involved. I have added this because from our conversation I would assume that you seriously question the qualifications of Mr. Duran for employment, as distinguished from security consideration. That phase of Mr. Duran's employment is not within the scope of the Security Committee.

After reviewing the entire record on Mr. Duran as procured from all available sources, the Security Committee recommended favorably on Mr. Duran. I have carefully gone over the record before the Security Committee and I have approved their recommendation.

While I recognize that the above conclusions are at variance with your own feelings, I have to do my duty as I see it and I hope that you will recognize that I have attempted to exercise my judgment faithfully and honestly.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(s) Donald Russell

The Honorable  
Kenneth S. Wherry  
United States Senate

When Mr. Russell wrote this letter on September 4, 1946, he had in his files the top secret report from the Military Attache in Madrid, which I have already referred to, outlining in detail the facts I have given on Duran.

What was the mysterious power in the possession of Duran that enabled him to continue to serve as a confidential assistant to Spruille Braden, the then head of the State Department's South American affairs?

Why was this man permitted voluntarily to resign in the face of these grave charges?

Mr. Duran obviously had powerful friends and one of his greatest champions was his immediate chief, Spruille Braden.

I now show the Committee Exhibit D-2, which is a copy of a letter marked "secret" and dated December 21, 1943, in Havana.

Habana, December 21, 1943

Memorandum for the Military Attache:

Mr. Gustavo Duran was recommended to me in the first instance by a friend of unimpeachable patriotism and integrity. He was recommended for a specific objective requiring a person of highly specialized qualifications; his duties were to be concerned with protecting United States interests through confidential surveillance over Falangist activities in Cuba.

As to Mr. Duran's background, he is a naturalized American citizen born and educated in Spain. He is of good family, and in his youth was particularly interested in the arts. When the Spanish civil war began in July, 1936, he gave up everything to fight on the side of the Loyalists and from a somewhat dilettante but brilliant young man, turned into a vital force for the Republican cause. His military record was reportedly brilliant. He was further described to me as being a man whose hatred for the Fascists, and his deep devotion to liberal principles, are not open to debate. A close association with him during a period of over a year fully support this description.

Mr. Duran arrived in Habana in November 1942 on the payroll of the Pan American Union and was to transfer to the staff of the C.I.A.A. on February 1, 1943. Instead, I urgently recommended his employment as an Auxiliary Foreign Service Officer in a telegram from which I quote the following:

"I regard Duran as eminently qualified for the work he is performing and I have the highest estimation for his intelligence and character as well as for his complete loyalty and discretion. He has already proven of very great value to this Embassy and I anticipate that his usefulness will increase as he becomes more familiar with conditions in Cuba. I consider that his continuance here is particularly desirable at the present time when our relations with Spain are of such vital importance."

✓ Mr. Duran has now served as one of my immediate associates for more than a year. His work has been excellent and outstandingly useful to the United States government. From my personal knowledge based on close association, Mr. Duran is not a Communist but a liberal of the highest type. I consider him an unusually worthy, patriotic and honorable American citizen, who shows great promise as a United States Government official capable of high responsibility.

Spruille Braden



Mr. Braden describes Mr. Duran as one recommended to him by a friend of unimpeachable integrity.

He set forth in his letter that Duran was a naturalized citizen, born and educated in Spain, of good family and in his youth was particularly "interested in the arts". Braden said that from 1936 Duran gave up everything to fight on the side of the Spanish Loyalists and said he "urgently recommended his employment as an Auxiliary Foreign Service officer".

Following Senator Wherry's letter to the State Department of August, 1946, in which the Senator maintained that this man was such a bad security risk that he should be discharged, we find that he was permitted to resign on October 4, 1946.

In view of the grave charges made by Senator Wherry and the unusual attitude of the State Department in permitting this man's resignation, it would be interesting to know what, if any, investigation was made by State Department officials as to his conduct while in a responsible, confidential capacity in the Department.

But Duran's friends in the State Department did not turn their backs on him.

After his resignation, Duran almost immediately was employed as a representative of the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations. He was employed there as of yesterday.

I have received a confidential report that Duran was recommended for his U.N. position by a member of the present Presidential Cabinet. It has also been reported to me that Duran is the brother-in-law of

Michael Straight, the owner and publisher of a pro-Communist magazine called the "New Republic".

Here again it is certainly pertinent to inquire where this man got his power, what he did while in the State Department and, possibly, of equal importance, is what he did not do.

To complete this picture, I attach hereto copies of the following documents:

- (1) Report from Edward J. Ruff, Assistant U. S. Military Attache in the Dominican Republic, addressed to the American Intelligence Service dated December 30, 1943 marked Exhibit E-2.
- (2) Excerpt from the book, "Why and How I Left Defense Ministry in the Intrigue of Russia in Spain," by Idalicio Prieto, former Minister of Defense for the Spanish Republican cause, marked Exhibit C-2.
- (3) A list of reference material for the committee's use in further checking into the background and activities of this man who is now with IRO, screening refugees coming into the United States.

Dec 30, 19

EXHIBIT E-2

Report from Edward J. Ruff, Assistant U. S. Military Attache in the Dominican Republic, addressed to the American Intelligence Service.

"I want to take this opportunity to clarify my position in connection with Report No. 428, dated 13 December, 1943, Subject: Gustavo DURAN, Alleged Communist Employee of the C.I.A.A., Havana. As you know, this office received a cable from the Military Attache, Havana, requesting that dissemination of this report to be held up on the grounds that it was 'absolutely incorrect'. A few days ago we received letter No. 7967 from Lt. Col. Brown, written by Ambassador Braden concerning this individual. Both these communications corroborated information which we had regarding Duran and I cannot see on the basis of these reports how our report can be branded as 'absolutely incorrect'. Our only statement in the report on Duran is that he was a member of the Communist Party in Spain. From further reports received, this information can now be evaluated as A-1. For your own knowledge, the information on Duran was submitted by a Spanish refugee who also served as a Lt. Colonel in the Spanish Republican Army and had served on Duran's promotion board in Spain, which board was charged with considering recommendations for promotion of Spanish Republican Officers. As our source was actually sitting on the Board at the time that Duran's recommendation for promotion came through, he himself saw all Duran's papers and letters of recommendation, and had access to complete information regarding Duran's background.

He states, dogmatically, that the records showed Duran to be a member of the Spanish Communist Party. Our source had previously made available to us the information agreeing with that sent to us by Military Attache, Havana, except the statement that Duran entered the Army as a private. According to our Agent, Duran was commissioned directly from civilian life and given the rank of Major in the Militia. Later when the Militia became part of the Spanish Republican Army, he was made a Major in the Army. The only additional information we had, and which we did not mention in the report as it was not believed pertinent, was the reported fact that Duran is a homosexual. I do not question Duran's interest in the arts, his culture or intelligence. However, we only stated in our report that Duran was a member of the Communist Party, and that we did not know whether he is still a member of the Communist Party. I, myself, am convinced that Duran was a Communist and consider Ambassador Braden's statement that he is a "liberal of the highest type" to be a euphemism. Under the circumstances, I believed the reliability of our report still remains as originally submitted.

The Ambassador here is inclined to concur in my report on Duran, but has asked that no further official correspondence on the subject be sent up. Hence this personal letter from me.

Sincerely,

EDWARD J. RUFF  
1st. Lt., A.G.D.  
Assistant Military Attache"

EXHIBIT "C"-2

Excerpt from the book, "Why and How I left Defense Ministry in the Intrigue of Russia in Spain," by Indalicio Prieto, former Minister of Defense for the Spanish Republic cause.

"It is true that I have had certain incidents with the Russians. Certain Russian technicians proposed to me in Valencia, that a service of Military Investigations should be created. This was the Spanish counterpart of the NKVD. I confess that I opposed the project. But because of insistent pressure, I created the S.I.M. I was especially concerned with choosing a chief, until I gave it to an intimate friend of mine, who had just come from France, where he was with his family. In entrusting him with the task, I gave him these instructions:

'You are going to form the S.I.M., carefully, with elements of all groups of the Popular Front. Your only charges will be these two: Do not permit the new organization to be converted into an instrument of the Communists and do not permit Russian technicians to gain control. Listen to the advice of these technicians and follow their orientations, which can be very useful to you, but control must always be in your hands and in that of the Government, and of no one else.'

"I showed little tact in the selection of that comrade. A Republican named Sayagues came in fact to be the chief of S.I.M. Regional chiefs of the S.I.M. were designated and they proposed to me a certain Gustavo Duran for the Madrid zone. It was not concealed from me that the person proposed was a Communist (Duran). I knew this, but in spite of that, he was appointed by me. In the decree creating the S.I.M. of August 1937 - a decree which I myself drew up, because I did not wish to follow in a slavish manner the project which was handed me -- there is an article by virtue of which the appointment of all agents of the S.I.M. rests exclusive with the Minister of National Defense. This was a guarantee which temporarily I wish to establish. No one could be an agent of the S.I.M. who was not in possession of the memorandum book which bore duplicate the signature of the minister. Duran having been appointed chief of the demarcation of the army of the center, of his own accord and without power to do so, appointed the agents who were under his orders, which to the number of some hundreds, were Communists and only four or five were Socialists. I faced an intolerable situation, wherefore alleging, and with reason, that I lacked commanders in the army. I ordered that all military chiefs who were not in particular positions in the army should return to their former positions and thus Major Duran had to return to his military function. Because of Duran's leaving the S.I.M. I received a visit from a Russian technician, of these services, who said to me:

'RUSSIAN AGENT. I have come to speak to you about the dismissal of Duran. What happened?

'PRIETO. Nothing special, I lacked commanders in the army and ordered Duran to return to it.

'RUSSIAN AGENT. No. You discharged him because he appointed Communists as agents in Madrid.

'PRIETO. That is also sufficient reason, because Duran absolutely lacked authority to make appointments.

'RUSSIAN AGENT. Why did he not have the power to appoint agents?

'PRIETO. Because by virtue of the decree creating the S.I.M. that power is reserved exclusively to the Minister.'

"I read the decree and before the evidence of my statement my visitor alleged:

'RUSSIAN AGENT. Duran could make temporary appointments.

'PRIETO. Neither actual nor temporary. Here in Spain, moreover, the temporary is converted into the definitive.

'RUSSIAN AGENT. Be that as it may, I come to ask you to immediately restore Major Duran as chief of the S.I.M. in Madrid.

'PRIETO. I am very sorry, but I cannot consent.

'RUSSIAN AGENT. If you do not consent to restore Duran, my relations with you are broken.

'PRIETO. I am sorry, but Major Duran will go to the front of his division and will not return to the S.I.M. Your attitude is unjustified and I cannot yield to it.'

"I did not yield as a matter of fact, and my relations with the Russian technician, through his own wish, were absolutely cut off. I have not seen him since that scene."

The next case I will discuss is that of Dr. Harlow Shapley, a member of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, one of the organizations of the United Nations.

In my Lincoln Day speech I stated that Dr. Shapley was prominent in the affairs of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace which gathered in New York City in March 1949. That organization, as you know, and as I stated in my speech, was nothing more than a Soviet-Communist meeting for the purpose of discrediting this nation's fight against communism in Europe and elsewhere.

Mr. Acheson himself denounced this "peace" conference as -- "a sounding board for communistic propaganda".

After I made my Lincoln Day speech, the State Department's Deputy Under-Secretary John Peurifoy, had this to say in his press release of February 13, 1950 concerning Dr. Shapley:

"Dr. Shapley has never been an employee of the Department of State. However, in 1945, he served as a member of the American Delegation at the UNESCO Conference in London; and in 1946 to the International Astronomical Union at Copenhagen.

"Dr. Shapley is a member of the National Commission for UNESCO, representing the American Association for the Advancement of Science."

I submit that this statement in Mr. Peurifoy's press release is a misrepresentation of the true facts concerning Dr. Shapley's association with our Department of State. ~~This is merely another instance of the efforts on the part of the State Department to discredit the statements I have made, and to mislead the American public by presenting half truths.~~

The full facts concerning Dr. Shapley and the facts that the State Department's press release conveniently omitted are these:

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ENCLOSURE 121-23878-46

Dr. Shapley was appointed to the National Commission for UNESCO by the Secretary of State in May 1947 to fill an unexpired term, and he was reappointed to that position by the Secretary of State in June 1947 for a second term on the Commission, which expires in April of this year.

Not only was Dr. Shapley twice appointed to the National Commission by the predecessor of the present Secretary of State, in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 565 of the 79th Congress, but his transportation expenses and \$10 per diem are also paid by the State Department, in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 565.

I am at a complete loss to understand how the State Department could seek to avoid responsibility for Dr. Shapley's appointment and continuance on the National Commission, in view of these uncontroverted facts.

As a matter of fact, I know that John Peurifoy had all of these facts in his possession concerning the appointment and payment of expenses for Dr. Shapley at the National Commission, at the time his misleading press release of February 13 was issued to the public. I know that because I have a letter from John Peurifoy, dated February 16, 1950, in which he furnished me with the facts concerning Shapley's appointments and compensation, in accordance with Public Law 565.

Now I personally do not blame John Peurifoy for attempting to mislead the public and whitewash the State Department in that press release. I have known Peurifoy to be an upright, honest individual, and I for one am convinced that he is issuing these misleading half truths to the American public on orders from higher ups.

It is inconceivable that the Secretary of State should be condemning the Communist-inspired Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace on the one hand, and retaining Dr. Harlow Shapley, one of its main organizers, in an important position with UNESCO on the other.

As this Committee well knows, the power to appoint carries with it the power to dismiss unless definite restrictions are placed on the appointing authority, which they are not in the case of Dr. Shapley.

*State Dept.*  
Furthermore, inasmuch as ~~U. S. Treasury~~ funds are being used to pay

~~the traveling expenses and per diem of Dr. Shapley's at the National~~  
Commission, there is no reason why he could not be summarily dismissed from that position by Secretary Acheson under the broad powers of the so-called McCarran Rider.

Dr. Shapley's active participation in the Soviet Peace Conference is not the last nor only Communist-front with which this man has been affiliated. His record with Communist-fronts is a long and interesting one.



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 14, 1950

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

*Callahan*  
*Hendrick*  
*15-1-1*

### PURPOSE

To furnish for your information and in accordance with your request summary memoranda regarding Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, Stephen Brunauer and Owen J. Lattimore.

### BACKGROUND

Reference is made to Mr. Winterrowd's memorandum to you dated March 13, 1950, advising you with respect to Senator McCarthy's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the morning of the 13th. You will recall that in Senator McCarthy's testimony he identified his current Case No. 3 as Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, who, as you will recall, was identified as "Case No. 47" in his previous testimony before the Senate as published in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950. There is attached a copy of the summary memorandum prepared on Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer identifying her as "Case No. 47," which was submitted to the Director by memorandum of February 24, 1950, along with summaries on 67 other individuals identified as those referred to by case numbers in Senator McCarthy's testimony published in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950.

Senator McCarthy in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee yesterday also mentioned Esther Brunauer's husband and stated that the status of this case was most important and he would not present it at a public hearing but would refer to it in executive session. He identified the husband of Esther Brunauer as "Stephen Brunauer, a Commander in the U. S. Navy, presently on active duty, and a scientist on several top secret projects." You will recall that the only investigation the Bureau ever has conducted on Dr. Stephen Brunauer was under the Atomic Energy Program at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission. You will recall further that the Bureau never has conducted a loyalty investigation of Brunauer. Details concerning the factors which caused the Bureau not to initiate investigation of Brunauer under Executive Order 9835 are set forth in the attached summary memorandum on Stephen Brunauer under the heading "Action By Bureau Under Loyalty Program." You may recall particularly that on December 13, 1947, the Bureau wrote to Rear Admiral Thomas B. Inglis, then Chief of Naval Intelligence, pointing out to him the fact that an investigation was conducted by the Bureau regarding Brunauer under the Atomic Energy Act due to a request received from the Atomic Energy Commission on March 19, 1947; that if the investigation of Brunauer had been continued by the Bureau on completion of the Atomic Energy Act investigation, it would have involved a violation of the Delimitation Agreement in that Brunauer was a civilian employee of the Department of the Navy; that all information in the Bureau's possession was provided to ONI for such action as they deemed advisable; that this action antedated the new procedures established under the President's Executive Order on Loyalty of Government Employees; that information furnished to the Bureau periodically had indicated that investigation of Brunauer was actively being conducted by the Department of the Navy. It was further pointed out to Admiral Inglis because of all of the elements involved in the situation, particularly in light

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of the information contained in the Bureau's reports of its investigation of Brunauer conducted at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission, as well as the fact that Brunauer had been the subject of an active investigation by the Navy Department, the Bureau had withheld initiating an additional investigation of Brunauer under the terms of the President's Executive Order on Loyalty of Government Employees because obviously such investigation would duplicate, in large measure, the investigation previously conducted by the Bureau, as well as that apparently being conducted by the Department of the Navy.

You also will recall that subsequent to this letter we never received a request from the Department of the Navy for an investigation of Brunauer under the Loyalty Program and ONI continued its active investigation of Brunauer. Accordingly, when we received the Loyalty Form submitted on Stephen Brunauer, copies thereof were returned to the Civil Service Commission by letter dated May 22, 1948, in which the Commission was advised that the Bureau had received information to the effect that ONI had for some time been conducting an investigation of the activities of Stephen Brunauer and that the investigation still was being actively pursued; that in view of the investigation being conducted by ONI, no investigation regarding Stephen Brunauer would be conducted by the Bureau.

With reference to Owen J. Lattimore, you will recall that Mr. Winterrowd's memorandum to you yesterday indicated that Senator McCarthy was identifying his current "Case No. 4" as that concerning Owen J. Lattimore. According to an article appearing in the final edition of the Washington Daily News dated March 13, 1950, Senator McCarthy named Owen J. Lattimore as a former adviser to President Roosevelt who was "pro-Communist." This article indicates he told a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee that Mr. Lattimore still holds a position as a part-time State Department Consultant on Far Eastern problems; that Lattimore, who was the late President Roosevelt's adviser in China, is a bad security risk and may already "have done this nation incalculable and irreparable harm."

Lattimore has never been the subject of a Loyalty Investigation. At the present time he is the subject of a pending espionage investigation which was initiated in March, 1949. CIA and ONI are cognizant of the espionage investigation being conducted on Lattimore but since this is an espionage investigation, no information has been supplied to the State Department.

However, in answer to a routine flimsie, requesting a name check for the State Department, according to memorandum dated February 3, 1950, liaison informed Mr. Walter E. Jessop of the State Department that the Bureau had

March 14, 1950

DR. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER  
aka Mrs. Stephen Brunauer  
Assistant Director for Policy Liaison  
UNESCO Relations Staff  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer was born on July 7, 1901 at Jackson, California, She was employed from September, 1927 to March, 1944 by the American Association of University Women, Washington, D. C., and at the conclusion of her services with that organization she was International Relations Secretary. She is married to Dr. Stephen Brunauer who is with the Office of Naval Research, Department of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

Basis for Investigation

The House Committee on Un-American Activities reported that the employee presided at a meeting on June 11, 1936 which was sponsored by the American Friends of the Soviet Union in Washington, D. C.

Results of Investigation

The files of the HCUA reflect that on June 11, 1936 in Washington, D. C. the employee presided over a lecture given by Myra Page which was held under the auspices of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. A leaflet describing this lecture states that Myra Page was an instructor at Commonwealth College in Arkansas, was a former member of the "Moscow Daily News" and was on the editorial staff of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today."

The American Friends of the Soviet Union was cited by HCUA as a Communist front. The magazine "Soviet Russia Today" was cited as a Communist front. Commonwealth College was also cited by HCUA as having received extensive donations from the Communist supporting Garland Fund.

HCUA files reflect that the New York Times, March 16, 1939, described Esther Brunauer as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts, which the HCUA cited as a Communist front.

Washington Informant  (anonymous source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that "Dr. Esther Brunauer, American Association of University Women, 1634 I Street, N.W.," appeared on the active indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, an organization which the Attorney General cited as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Washington T-2 (a highly confidential source known to the Little Rock, Arkansas Office) advised that the employee's name appeared in the active indices of Commonwealth College, described above.

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Exempt from 2+3  
Date of                     

~~SECRET~~ #1

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~~SECRET~~

Washington [redacted] advised that the employee in December, 1942, as a representative of the American Association of University Women, made arrangements with Vladimir Bazykin, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, to exchange publications with the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee. The informant stated employee had received a communication from the latter organization. S

Files of the HCUA also reflect that in November, 1937, the American Friends of the Soviet Union issued a one hundred page edition of its official publication, "Soviet Russia Today, celebrating the twentieth anniversary of Soviet Russia. This publication contained a list of speakers sponsored by the AFSU, including one Dr. Stephen Brunauer. Washington T-4 (Mrs. Franklin E. Allison, former neighbor of the employee) recalled that the employee met her husband through their mutual interest and activity in the Friends of the Soviet Union. U

Joseph B. Matthews, former Research Director of the Dies Committee, recalled his association with the employee and her husband in the late 1920s and early 1930s while he was a professor at Howard University in Washington, D. C. Matthews said that in 1928 Stephen Brunauer informed him that he was a member of the Communist Party. U

A representative number of neighbors, fellow employees, and associates of the employee, in addition to those described above, were interviewed and considered the employee loyal to the United States. U

Informants mentioned above will not testify in a Loyalty Hearing.

Reports to CSC - March 2, 1948; reports to Department - March 19, 1949.

Disposition

Civil Service Commission - "Retained" - February 4, 1949. Department - No final advice re prosecution - February 14, 1950. U

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derogatory information in its files regarding Lattimore. Mr. Jessop informed that the name check request which had been furnished to the Bureau was sent after a passport had already been issued to Lattimore and Jessop requested that the Bureau supply any derogatory information concerning Lattimore for future use as he indicated Lattimore is a rather frequent traveler abroad.

In view of the fact that Lattimore was the subject of a current Bureau espionage investigation and our files contained information from the Civil Service Commission that Lattimore had left the employment of the State Department on February 12, 1946, it was believed desirable to obtain Lattimore's exact relationship with the State Department in connection with his foreign travel before we furnished any derogatory information to the State Department which had been obtained during the espionage investigation.

Consequently, by memorandum of February 24, 1950, the State Department, through liaison, was requested to advise as to Lattimore's relationship with that Agency and on March 10, 1950, the State Department in response to this inquiry advised they had no record of Lattimore's employment. However, on March 13, 1950, the State Department amended this statement and indicated that Lattimore had been employed for a three-day period in October, 1949, as a Consultant on Far Eastern Affairs on a per diem basis.

Advice was received on March 6, 1950, that Lattimore had been hired by the Economic Affairs Division of the United Nations on a fixed term appointment for one month. He departed from New York for Kabul, Afghanistan March 6, 1950 on a three-weeks trip to make a preliminary survey in Afghanistan in connection with a United Nations program to afford technical assistance to backward nations. Accordingly, a summary of information is being prepared for the State Department, and this is being expedited.

ACTION

None. This is for your information.

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Mr. D. M. Ladd

March 14, 1950

A. H. Belmont

COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE

To furnish for your information and in accordance with your request summary memoranda regarding Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, Stephen Brunauer and Owen J. Lattimore.

BACKGROUND

Reference is made to Mr. Winterrowd's memorandum to you dated March 13, 1950, advising you with respect to Senator McCarthy's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the morning of the 13th. You will recall that in Senator McCarthy's testimony he identified his current Case No. 3 as Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, who, as you will recall, was identified as "Case No. 47" in his previous testimony before the Senate as published in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950. There is attached a copy of the summary memorandum prepared on Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer identifying her as "Case No. 47," which was submitted to the Director by memorandum of February 24, 1950, along with summaries on 67 other individuals identified as those referred to by case numbers in Senator McCarthy's testimony published in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950.

Senator McCarthy in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee yesterday also mentioned Esther Brunauer's husband and stated that the status of this case was most important and he would not present it at a public hearing but would refer to it in executive session. He identified the husband of Esther Brunauer as "Stephen Brunauer, a Commander in the U. S. Navy, presently on active duty, and a scientist on several top secret projects." You will recall that the only investigation the Bureau ever has conducted on Dr. Stephen Brunauer was under the Atomic Energy Program at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission. You will recall further that the Bureau never has conducted a loyalty investigation of Brunauer. Details concerning the factors which caused the Bureau not to initiate investigation of Brunauer under Executive Order 9835 are set forth in the attached summary memorandum on Stephen Brunauer under the heading "Action by Bureau Under Loyalty Program." You may recall particularly that on December 13, 1947, the Bureau wrote to Rear Admiral Thomas B. Inglis, then Chief of Naval Intelligence, pointing out to him the fact that an investigation was conducted by the Bureau regarding Brunauer under the Atomic Energy Act due to a request received from the Atomic Energy Commission on March 19, 1947; that if the investigation of Brunauer had been continued by the Bureau on completion of the Atomic Energy Act Investigation, it would have involved a violation of the Delimitation Agreement in that Brunauer was a civilian employee of the Department of the Navy; that all information in the Bureau's possession was provided to ONI for such action as they deemed advisable; that this action antedated the new procedures established under the President's Executive Order on Loyalty of Government Employees; that information furnished to the Bureau periodically had indicated that investigation of Brunauer was actively being conducted by the Department of the Navy. It was further pointed out to Admiral Inglis because of all of the elements involved in the situation, particularly in light

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of the information contained in the Bureau's reports of its investigation of Brunauer conducted at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission, as well as the fact that Brunauer had been the subject of an active investigation by the Navy Department, the Bureau had withheld initiating an additional investigation of Brunauer under the terms of the President's Executive Order on Loyalty of Government Employees because obviously such investigation would duplicate, in large measure, the investigation previously conducted by the Bureau, as well as that apparently being conducted by the Department of the Navy.

You also will recall that subsequent to this letter we never received a request from the Department of the Navy for an investigation of Brunauer under the Loyalty Program and ONI continued its active investigation of Brunauer. Accordingly, when we received the Loyalty Form submitted on Stephen Brunauer, copies thereof were returned to the Civil Service Commission by letter dated May 22, 1948, in which the Commission was advised that the Bureau had received information to the effect that ONI had for some time been conducting an investigation of the activities of Stephen Brunauer and that the investigation still was being actively pursued; that in view of the investigation being conducted by ONI, no investigation regarding Stephen Brunauer would be conducted by the Bureau.

With reference to Owen J. Lattimore, you will recall that Mr. Winterrowd's memorandum to you yesterday indicated that Senator McCarthy was identifying his current "Case No. 4" as that concerning Owen J. Lattimore. According to an article appearing in the final edition of the Washington Daily News dated March 13, 1950, Senator McCarthy named Owen J. Lattimore as a former adviser to President Roosevelt who was "pro-Communist." This article indicates he told a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee that Mr. Lattimore still holds a position as a part-time State Department Consultant on Far Eastern problems; that Lattimore, who was the late President Roosevelt's adviser in China, is a bad security risk and may already "have done this nation incalculable and irreparable harm."

Lattimore has never been the subject of a Loyalty Investigation. At the present time he is the subject of a pending espionage investigation which was initiated in March, 1949. CIA and ONI are cognizant of the espionage investigation being conducted on Lattimore but since this is an espionage investigation, no information has been supplied to the State Department.

However, in answer to a routine flimsie, requesting a name check for the State Department, according to memorandum dated February 3, 1950, liaison informed Mr. Walter E. Jessop of the State Department that the Bureau had

derogatory information in its files regarding Lattimore. Mr. Jessop informed that the name check request which had been furnished to the Bureau was sent after a passport had already been issued to Lattimore and Jessop requested that the Bureau supply any derogatory information concerning Lattimore for future use as he indicated Lattimore is a rather frequent traveler abroad.

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ACTION

None. This is for your information.



March 14, 1950

STEPHEN BRUNAUER  
Technologist, High Explosives  
Bureau of Naval Ordnance  
U. S. Navy Department  
Washington, D. C.

Background:

Stephen Brunauer was born February 12, 1903, in Budapest, Hungary, and was naturalized in New York City on September 1, 1927. He attended City College of New York and received his A.B. degree from Columbia University, New York City, in 1925. He received a Ph.D. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1933. In January, 1926, he married Anna Friedman and divorced her in March, 1931. In the same year he married Esther Caukin. He was employed by the Department of Agriculture as a Chemist from 1928 to October, 1942. He was appointed a Lieutenant in the U. S. Naval Reserve in August, 1942, was promoted to Lt. Commander, September 30, 1943, and was promoted to Commander, November 9, 1945. He was relieved from active duty November 13, 1946, and given a certificate of honorable service. He entered on duty September 9, 1946, as a Technologist, High Explosives, with the Bureau of Naval Ordnance.

Atomic Energy Act - Applicant Investigation:

On April 5, 1947, an Atomic Energy Act - Applicant investigation was instituted concerning Stephen Brunauer based on information received on February 15, 1941, from a representative of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (Joseph B. Matthews) that Stephen Brunauer and his wife, Esther Caukin Brunauer, who was Secretary of the American Association of University Women, were both members of the Communist Party. This information was furnished to the Atomic Energy Commission on March 22, 1947. This information was also furnished to ONI on December 13, 1945, in connection with a name check on Stephen Brunauer.

During the Atomic Energy Act - Applicant investigation the following information was developed.

Major John B. Gulley, then Security Officer for the Joint Army-Navy Task Force No. 1, Washington, D. C., advised that on his application for admission to Johns Hopkins University, Mr. Brunauer had stated that he was interested in attending meetings of "liberal groups." He stated that from a security standpoint Brunauer had not been issued a pass to allow him to attend the Bikini atom bomb test although his name had been submitted by the Bureau of Naval Ordnance as its representative to attend this test. Major Gulley related that when Brunauer went overseas he had misrepresented himself as a representative of the Office of Naval Intelligence.

Captain F. R. Duborg, Head of the Technical Intelligence Center, Operations 32-F-2, U. S. Navy, Washington, D. C., advised that he had heard that Brunauer, a Lieutenant Commander in the U. S. Navy, was going to Hungary and, having a small mission to be carried out in Hungary, asked that Brunauer see him. When Brunauer

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came in, Captain Duborg became immediately suspicious and decided that he was not the type of person to trust with this mission, although there was nothing definite on which he could base his opinion. He related that after Brumauer had gone overseas, various reports from him came in and that in one official report Brumauer made the statement that he had been asked by the Chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence to go to Hungary and round up various scientists with a view toward bringing them to the United States. Captain Duborg related that in his opinion this statement was a deliberate misrepresentation since in the first place Brumauer had not talked to the Head of the Office of Naval Intelligence, and Brumauer could not reasonably have received the impression from their conversation that the purpose of his mission was such as he had stated. Captain Duborg stated that he does not trust Brumauer but has never been able to prove definitely that Brumauer is disloyal.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities had information that Dr. Esther Caukin Brumauer was one of the signers of the Call of the Congress of Youth in July, 1939, and the following is quoted from the proceedings of the Congress of Youth, which was the fifth national gathering of the American Youth Congress held in New York City in July, 1939:

"The signers are issuing this call, not as the official representatives of their organizations, but in their personal capacities as individuals concerned with the knowledge of young people in the United States."

The American Youth Congress appears on the list of organizations coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Co-workers, associates, neighbors and references, which included Senator Joseph Ball, advised that Stephen Brumauer is a loyal individual.

During the Atomic Energy Act - Applicant investigation it was determined that the Office of Naval Intelligence was also conducting an investigation of Stephen Brumauer, who was listed as a Commander, USNR, and arrangements were made through the Liaison Section at the Bureau to secure copies of the ONI reports.

The Atomic Energy Act - Applicant reports were sent to the Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C., on May 15, 1947, together with a summary of information in the files of ONI. Copies of the Bureau's reports were sent to ONI on May 22, 1947, and to the Attorney General on December 6, 1947.

#### Investigation by the Office of Naval Intelligence

The ONI investigation was instituted at the request of the Bureau of Ordnance, Department of Navy, based on the information received from this Bureau as a result of the name check on Stephen Brumauer.

An ONI report dated March 22, 1946, contains background information concerning Commander Stephen Brunauer. An ONI report dated April 16, 1946, reflects that the files of the Chemistry Department of Johns Hopkins University contained a letter submitted by Stephen Brunauer with his application for admission to the Graduate School in 1933 in which he stated that he was interested, among other things, in liberal clubs and participated as a spectator in liberal club meetings when he had the opportunity.

An ONI report dated June 28, 1946, reflects that Commander Brunauer was a personal friend of the Honorable Szegedi Maszak, who was then the Hungarian Minister in Washington, D. C., and set out the names of various Hungarian officials and scientists. ONI pointed out that while in Hungary, Brunauer had met many of the Hungarian officials and scientists whose names were listed. Information was also received from ONI that Brunauer had reportedly related that his brother was practicing law in Hungary. The files of ONI reflect that Brunauer had been officially sent to Hungary to report to Captain Dietrich, U. S. Representative on the Allied Control Commission in Hungary, in the Spring of 1946.

ONI also furnished a copy of a memorandum concerning Commander Brunauer dated January 23, 1947, which stated:

"The informant stated that he had known subject quite intimately in 1929, 1930 and 1931, and had met him socially on numerous occasions. Subject was, at that time, an Instructor in Chemistry at John Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. The informant stated that there was no doubt that at that time the subject was definitely a Communist; that on numerous occasions he had discussed politics with subject and subject had always indicated definite pro-Communist attitude. The informant stated that he was surprised to learn that subject is presently Naval Attache in Budapest. He stated that he had not seen subject in a number of years, but he was certain that anyone as definitely Communistic as this individual had been, could not have changed his views over a period of time and he felt some investigation should be conducted as to subject's background and character."

An ONI report dated April 29, 1947, contains the results of an interview with Mr. S. Chapin, Director-General of the Foreign Service, Department of State, who had been appointed Minister to Hungary, concerning his contact with Stephen Brunauer who had met with Mr. Chapin in order to effect some arrangement whereby he could accompany Mr. Chapin to Hungary. During his interview with Mr. Chapin, Stephen Brunauer stated that while in Hungary with Captain Dietrich he got to know, among others, a few of the members of the Hungarian Communist Party, but he did not know the leaders of the Party. He thought that he could be of some assistance to Mr. Chapin because of his acquaintance with people in Hungary.

This report also contains the results of an interview with Mr. Audrey Keith Brewer, a former fellow employee of Stephen Brunauer at the Department of Agriculture, who advised a representative of ONI that Stephen Brunauer "used to be terribly pro-Russian. We used to have some rather heated political arguments. He was very atheistic. I would say that he was terribly Communistic....."

This report reflects the results of an interview with Mrs. F. E. Allison, 4930 Butterworth Place, N. W., Washington, D. C., a former fellow employee of Stephen Brunauer at the Department of Agriculture, who advised that a notice had appeared in the Sunday Star, Washington, D. C., around 1934 to the effect that Dr. Stephen Brunauer would speak before the Friends of the Soviet Union. Mrs. Allison related that on seeing this notice she advised the supervisor of Dr. Brunauer at the Department of Agriculture. When Brunauer was called in by his supervisor and cautioned not to make this speech, she was told by the supervisor that Brunauer had agreed not to make the speech but stated that it would be made by his wife. The ONI report pointed out that the May 6, 1934, issue of the Sunday Star, Washington, D. C., contained the following notice:

"Dr. Brunauer to Lecture.

"Dr. Stephen Brunauer will speak on 'Culture in the Soviet Union and in Nazi Germany' Thursday evening at a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union in its Headquarters, 1013 C Street, S. E."

The May 10, 1934, issue of the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., contained the following article:

"City News in Brief:

"Today

Lecture: Dr. Stephen Brunauer, 'Culture in Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany,' 1013 C Street, S.E., 8:15 P.M."

Friends of the Soviet Union was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

An ONI report dated September 18, 1947, reflects that on January 27, 1926, Stephen Brunauer married Anna Friedman. Marriage records on file at the City Clerk's Office, Bronx County, New York, New York, reflect that Stephen Brunauer listed his parents as Sarah and Louis Popper. The records of the Supreme Court, Bronx, New York, reflect that Mrs. Anna Brunauer had been granted a divorce from Stephen Brunauer on March 20, 1931. This report reflects that John Roman, brother of Anna Friedman, the former wife of Stephen Brunauer, was the editor of the Hungarian newspaper "Magyar Jovo," which was allegedly Communist controlled and subsidized by the International Workers Order. The report continues that confidential informants have stated that Roman is the dominant force and one of the chief leaders of the Hungarian Communists in the United States.

International Workers Order appears on the list of organizations coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

A copy of the ONI report dated September 18, 1947, received subsequent to completion of the Bureau's Atomic Energy Act investigation, was sent to the Atomic Energy Commission on October 27, 1947.

An ONI report dated April 5, 1948, reflects the negative results of the investigation conducted to determine if Stephen Brunauer had written for a Communist publication under an assumed name.

This information was furnished the Atomic Energy Commission by letter dated April 28, 1948.

Two copies of a letter from the Office of the Naval Attache, American Embassy, Paris, France, dated April 22, 1948, which had been furnished by ONI, were sent to the Atomic Energy Commission by letter dated May 4, 1948. U

An ONI report dated July 26, 1948, contains background information concerning Stephen Brunauer's former wife, Anna Friedman, also known as Anna Krauss, Anna Popper, Anna Brunauer, who was then residing in Santiago, Chile. An ONI report dated July 27, 1948, consisted of a summary of information and an investigative recapitulation of the results of investigation conducted by ONI concerning Commander Stephen Brunauer, USNR (Inactive). A copy of these reports were furnished to the Atomic Energy Commission on February 7, 1949.

An ONI report dated September 30, 1948, consisted of a portion of the transcript of the Loyalty Board Hearing granted Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer on July 28, 1948; a letter from the U. S. Naval Attache, Santiago, Chile, dated September 10, 1948, setting forth the results of the interview with Brunauer's former wife, Anna Friedman; a translation of a letter of power of attorney; and a photostatic copy of Form 57 executed by Stephen Brunauer on August 22, 1946. Anna Friedman Krauss was accompanied by her husband, Louis Krauss, when she was interviewed in Santiago, Chile, concerning Stephen Brunauer. Although she expressed her willingness to cooperate, she furnished no information reflecting on the loyalty of Brunauer. The interviewer commented, "The overall impression obtained from this interview was that the Krausses were definitely wary about handing out any information concerning Brunauer. Their emphatic attempts at veering away from any connection with a leftist background was obvious."

The ONI pointed out that Stephen Brunauer had possibly falsified his Form 57 inasmuch as he had answered "no" to Question 26 which reads as follows: "Do you advocate or have you ever advocated, or are you now or have you ever been a member or any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence?" ONI pointed out that in his testimony before the Loyalty Hearing Board in behalf of his wife, Stephen Brunauer admitted former membership in the Communist Party.

In its letter of October 8, 1948, ONI pointed out that their report of September 30, 1948, was a closing investigative report and that the entire file on Stephen Brunauer had been referred to the Office of Industrial Relations of the Navy Department for a decision as to future procedure.

Information Obtained by the Bureau Subsequent to the Atomic Energy Act - Applicant Investigation

By letter dated December 17, 1947, the Washington Field Office furnished the following information which had been received from Confidential Informants Washington  U

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Confidential Informant Washington [redacted] who has furnished reliable information, advised that one Edmund Ferency, a Hungarian citizen and a member of the Communist Party, was the Hungarian delegate to the UNESCO conference held in Mexico City. Informant stated that during this conference the question came up as to whether Hungary would be permitted to become a member and when the question came to a vote all nations, except the United States, voted in favor of Hungary's admission. The United States delegate, Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, abstained from voting. According to this informant, Ferency became incensed at Dr. Brunauer's refusal to vote in favor of Hungary's admission and told Dr. Brunauer that in retaliation he would ruin her husband. Ferency told Dr. Brunauer that he knew of her husband's present position in the United States Navy and that he was certain the proper authorities in the United States would be interested in knowing that the husband had formerly written articles under an assumed name for an American Communist newspaper and, further, that he, Ferency, knew where he could locate two or three American citizens who knew this to be a fact and by whom he, Ferency, could prove this allegation. Washington [redacted] advised that Ferency left for New York en route to Hungary and that he was to fly to Europe on December 16, 1947. He added that Andrew Sik, Cultural Attache at the Hungarian Legation and alleged to be a Communist Party member by Washington [redacted] became aware of the statements made by Ferency, and he believed that Sik finally persuaded Ferency to desist from any action in this matter. This informant believes that neither Esther Brunauer nor Stephen Brunauer are sympathetic toward the Communist Party or its policies. Informant declined to furnish a signed statement and does not desire to testify.

Confidential Informant Washington [redacted] who has furnished reliable information, advised that he is well acquainted with Esther Brunauer and Stephen Brunauer and does not consider either of them Communists or sympathetic to Communism but rather feels that they are both loyal to the United States. He advised that many years ago, around 1925, Stephen Brunauer wrote some articles for an American-Hungarian language newspaper called "Magyar-Jovo," published in New York City. He believed that Stephen Brunauer wrote under the name of Stephen Barabas. The paper was operated by John Roman, brother of his first wife, and, according to this informant, this paper was a Communist language paper for Hungarian groups at that time. Informant declined to furnish a signed statement and does not desire to testify.

Both Confidential Informants [redacted] advised that Stephen Brunauer has a younger brother in Hungary who is a very active Communist.

The above information, which had been furnished by [redacted] was summarized and furnished to ONI in the form of a blind memorandum dated January 7, 1948, and was furnished to the Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C., by letter dated February 4, 1948.

In connection with the Loyalty investigation on Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, Dr. Joseph B. Matthews, Research Director for the John A. Clements Associates, 250 West 57th Street, New York City, a former Research Director for the Dies Committee, advised that his knowledge of both Stephen Brunauer and Esther Caukin Brunauer is limited to the period of his association with them while he was a Professor at Howard University in Washington, D. C. During that time, which covered the late 1920s and early 1930s he met regularly with a small group of people for discussions on

political beliefs. This group called itself the Liberal Club, and certain members of this group were "avowed Communists," according to Matthews. Matthews said that in 1928 Stephen Brunauer informed him that he was a member of the Communist Party, but he never had any positive information that Esther Caukin Brunauer was a Communist Party member although he "assumed that she was also a member in view of her close association with Stephen Brunauer." He said that both of the Brunauers were members of the American Friends of the Soviet Union and that on one occasion in 1934 Stephen Brunauer was to have delivered an address before that organization but "since he was a Government employee at the time, he was prevailed upon to forego the occasion." Instead, according to Matthews, Esther Brunauer delivered the speech which had been prepared by her husband. Matthews was unable to give the exact date or place and was unable to furnish documentary evidence that Esther Brunauer had delivered the speech.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect information indicating that in November, 1937, the Friends of the Soviet Union issued what it called the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union. In addition, this organization issued a one hundred page edition of its official publication, "Soviet Russia Today," eulogizing Soviet Russia on its twentieth anniversary. Several hundred thousand signatures of Americans appeared in the Golden Book under greetings to the Soviet Government. The special one hundred page edition reproduced some of these names. Included in the list of speakers sponsored by the Friends of the Soviet Union in this edition was the name of one Dr. Stephen Brunauer.

Soviet Russia Today was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

An examination of the ONI Summary Report dated July 27, 1948 on Stephen Brunauer shows that they had substantially the same information as set forth above.

The report of Special Agent Robert A. Frink dated December 14, 1948, at New York in the case entitled: "Gregory Hankin, aka, Henry Hankin, Consultant - Appointee, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., Loyalty of Government Employees", sets out the signed statement of Mr. J. B. Matthews, which reads in part as follows:

".....While serving as a member of the faculty at Howard University, Washington, D. C., in 1928 and 1929, I was associated with a group known as the International Relations Club. This group was a small discussion group, composed of approximately 30 members, which held meetings once a week at an old Quaker meeting house on 'I' Street in Washington, D. C. The International Relations Club was an informal group

without specific policies or courses of action and did not maintain a membership roster. The actions of the group, however, were controlled by approximately six persons whom I considered as Communists. I cannot remember the names of all of these persons, but at least three of them had at some time admitted to me that they were members of the Communist Party. They were MALCOLM NURSE, who later became a Commissar in the Communist International for the entire continent of Africa, under the name of George Padmore; Noel Field and Stephen Brunauer, a chemist; Esther Caukin, who later married Brunauer, was also a leader in the club, although she had never admitted to me that she was a member of the Communist Party. This group was not affiliated with the Communist Party, but I can not recall any incidents wherein there was open disagreement with the general Communist Party line which was being followed by the group....."

It is noted that the above information is, in substance, the same as that which had been furnished to ONI in connection with its name check on Stephen Brunauer. However, Mr. Matthews does point out that Noel Field was also a member of the International Relations Club at the same time as Stephen Brunauer and had admitted to Mr. Matthews that he, Noel Field, was a member of the Communist Party.



Action By Bureau Under Loyalty Program:

As previously indicated, active investigation of Stephen Brunauer under the Atomic Energy Act was completed and referred to the Atomic Energy Commission, May 15, 1947. Subsequently, on November 21, 1947, the Bureau received a letter from Admiral Thomas B. Inglis, Chief of Naval Intelligence, in which Admiral Inglis pointed out that ONI had for the past two years been interested in the activities of Stephen Brunauer who was described as a former Commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve and at the time of the letter a civilian employee of the Bureau of Ordnance, Department of the Navy. Admiral Inglis referred to the reports of investigation of Brunauer conducted by the Bureau under the Atomic Energy Act, copies of which had been furnished to ONI, and requested that a recheck be made of the Bureau's files for the purpose of determining whether there existed any additional data other than that previously furnished to ONI. It is noted that this letter did not request the Bureau to conduct an investigation of Stephen Brunauer.

At the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference held on November 25, 1947, the case of Stephen Brunauer was cited by the Office of Naval Intelligence as one of three cases where FBI cooperation with ONI had not been satisfactory. On November 29, 1947, the Bureau responded to the letter received from Admiral Inglis dated November 21, 1947, and also responded to ONI's citation of the case of Brunauer as evidencing a lack of cooperation between the FBI and ONI. It was pointed out to Admiral Inglis that the Bureau had, under the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act and at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission, conducted an investigation of Brunauer and that copies of the reports had been furnished to ONI; that a recheck had been made of our files and revealed no additional information which had not already been furnished to ONI; that it appeared the Bureau had furnished to ONI all information in its files concerning Brunauer and had never been requested by the Navy Department to conduct any investigation regarding him; that the Bureau was at a loss to understand in what manner the Bureau had merited his criticism of its cooperation in this case. 4

On December 1, 1947, the Director received a call from Admiral Inglis advising him that Secretary Sullivan, Department of the Navy, had communicated with the Attorney General to request the FBI to expedite its investigation of Brunauer. The Director wrote a memorandum to the Attorney General pointing out that at no time had the Navy Department requested the Bureau to conduct any investigation of Stephen Brunauer; that the Bureau had conducted an investigation of him at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission and had furnished copies of the reports thereof to ONI. The Director advised the Attorney General that the Navy Department had never requested the Bureau to make an investigation of Brunauer and that the Bureau had furnished the Navy Department all information in its possession concerning him and consequently it appeared that Secretary Sullivan was misinformed regarding the true facts involved in this situation. 4

It is noted that on December 1, 1947, Mr. Ladd received a call from Mrs. Stewart in the Attorney General's Office, advising him that Secretary Sullivan had communicated with the Attorney General along the same lines as indicated above. Mrs. Stewart advised that the Attorney General desired copies of the Bureau's reports when the investigation was completed. Mr. Ladd advised her that the Bureau had not received a request for investigation in connection with Brunauer to which she replied she understood the request had been submitted by the Navy approximately ten days prior thereto. It was ascertained that the request in question apparently referred to the letter received from Admiral Inglis dated November 21, 1947, discussed above wherein the Office of Naval Intelligence requested us to recheck our files for any additional information concerning Brunauer which had not previously been furnished to the Office of Naval Intelligence. A check was made through liaison with Mr. Wilson of ONI who stated that he thought Secretary Sullivan had probably been confused in referring to a request for investigation and was probably referring to the request for a name check based on Admiral Inglis' letter of November 21, 1947. However, a memorandum was directed to the Attorney General furnishing him with copies of the Bureau's reports reflecting the results of the Atomic Energy Act investigation concerning Brunauer at which time it was pointed out to the Attorney General that continuation of this investigation by the Bureau after the completion of the investigation under the Atomic Energy Act would have been a violation of the Delimitation Agreement in that Brunauer was a civilian employee of the Navy and as such was within their jurisdiction for investigations relating to internal security, et cetera. It was pointed out to the Attorney General that copies of the Atomic Energy Act investigative reports had been furnished to ONI.

In response to the Director's memorandum to him dated December 1, 1947, the Attorney General addressed a memorandum to the Director dated December 16, 1947, referring to the request of Secretary Sullivan's Office for the FBI to expedite its investigation of Stephen Brunauer. The Attorney General advised him that he had talked with Secretary Sullivan's Office and understood that Admiral Inglis had been in touch with the Director and that appropriate arrangements had been made to acquire all the information necessary.

Aside from the above interchange of correspondence relating to the request from Secretary Sullivan's Office, Admiral Inglis addressed a letter to the Director dated December 3, 1947, commenting further on the reasons for his mentioning the case of Stephen Brunauer at the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference on November 25, 1947. He pointed out that when the ONI received the Bureau's reports in connection with the investigation for the Atomic Energy Commission, ONI assumed that because of certain derogatory information contained therein, an investigation of Brunauer's wife and perhaps of Brunauer also would be conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation; that more recently they had received information that the Bureau had Brunauer under current investigation which lead Admiral Inglis to write his letter of November 21, 1947 (referred to above) and to make mention of the case at the Interdepartmental

Intelligence Conference. Admiral Inglis further indicated that the assumption and the information ONI received regarding current investigation of Brunauer by the Bureau were incorrect. He went on to point out that the Secretary of the Navy had a direct interest in Brunauer's case and that ONI had continued this case as active and considerable information not contained in the Bureau's reports had been developed. He mentioned that the results of ONI current inquiries would be made available to the Bureau as soon as possible. Separate advice was received through liaison channels from Mr. Wilson of ONI on December 2, 1947, to the effect that the Office of Naval Intelligence was continuing its investigation on Brunauer.

In response to Admiral Inglis' letter of December 3, 1947, the Bureau advised him by letter dated December 13, 1947, that if the investigation of Brunauer had been continued by the Bureau on completion of the Atomic Energy Act investigation, it would have been involved a violation of the Delimitation Agreement in that Brunauer was a civilian employee of the Department of the Navy; that the information in the Bureau's possession was provided to ONI for such action as deemed advisable; that this action, of course, antedated the new procedure established under the President's Executive Order on Loyalty of Government Employees. It was pointed out further that information furnished to the Bureau periodically had indicated that investigation of Brunauer was actively being conducted by the Department of the Navy; that with reference to his wife, Esther Brunauer, a request had been received for investigation from the State Department and consequently an investigation was being initiated concerning her. Admiral Inglis was advised that "because of all the elements involved in this situation, and particularly in the light of the information contained in the Bureau's reports of its investigation of Brunauer conducted at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission, as well as the fact that Brunauer has been the subject of an active investigation by the Department of the Navy, I have withheld initiating an additional investigation of Brunauer under the terms of the President's Executive Order on Loyalty of Government Employees because obviously such investigation would duplicate, in large measure, investigation previously conducted by the Bureau, as well as that apparently being conducted currently by the Department of the Navy." It is noted that Mr. E. A. Tamm, then Assistant to the Director, in referring this letter to the Director for his approval pointed out in a memorandum from Mr. Ladd to the Director dated December 6, 1947, that "technically we probably should open loyalty investigations on Brunauer and his wife. This apparently is what the Navy is trying to force us to do. They have carried Brunauer as an officer and as a civilian on the Navy roles for four or five years in spite of derogatory information in their possession and now are hysterically trying to find a way out of their dilemma with the result that I am convinced they are trying to dump this foul-smelling goat on us and absolve themselves from Congressional responsibility by placing the matter entirely in our hands. I believe, consequently, that we should resist their efforts at this time."

Admiral Inglis acknowledged the Bureau's letter of December 13, 1947, by letter of December 26, 1947, wherein he indicated ONI was continuing their investigation of Brunauer since it involved a definite security problem of prime importance

to the Navy; that all information developed by ONI would be made available to the Bureau as soon as possible and indicated that any information ONI might have which would be of assistance before a formal report was written would be given to the Bureau's representatives if desired.

Subsequently, on February 26, 1948, Captain Sabalot of ONI called Mr. Ladd and advised him that ONI had received a tip that Stephen Brunauer had been indicted by the Grand Jury in New York. He inquired as to whether Brunauer was a subject in the case in New York (the Gregory Case). Mr. Ladd advised Captain Sabalot that Brunauer was not under investigation by the FBI but that he had been informed that ONI was investigating Brunauer. Captain Sabalot stated Navy was taking no action toward prosecution of Brunauer, although they were investigating him.

You will note from the above that ONI was continuing its active investigation of Brunauer and consequently when the Loyalty Form on Brunauer was submitted to the Bureau, copies thereof were returned to the Civil Service Commission by letter dated May 22, 1948, advising the Civil Service Commission that information had been received by the Bureau to the effect that the Office of Naval Intelligence had for some time been conducting an investigation of the activities of Stephen Brunauer and that this investigation was still being actively pursued; that in view of the investigation being conducted by ONI, no investigation regarding Stephen Brunauer would be conducted by the Bureau.

By letter dated October 8, 1948, from Captain DuBois, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, enclosing a complete copy of a closing investigative report by ONI concerning Brunauer, it was stated that inasmuch as all investigative action in this case had been completed, and in view of the fact that Brunauer was afforded a complete background investigation by the FBI in 1947 in connection with another matter, the entire file had been referred to the Office of Industrial Relations of the Navy Department for a decision as to future procedure. It was further indicated that the FBI would be informed of the ultimate disposition of Brunauer's case.

The Bureau file does not reflect that we have as yet received a final disposition in Brunauer's case from the Navy.

Testimony of Stephen Brunauer before the Loyalty Board in Connection with the Loyalty Hearing on his wife, Esther Caukin Brunauer.

ONI made available pertinent portions of the Transcript of the Loyalty Board Hearing granted Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer on July 28, 1948, which contains the testimony of Stephen Brunauer under oath. At this hearing Stephen Brunauer testified:

"...With your permission, I should like to say now a few words about myself. As you know, at the beginning of my adult life I became a Communist. If one's adult life begins at 18, then this was in the second or third year of my adult life. I met my wife when I was 25 years old, and by that time I was not a Communist any more. Even so, for a while I still retained some of the trappings of that ideology. My wife had a great share in helping me to get rid of these remnants of false beliefs, and was at my side in my progress.

"For more than a decade and a half I have been opposed to Communism and fought against it as best I could...

QUESTIONS BY MR. ST. CLAIRE:

Q. A few. Just as a matter of clarification of a few points, Mr. Brunauer, would you restate for the record when you did sever your connection in the Hungarian Section with the Young Communist League?

A. I do not remember the exact date, Sir, but it must have been either the end of 1926 or the beginning of 1927. I rather think it was the earlier date.

Q. For the better part of twenty years, more than twenty years since you never had any connection whatsoever with that League or the American Communist Party or any of the ideals of the Communist Party?

A. That is correct...

Q. Do you recall a Dr. J. B. Matthews?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Who is he, please?

A. Just rather recently I read about him in the papers in connection with some test, but I know that he was--I do not know what exactly his title was but he was on the Committee on Un-American Activities as an expert or adviser or whatever his job was...

Q. Do you recall at any time telling Dr. Matthews that you were a member in Baltimore of the Communist Party?

A. I believe not, Sir..."

Stephen Brunauer denied having any association with Dr. Matthews around 1934 in the Friends of the Soviet Union. Brunauer continued:

"As I mentioned in my statement, I still was a pretty 'pink' radical up to about the time of 1931-32 or maybe even later but...I was in an organization called the 'International Friendship Club,' which was organized by the Quakers here in Washington and which met at the Friends Meeting House at 1811 I Street or some place there. That is where I met my wife and I believe that is the place where I met Mr. Matthews..."

The questioning continued:

"Q. Do you recall an incident occurring in May 1934 in which you were scheduled to address a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union and having been invited to do so by a young man which you met earlier at a party?

A. I met him at a meeting where I spoke.

Q. Yes, at a meeting. Had you ever seen that young man before that meeting?

A. Does that happen to be this Hadmore whom we are talking about?

Q. I do not know.

A. I think I met him before...

Q. Do you recall seeing a so-called "Golden Book on Soviet Russia Today" about 1937?

A. No, Sir, I do not recall.

Q. Do you recall being listed in that book as being one of the sponsors of the American Friends of the Soviet Union...Or seen your name appearing in such a book?

A. No, I have not seen it...

Q. Would you have any reason to suspect why your name might have appeared in it?

A. The only reason is this, on this meeting I was supposed to speak at, and they may have listed me as a sponsor. I did not speak there. My wife spoke in my place, so I never did.

Q. Did you ever write for a Hungarian newspaper called 'Magyar Jaro'...

A. No; probably if it is supposed to be Jaro, that paper did not exist when I was in the Communist movement. It is a successor of the Communist daily which was called Uj Elore. I wrote in that paper occasionally when I was in the Communist movement back in, as I have told you, '24 or '25 or so.

Q. Did you write under your own name?

A. No, Sir, and may I say something about that?...The Communists told me to change my name, but the explanation they gave me was not at all to cover myself up because that was ostensibly a legal party, but they said, 'You work considerably in the Hungarian Section,' and I had a German name and they said, 'Why don't you take a Hungarian-sounding name, and then you will be more effective?' more accepted by the Hungarians with whom I was in contact, and those whom I was supposed to convince about the correctness of that..."

He admitted contributing four or five articles to this newspaper but stated that this contribution had taken place more than twenty years ago. Brunauer admitted knowing Joe Lokuras and stated that he knew that Lokuras was a Communist. In explaining why he came to be associated with the Communist movement, Brunauer reported:

"...I got acquainted with my former wife, to whom I was married for two years, and she was a Communist, and with her friends. They took me to a meeting. I listened to the talk, they worked on me, tried to convince me, this circle of friends she had and others, eventually convinced me to join this Hungarian Section of the Young Communist League. That is the way I got into this Communist movement.

"I think for a number of months I was just listening and watching things and talking with people, and then eventually--I do not know, perhaps a number of months or maybe a year, maybe less--I joined this group. So that was back in 1923, I guess, in 1923. That is about all I can say about getting in...

"Now about getting out of it, there were a number of complex things which came into my getting out. I became dissatisfied with their attitudes on one thing after another. For example, I gradually came to realize that the movement is directed from Moscow. For example, this is what happened. There was a so-called factional fight in the Communist Party. The Party broke into two factions. The subject of the fight was whether the Communist Party should work as a separate organization or whether it should work for the

Farmer-Labor Party—that is what they called that movement at that time—in other words, a third party in the United States which would draw in the type of elements that third-party movements have since drawn in a number of times. This was at the time of the LaFollettes, and now there was a majority of the Party, led by Foster, which was opposed to this third-party activity and a minority of the Party, which was led by Rutenburg, and the minority was for this third-party movement.

"I was with the minority. In other words, I was for this third party. The Executive Committee of the Party, I believe a great majority, was against it. When it was put to the Party—on the latter fact I wrote on this subject a couple of articles in the Hungarian paper. This was put to a vote or referendum of the Party and the majority of the Party supported the majority of the Executive Committee and was against it, so I was on the losing side. But very shortly thereafter the order came from Moscow that the minority was right and the majority was wrong, so I became right, and by order of Moscow I got on the right side, but I didn't like it anyhow because it hurt my sense of—well, I believe in the majority decisions, and well, of course, I believed in sort of democratic processes even in such an organization as that, so I began to realize more and more the direction from Moscow.

"Then on one item after another—for example, I read books by the leading Communist writers and I read, for example, one book which had a great adverse affect on me, which was Lenin's book on Empiroid-Criticism. I had, like all other Communists at that time, a great respect for Lenin, which of course I have lost for a long time since, but here at that time I had a very great respect for him, but here he was discussing science, and I had been beginning to work in the field of sciences at that time and I know that scientists do not work and that scientific processes are not the ones he laid down, the man whom he attacked in his book, which is a very German physicist Marx, was really one who knew science and Lenin did not, so that was very disappointing.

"Then their attitude—I could go into details on a great many different things which I did not like and matters, the way they were working, the unscrupulousness, the philosophy that if the aim is right then you can lie and cheat and kill and do anything, I gradually, slowly but surely got disgusted with one thing after another.

"Q. How did you sever that connection? How did you break the link eventually?

"A. I began to stop paying my membership dues and dropped out and announced that I am dropping out of the Communist Party and stopped paying membership dues and saw the group less and did not attend meetings any longer.



"Q. All of this came about, as you feel, as a matter of enlightened philosophy?"

"A. Not nearly enlightenment on philosophy, but on the other hand their methods and ideas I did not like, and the way the whole thing was working at that time. Of course, even when I severed my connection, and years after that, two or three years after that, I had not had as full realization of what they are standing for and what the Communists are and how this Communist International, how the Communist Party in Soviet Russia, and so on, works, but I gathered it of course in the course of the years. But as I said at least—I would say at least fifteen years since I was definitely opposed to that, started to actively work against them.

"You see, there was a transitional period from the time when I just left them to the time when I began to work against them."

The Young Communist League appears on the list of organizations coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Mrs. Esther Brunauer, in her testimony before the Loyalty Board, stated that Edmond Ferenczi had been a Hungarian delegate to the UNESCO conference held in Mexico City in 1947. She stated that in her contact with him, Ferenczi did not discuss the American abstention from a vote on the Hungary question and that Ferenczi did not at any time threaten to expose the fact that Stephen Brunauer had written an article under an assumed name for a Communist newspaper.

Referral of Brunauer's admission before Loyalty Board to Criminal Division of Department for decision regarding prosecutive action.

By letter dated October 15, 1948, Assistant Attorney General Alexander M. Campbell was advised that on March 11, 1947, Brunauer executed a Personnel Security Questionnaire for clearance in connection with work for the Atomic Energy Commission. At that time Brunauer was employed by the Bureau of Ordnance, Navy Department, Washington, D. C. In Item 16 of the questionnaire entitled "All Organization Membership, (inclusive dates and any office held)," he listed the American Chemical Society, 1929 to present; the Philosophical Society of Washington, 1938 to present; and the Washington Academy of Sciences, 1938 to present. Mr. Campbell was advised that the Bureau had never conducted a loyalty investigation of Brunauer in view of the fact that at the time the Executive Order concerning Loyalty of Government Employees was promulgated, Brunauer was under investigation by the Office of Naval Intelligence. The Navy was advised that in view of their investigation the Bureau would not conduct a loyalty investigation. There was enclosed to Mr. Campbell a photostatic copy of pertinent pages of the transcript of the hearing before the Loyalty Board of the Department of State concerning Mrs.

Esther Caukin Brunauer, wife of Stephen Brunauer. Attention was called to the fact that in his testimony before the Loyalty Board, Brunauer admitted prior membership in the Communist Party. There was enclosed to Mr. Campbell a memorandum reflecting the results of an interview with Brunauer's former wife by the United States Naval Attache at Santiago, Chile. Mr. Campbell was informed that on August 22, 1946, Brunauer executed Standard Form 57 and in answer to Question 26, which reads: "Do you advocate or have you ever advocated or are you now or have you ever been a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence?", he answered, "No." The Department was requested to advise whether the above facts constitute a basis for prosecution and if further action by this Bureau was desired.

By letter dated January 28, 1949, the Department requested that the Bureau contact ONI to ascertain whether its investigation of Stephen Brunauer has been completed; secure for the Department a copy of the ONI reports; ascertain if the Navy Department or the Atomic Energy Commission has preferred charges; secure for the Department a copy of any such charges and the answers thereto; and if Brunauer has had a hearing before a Loyalty Review Board, a copy of the transcript of such proceedings.

By letter dated February 16, 1949, Mr. Alexander M. Campbell was informed that ONI has advised that their investigation of Brunauer has been completed but the matter was still pending in the Office of the Chief of Ordnance. Copies of the ONI reports were furnished to Mr. Campbell. Mr. Campbell was informed that the Atomic Energy Commission had filed no charges against Brunauer and that no administrative review had been afforded this matter. The Commission's Security Office had made known that it was agreed with the Navy that Brunauer would not be used on any matters involving classified Atomic Energy material.

The Department advised in a memorandum in the case entitled "Stanley Slavko Schneller, Atomic Energy Act, Fraud Against the Government," that in those cases investigated as possible violations of the Fraud Statute in connection with the filing of a Personnel Security Questionnaire for employment with the Atomic Energy Commission when Sections 16 was entitled "All organization membership, name, address, type, (inclusive dates and any office held)", it was not believed that successful prosecutions could be had.

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March 14, 1950

OWEN LATTIMORE  
Temporary Appointee  
Economic Affairs Division  
United Nations

Classified by 2909  
Exempt from GDS Category 4  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
DPG/DC H/10/78

DETAILS

Owen Lattimore was born in Washington, D. C. on July 29, 1900. When he was one year of age, he left for China with his parents and resided there until he was thirteen years of age when he was sent to Switzerland and England to complete his education. He returned to China in 1919 and engaged in newspaper work and business in Shanghai, Tientsin, and Pieping. He traveled extensively in China and Asia and did research work in Manchuria and Mongolia under grants from the Social Science Research Council, the Harvard - Yenching Institute and the J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. U

In 1933 he joined the staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations as editor of its journal "Pacific Affairs" and worked in that capacity in China and the United States until 1938 when he was appointed Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, Maryland. In July, 1941, he was appointed personal political adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek upon the recommendation of President Roosevelt. In 1942 he resigned that position to accept an appointment with the Far Eastern Department of the Office of War Information and on March 24, 1945, was appointed as the Director of Pacific Operations for OWI. In December, 1944, he resigned from OWI to return to his work at Johns Hopkins University, where he is currently employed as Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations. U

The October 30, 1945, issue of the "Baltimore Sun" reported that Lattimore had been appointed as Chief Economist of the United States Reparations Commission for Japan. U

It has been reported that Lattimore has been engaged as a consultant and adviser on Far Eastern Affairs by various officials of the State Department, but inquiry by the Liaison Section of the State U

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Department revealed no record of Lattimore's employment other than that he was engaged for three days in October, 1949 as a consultant on Far Eastern Affairs on a per diem basis at a rate of \$6.00 per day.

Lattimore's name, however, appears on a Civil Service Commission list of Government employees whose loyalty was questioned. The Civil Service Commission card indicated he left the employment of the State Department on February 12, 1946. A loyalty form has not been received on him.

The "New York Times" of August 6, 1949, reported that the Secretary of State had appointed a three-man committee to review the situation in China and Central Asia. This committee included Dr. Philip Jessup of the United Nations; Raymond D. Fosdick, the former President of the Rockefeller Foundation; and Dr. Everett Case, President of Colgate University. On August 18, 1949, Dr. Jessup as "Ambassador at Large," wrote Lattimore and requested that he furnish the Advisory Committee with a summary of his views on the objective of the United States policies and methods to be employed in the Far East.  
(100-24628-61-103)

Francis H. Russell, Director of the Office of Public Affairs of the State Department, reported that Lattimore had appeared as a lecturer on the Department's Orientation Program for Foreign Service employees. (100-267360)

The "Baltimore Sun" of June 9, 1949, reported that Johns Hopkins University had been awarded \$75,000 to carry out studies on "Inner Asia Frontiers" under a cooperative project sponsored by the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department, Johns Hopkins University, and the American Council of Learned Societies.

The Baltimore and New York Offices by teletype of March 6 and 8, 1950, reported that Lattimore has been hired by the Economic Affairs Division of the United Nations on a fixed term appointment for one month. He departed from New York for Kabul, Afghanistan on March 6, 1950, on a three-weeks trip to make a preliminary survey in Afghanistan in connection with a United Nations Program to afford technical assistance to backward nations. This preliminary trip will eventually be followed by a more prolonged trip next summer. Lattimore is accompanied by Harold E. Caustin, Deputy Director of the United Nations Economic Stability and Development Division and a Mr. Walter, a Belgian representative of the United Nations.

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## BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

The current investigation on Owen Lattimore was initiated upon receipt of information from Alexander Gregory-Graff Barmine, a former Russian diplomatic officer who defected from the Soviets in 1937, who when interviewed on December 14, 1948 said that while attached to the Foreign Trade Commission in Moscow, he had occasion to see General I. Berzin, then head of Soviet Military Intelligence approximately every day. During the course of one of these visits, Berzin in discussing China mentioned to Barmine that the Soviets had some Americans working for them there. According to Barmine, Berzin named Owen Lattimore and Joseph Barnes as being two of these individuals. After his entry into the United States, Barmine began to read closely the writings of these individuals, as well as newspaper articles concerning them and from these sources, he formed his own opinion that they were actually Soviet agents.

Paul and Hedi Massing, former Soviet agents have likewise expressed the view, based upon Lattimore's writings, that he is a Soviet agent.

It should be noted that allegations along a similar vein have been received concerning Lattimore, but although an extensive investigation has been conducted between March, 1949 and the present date, during which time his activities have been closely followed, no tangible evidence has been uncovered to date to corroborate the allegations or to indicate that he is involved in espionage or known Communist activity.

## RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

The following allegations that Lattimore has engaged in espionage or pro-Soviet activities have been made, but to date no corroboration of these charges has been received:

1. As previously related, Alexander Gregory-Graff Barmine alleged that General Berzin had identified Lattimore as an American working with the Soviet Government. (74-1333-1147, p. 90)
2. As related above, Paul and Hedi Massing expressed the opinion that Lattimore was a Soviet agent, based upon a review of his writings.

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3. [redacted] by memorandum of July 11, 1947, reported the following information on Owen Lattimore: "Suspected in 1927 when he was in Shanghai of espionage for some foreign power. In February, 1935, was described as editor of 'Pacific Relations,' the quarterly of the Institute of Pacific Relations." ~~X~~

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The Legal Attache in London reported by letter of October 24, 1949 that, [redacted] advised that the original source of this information, [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (100-24628-11) ~~X~~

4. On May 24, 1949, Bernard Yho, Secretary to the Archbishop of Nanking, China, who was a Colonel in the Chinese Army Intelligence during the war, advised the New York Office that in 1946, Yf Chi, Director of Kuomintang Intelligence had informed him that some Chinese who had been arrested by Kuomintang Intelligence in 1942 or 1943 had reported that Lattimore, while acting as an adviser to Chiang Kai-Shek, had been divulging information to the Soviets. Yho had never met Lattimore nor had he heard of him prior to this time, nor could he supply any further details about this allegation. He suggested, however, that the Chinese arrested may have been "information brokers" who bought and sold information for monetary gain rather than for ideological motives. This information was relayed to CIA on May 22, 1949 for investigation but to date nothing has been received from CIA to confirm the allegation. (100-24628-38) u

5. Miss Freda Uteley was interviewed on May 16, 1949 by agents of the Washington Field Division and stated that she formerly worked for the Comintern in Moscow. She said that in the spring of 1936, she met Lattimore with Edward C. Carter in Moscow and at that time both were engaged as representatives of the Institute of Pacific Relations. She was then employed by the Institute of World Economics and Politics which was affiliated with the IPR. She said that Carter acted as a subservient employee of the Russians and took instructions from them, while Lattimore on the other hand was argumentative, was not inclined u

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to yield in his judgment and according to Miss Utley, was not a member of the Communist Party. He indicated to Miss Utley that he considered Carter much too subservient to the Russians at that time. (Ibid. 80) U

Louis Francis Budenz reported that the Institute of Pacific Relations was not a Communist front but that Communist Party members and apologists had infiltrated its most influential committees. Budenz pointed out that Lattimore had been editor of "Pacific Affairs," journal of the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1934 to 1941. He related that in many instances Communists were successful in impressing their views on the State Department by planting articles with the proper slant in such magazines as "Far Eastern Survey" and "Pacific Affairs," as well as "Amerasia." The first named two magazines are publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations. (100-24628-80) U

6. On October 6, 1949, former Ambassador William C. Bullitt, Ashfield, Massachusetts, advised Agents of the Boston Office that in his opinion Owen Lattimore was the type of person whom the Communist Party would not permit to become a member of the Party because he was too valuable to the Soviet Union in the capacity of a non-member of the Communist Party. Bullitt expressed the opinion that Lattimore had considerable influence on policy-making officials of the Department of State and their relationships with countries of the Far East, but said that he was the type of person who was very hard to directly identify with the Communist Party because he was "too subtle." He further expressed the opinion that Lattimore, while not a card-bearing member of the Communist Party, closely followed the Soviet line. Bullitt said he had no factual information regarding membership in the Communist Party on the part of Lattimore. (Ibid. 94) U

7. Father James F. Kearney, S.F., in an article in the September, 1949 issue of "Columbia," a monthly publication of the Knights of Columbus entitled "Disaster in China," charged that Lattimore's advice to the State Department had already brought China to disaster and that there were those who believed that no American deserved more credit for the Sino-American disaster and the Russian triumph than Lattimore and a small group of his followers. Father Kearney was editor of the "Catholic Review" at Nanking, China from 1929 to 1946. (Ibid. 138) U

Father Kearney who is now located at Santa Clara, California was recently interviewed by the San Francisco Office and advised that U

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he had no direct knowledge of Lattimore's activities and that the principal source of his information had been Alfred Kohlberg of the American-China Policy Association in New York City, who had charged that Lattimore "screened" applicants for positions in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department. Father Kearney pointed out that Kohlberg was intensely anti-Communist and was known to be indiscreet. Bureau files indicate that Kohlberg has not always been factual in his allegations and because of his intense hatred of Communism cannot be implicitly relied upon. (Ibid. 149)

8. Dies Committee. The "Baltimore News Post" of September 28, 1945, in an article entitled "Communist Propaganda in Our Armed Forces" by David Sentner and Kent Hunter, reported that Lattimore had been named in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as being affiliated with the following Communist front groups:

- The Hollywood Writers' Mobilization;
- The Maryland Association for Democratic Rights;
- The Washington Committee for Aid to China;
- The Editorial Board of "Amerasia."

The reference to the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization possibly refers to a report submitted by the Dies Committee which revealed that a program announcing the Writers' Congress, 1943, listed Owen Lattimore, Office of War Information, as a speaker at the opening session scheduled for October 1, 1943, at Royce Hall, University of California. According to the program, the Congress was to be held October 1 to 3, 1943, under the joint auspices of the University of California and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. Nowhere in this report was any other affiliation of Lattimore with this group announced. (62-7582-1298, p. 989)

The reference to the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights possibly referred to a Dies Committee report that related that a conference on Democratic Rights was held June 14 and 15, 1940, by the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights, 19 Medical Arts Building, Baltimore, Maryland. The Maryland Association for Democratic Rights was reported to have been formed by a group of individuals who were concerned with "freedom of religion, speech press assembly...., no unreasonable search...., no arrest without warrant...., right to trial by jury...., equal protection for all persons." This association was affiliated with the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. (61-7582-1298, p. 1136)

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Among the sponsors for the conference were Owen Lattimore and Mrs. Owen Lattimore.

In this connection, a Bureau memorandum dated May 12, 1944, entitled "Vice President Henry Wallace's Trip to China and Russia, Information Concerning," contains a summary of information on Owen Lattimore in which it is stated: "He is also noted as a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties." The memorandum further states: "On February 12, 1941, he appeared on the same program with Frederick V. Field, Secretary of 'Amerasia' and Executive Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization, at a rally held in Washington, D. C., sponsored by the American Peace Mobilization." (100-1170-49; 62-71788)

These statements are significant inasmuch as both the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the American Peace Mobilization have been designated by the Attorney General as being organizations within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

An effort was made without success to locate specific references in Bureau files to Lattimore's membership in the NFCL and his appearance on an APM Program. (100-1170-49; 62-71788)

The references of 100-1170-49 and 62-71788 on which the statements in the memorandum were based contain information from the report of Special Agent T. W. Dawsey dated March 10, 1941 at Washington, D. C., entitled "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Internal Security - C." On page 49 of that report the following statement appears: "The following is a list of names and addresses of individuals and organizations contained in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. It is believed that those are the names of individuals.... interested in social legislation who might participate in a national lobby against legislation objected to by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."

On page 52 of this report, the names of Dr. and Mrs. Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University appear on the list, which is not identified as a membership list. (100-1170-73; 49; 62-71788)

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The further reference to Lattimore's appearance at a rally sponsored by the American Peace Mobilization, above referred to in the memorandum of May 12, 1944, could also not be substantiated by a specific reference in Bureau files. It should be noted that the Dies Committee reports contain a reference to a meeting held on February 11, 1941 at the First Baptist Church in Washington under the sponsorship of the Washington Committee for Aid to China, at which Owen Lattimore and Frederick V. Field, Editor of "Amerasia; member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations; and Executive Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization were the principal speakers. At this meeting Lattimore was quoted as saying that this country, "although pledged to become the arsenal of democracy, had become the arsenal of aggression." (Dies Committee Report, pages 1688, 1689; 62-7582-1298)

The "Washington Post" of February 12, 1941, also reported that Frederick V. Field, Executive Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization and Owen J. Lattimore spoke at the "Stop Aiding Japan" mass meeting held at the First Baptist Church on February 11, 1941.

In testimony before the Dies Committee, one Zola Ardene Clear stated that the Washington Committee to Aid China was a Communist Party front organization. However, there is no reference in the Bureau files to indicate that a similar meeting sponsored by the American Peace Mobilization was held in Washington on February 12, 1941 and it is thought that the reference in the memorandum of May 12, 1944, erroneously referred to the aforementioned meeting. (100-1170-49)

According to the Dies Committee report, the August, 1938 issue of the magazine "Amerasia" listed Owen Lattimore as a member of the editorial board. The report stated that the magazine "Amerasia" dealt with matters of America and the Far East, and specialized in Communist propaganda. (61-7582-1298, p. 18)

In this connection, Bureau files indicate that in the spring of 1945, one Andrew Roth, formerly a Lieutenant in the Office of Naval Intelligence, was arrested with five others, all of whom were charged with having in their possession certain secret Government documents. The charges against Roth were dropped early in 1946, although two persons, Philip F. Jaffe, Editor of the "Amerasia" magazine and Emmanuel Larsen, State Department employee were convicted and were fined \$2500 and \$500 respectively on the aforementioned charge. Roth was a known associate of Lattimore and at least on one occasion was known to have spent the night at Lattimore's home in Baltimore.

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100-1170-49

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9. Other material contained in Bureau files.

The Maryland Civil Liberties Committee, 513 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland, an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, held a one-day conference on October 19, 1940. The introduction was given by Dr. Owen Lattimore, Vice Chairman. (100-26140-1, p. 13) U

Owen Lattimore and his wife have been prominent in Russian War Relief activities in the vicinity of Baltimore. Mrs. Lattimore was a sponsor of the Russian War Relief, Incorporated for Baltimore, and was on the Advisory Board of Russian War Relief, Incorporated, the national organization. (100-267360-920X1) U

Guenther Reinhardt, a confidential informant of the Bureau, advised that Lattimore attended a Russian War Relief dance in New York which was attended by many prominent Communists and Soviet Ambassador Maxim Litvinoff. Mr. and Mrs. Lattimore were guests of Edward C. Carter, President of Russian War Relief, Incorporated and sat in the Carter box with Litvinoff, Lady Clarke-Kerr and Lillian Hellman. (61-7566-3299) U

Owen Lattimore wrote a letter of introduction to Robert Sherwood of the Office of War Information for Haakon Chevalier, which he signed as Director of Pacific Operations, OWI. Chevalier was then under investigation as a possible Soviet agent. He had been very active among professional branches of the Communist Party in the San Francisco area, and allegedly was a Party member himself. (100-267360-920X1; 65-56402-292, p. 13) U

Owen Lattimore was included in a partial list of stockholders of the Metropolitan Broadcasting Company of Washington, D. C., who were suspected of Communist activities or sympathies. Mary Jane Keeney, the program director for the company, with whom both Lattimore and his wife are friendly, is now employed by the United Nations Secretariat, is a suspected Soviet agent and a close associate of subjects in the Gregory case. She is also in close contact with numerous satellite diplomatic officers. The Lattimores were observed in 1946 at the Keeney home in Washington. (65-56402-1908, p. 55) U

Lattimore and his wife were also observed in 1947 in company with Dave Wahl, who was described as head of the Communist underground movement in Washington and Vladimir Houdek, First Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Embassy. The meeting apparently was in connection with a trip that Lattimore contemplated to Czechoslovakia. (65-56402-1-1763) U

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In 1945, Lattimore was Honorary Vice Chairman and served on the Board of Directors of Indusco, Inc., or the American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, which is said to be Communist influenced and is currently under investigation by the Bureau as a Communist front. (92-2956-10)

10. Information obtained from public sources.

The Washington "Times Herald" of October 26, 1945, in an article entitled "State Department Sends McArthur Soviet Sympathizers as Aides," reported that, "Another Red sympathizer, if not a Communist, Owen Lattimore, has been named a Special Economic Adviser to Tokyo." (109-12-23-234-A)

The New York Times of April 21, 1947, in an article entitled "Fight Nears Climax in Pacific Institute," reported that Alfred Kohlberg, who had been carrying on a struggle against alleged Communist domination of the professional staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations, explained his contention that the Executive Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations was dominated by four individuals - Edward C. Carter, Frederick V. Field, Harriet Lucy Moore and Owen Lattimore. (100-64700-A-9)

The "Chicago Tribune" of February 9, 1946, reported a speech in the House of Representatives by Rep. Shafer (R. Michigan), in which he charged that the State Department was being "Stalined" and that one of the Soviet sympathizers sent as an Aide to General McArthur was Owen Lattimore. (62-39749A)

The Washington "Evening Star" of April 9, 1944, in an article headlined, "Expense-Paid Palestine Parley Accused as Extremist Front," reported that at a meeting held at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C. on April 8, 1948, sponsored by the American League for a Free Palestine, charges were made by several other organizations that those attending were serving unwittingly as a front for the extremist organization. Among the college professors, members of Congress and former Government officials attending was Owen Lattimore. (100-316012-A)

The May, 1947 issue of "Plain Talk" charged that the turning point in American Far Eastern policy came with the mission of Henry A. Wallace to China in the summer of 1944. Among his advisors and guides

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on the trip was Owen Lattimore, who was described as the leading propagandist for the doctrine that Chinese Communists are not real Communists but are true Democrats who are "merely innocuous reformers." (94-36511-59) U

United States Army Intelligence Reports in two articles dated February 12 and 13, 1941, entitled "Moscow Derides American Forum of the Air" reported a Radio Moscow attack upon an American Forum of the Air Broadcast from San Francisco in which Lattimore, Congressman Walter Judd and others participated. Radio Moscow reported Lattimore's contention that American armaments were flowing to the Kudemintang Army and that claims that the Chinese Communists were receiving aid from the Soviet Union were completely lacking in proof. (62-73361-440, p. 8) U

An article by Lattimore on "Soviet Policy Toward Minority Peoples," which reflected a favorable attitude toward Soviet policies and an analysis consistently approving Soviet action in the Far East was published in "Far Eastern Journal" and was reprinted in "Soviet Culture in Wartime" in 1944. (123-1212-3) U

Benjamin Holberg, an anti-Communist writer prepared a 26-page document on Communist infiltration in the State Department for the Industrial Conference Board of New York City in 1946 in which he charged that Lattimore was the most important adviser to the State Department on Far Eastern Policy. He was classed as "one of a number of top-flight apologists in this country for Soviet Policy in China, who have written pro-Soviet books and articles, who have addressed and sponsored Communist front organizations, who have been officially associated with important Communist Party members on various boards, but who, nevertheless, blithely deny they are pro-Communist." Holberg said that one of Lattimore's tasks in the State Department was to conduct "orientation conferences and training programs for personnel of the Foreign Service." (62-39749-828) U

Owen Lattimore was named among noted writers who had supported Communist-controlled movements, manifestoes, political candidates and the like in an article entitled "Noted Writers, Actors, Artists and Professors Follow Party Line, Espouse Red Causes," published July 2, 1946, in the "Communist Fifth Column" by the Chicago Journal of Commerce. (100-3-2018 Enc. p. 27) U

The October, 1937 issue of "Amerasia" reported that Philip Jaffe, Editor of "Amerasia" had recently returned from a four-months U

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stay in the Far East, accompanied by two other members of the "Amerasia" Editorial Board, T. A. Bisson and Owen Lattimore. Jaffe interviewed Mao Tse-tung, whom it will be noted is the present leader of the Chinese Communist Government in Peking.

It should be noted that none of the foregoing information was disseminated to outside agencies with the exception of a brief summary furnished to the Attorney General on March 29, 1949 in requesting a technical surveillance.

CIA and the Navy Department were also advised that the Bureau was conducting an espionage investigation in connection with requests for investigation to those agencies on May 22, 1949 and May 15, 1949 respectively.

The State Department has requested a summary of derogatory information, and a memorandum will shortly be furnished that Department.

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copy:

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Date March 14 1950 Time 4:24pm

Mr. Seth W. Richardson, Loyalty

Review Board - thru secretary

Phone No.

REMARKS

When informed of the Director's absence, Mr. Richardson requested to speak with Mr. Ladd and was transferred accordingly.

Mr. Ladd's office advises that Mr. Richardson believes there is a leak in the Loyalty Review Board. He stated that Senator McCarthy had made a statement this morning about John Stewart Service and this information had not been furnished to the State Department until after McCarthy's testimony of this morning. Mr. Richardson wondered if the FBI could help and Mr. Ladd advised him this appeared to be an administrative matter and that either he, Richardson, or the Civil Service Commission should look into it.

fjw

DIRECTOR'S NOTATION: "Right. H"

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Ladd's office advised that Mr. Richardson believes there is a leak in the Loyalty Review Board.

*Handwritten circled number:* 145

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NOT RECORDED  
82 JUN 27 1950

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. IADD *Dr*  
FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT *Dr*  
SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

DATE: 3-15-50

43506 ✓

Tolson ✓  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols ✓  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Former SA B. Downey Rice stopped by to see Mr. Laughlin late in the afternoon of March 14, 1950. Mr. Rice referred to a conversation had with you regarding the list of State Department employees and you suggested that in the event he had any information of interest to the Bureau that we would appreciate obtaining any data he cared to turn over.

*Joseph R. McKeown*  
Mr. Rice advised that approximately two or three weeks ago he received information indicating that Senator McCarthy was looking for an investigator. Upon talking to the Senator, Rice agreed to undertake on a fee basis the investigation of certain cases. Mr. Rice said that he was assisted locally by former SA Dale Adams and more recently for a shorter period of time by former SA Don Surine. He added that former SA John Keenan handled some of the leads in New York.

Mr. Rice explained that Senator McCarthy had some information and it was the duty of he and his coworkers to endeavor to develop this material. He said it was a terrifically hard job in that in but a few cases was there any substantive material and, further, since Senator McCarthy was constantly "jumping the gun." Rice mentioned that he and his coworkers did succeed in getting some information on approximately four or five good cases which the Senator was to use in his statement before the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations this week. However, quite obviously, Mr. Rice continued, the Senator was not relying completely on his investigators but must have had some other sources. For example, Rice stated, he and his group furnished the Senator absolutely no information on Dorothy Kenyon. Whoever made material on her available to Senator McCarthy did it "via the back door." Rice said that he suspects that some newspaper reporter gave the Senator the information on Kenyon. He added that the Senator's mentioning her came as a complete surprise to him and the other investigators.

Rice then stated that former Inspector E. P. Morgan had been named as General Counsel of the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations to probe this matter. He was of the opinion that no other members of the staff had been selected at the time of his conversation. He said that he was aware that originally it was intended that the Assistant Counsel would be a Republican but that he, Rice, gathered from talking to Morgan that Morgan wanted a free hand and was not concerned with the political question.

Mr. Rice said that he and the other investigators who assisted him were "out" as of that time and would have no further access to any of the material available to Senator McCarthy.

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- Tolson
- Ladd
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

33873

# Undermining Foreign Policy

## A Communication

WE ARE deeply disturbed by the current attacks upon the integrity and devotion to American interests of the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, and the personnel of the State Department.

We are keenly aware of the corrosive results of such attacks upon the efficiency and effectiveness of Government personnel. However much Government officials may steel themselves against irresponsible onslaught, however much they may seek to ignore unfounded personal abuse, their ability to devote themselves to their tasks, to command public confidence and to persuade those with whom they deal are profoundly affected.

It is for this reason that we believe that the irresponsible personal attacks upon Mr. Acheson and the personnel of the State Department represent a serious danger to the national interest. These attacks, sponsored as they are by persons in high position, have the effect of undermining the officials who are in charge of our foreign relations. They are a severe blow to our effectiveness in international affairs.

NO ONE would suggest that it is necessary for Americans to agree on any particular policy advanced by the State Department. All international programs must be subjected to public criticism if they are to receive public support. But the attacks upon the State Department now made are not criticism of its policies. On the contrary, they are attempts to make both Americans and citizens of foreign countries believe that whatever policy the State Department advocates is the product of men who do not have the real interest of the United States at heart. This is being done by innuendo and suggestion of Communist affiliation and sympathy. The effort of the charges is to create suspicion of the motives of those who are engaged in the most difficult task which American diplomacy ever faced.

Nor would it be suggested that officials of the Government, including the State Department, should be immune from criticism or investigation. But to make unsupported charges of Communist affiliation, however disguised or qualified, is base, inexcusable and unpatriotic in a fundamental sense.

ANYONE—including a Senator—who impairs the effectiveness of our international relations for partisan purposes, discredits his party and his office; and anyone who does this by unfounded personal attacks upon the loyalty and integrity of individual public officials, is doubly guilty.

We are forced to conclude that the very purpose of these attacks is to divide the people of this country, for partisan purposes, on the crucial question of foreign policy administration. Certainly its effect is to weaken the position of our officials abroad and to impair their efforts to rally the free nations of the world to united opposition to the spread of communism. No one, except a Communist sympathizer or a vain, reckless and arrogant man would deliberately lend himself to such ends.

We write this letter in the hope that others will join with us in expressing to the State Department, in whose hands our destiny is so largely entrusted, that we believe in its high purpose and integrity and that we regard any attempt to undermine confidence in its good faith as subversive of American interests.

THURMAN ARNOLD,  
ABE FORTAS,  
PAUL A. PORTER.

Washington.

gm

Communist notes on this 17. Department

Dean Acheson

Strange these ardent champions of our democracy of alleged foes of subversion never sign their names when real subversives attack the FBI but in this case they join up.

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Mirror

Date: MAR 15 1950

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62-39744

MAR 20 1950

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58 MAR 21 1950

Director, FBI

March 15, 1950

GUY MOTTLE, SAC, Washington Field 33871

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

Informant [redacted] advised on March 14, 1950 that GAIL CHIPLEY contacted ROBERT SILBERSTEIN of the Lawyers Guild relative to a radio program on Sunday, March 19, 1950 over Radio Station WASH, concerning the MCGARNEY accusations against State Department personnel. CHIPLEY indicated he wanted SILBERSTEIN and some other individuals, possibly JOE RAINI or somebody from the ABA, to explain the significance of these accusations. SILBERSTEIN agreed to appear on the program and CHIPLEY will advise later of the identity of the other individuals.

b7D

The program will be recorded at Station WASH at 5:15 P. M., Friday, March 17, 1950. u

Classification upheld  
No 909 on 4/10/78

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DPJ/DLC  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) DATE 4/20/78

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PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 15, 1950

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

The Bureau has received two requests that it investigate an alleged leak of information in the President's Loyalty Review Board. These requests emanated from Mr. Seth Richardson of the Loyalty Review Board and Mr. Donald S. Dawson of the White House.

The requests are based on statements made by Senator McCarthy before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which is looking into the loyalty of State Department employees. In dealing with the case of John Stewart Service, a State Department employee, Senator McCarthy stated that the loyalty case on Service was being referred back to the State Department Loyalty Board by the Loyalty Review Board.

Mr. Richardson, in connection with his request, stated that the decision concerning the Service case had been held very close to the Loyalty Review Board and had not been communicated to the State Department until the afternoon after Senator McCarthy, on the morning of the same day, had referred to the matter.

Mr. Dawson has been advised that the Bureau cannot undertake this investigation in view of the fact that the leak is purely an administrative matter within the Loyalty Review Board.

I also wanted to inform you that Mr. Richardson was advised that this matter is strictly an administrative problem and does not amount to any violation which this Bureau can investigate. It was suggested that either the Loyalty Review Board or the Civil Service Commission handle the inquiry.

EHW:WMAJ

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ON 4/10/78 DFG/OLC

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
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25 JUN 27 1950

ORIGINAL FILED IN 121-3-244

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: LEAK OF INFORMATION  
LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD

DATE: March 15, 1950

On March 14, 1950, SA Edward S. Sanders was advised by Chester D. Smith, a personal friend, who is a Civil Service Commission legal advisor to the President's Loyalty Review Board, that apparently Thomas W. Beale, also assigned as legal advisor to the Review Board, is furnishing information to certain Republican Congressmen. Smith advised Sanders that while he could not prove this allegation, he based it upon the fact that the Dorothy Kenyon case was sent to the Loyalty Review Board for a post audit and was assigned to a Mr. Davis for review. Beale allegedly exhibited an extreme interest in the case and, in fact, wrote the review of the case in which he "blistered" the State Department for the stand taken in instant case. The memorandum written by Beale was referred to Mr. Mulloy, under whom the legal advisors operate, and Mulloy returned the case to the State Department by letter which neither approved nor disapproved the stand taken by the State Department. However, according to Smith, the next morning Senator McCarthy severely criticized the State Department for its stand and quoted the stand supposedly taken by the Loyalty Review Board. McCarthy's information apparently came directly from the review written by Beale.

Smith further advised Sanders that Beale spends a great amount of his time abstracting information from Bureau reports, reports from the House Un-American Activities Committee and other sources on 3 by 5 cards which he cross references for personal files in his office. It was stated that this project is not a Civil Service Commission project, is not a part of Beale's official work, and is never used in connection with Civil Service Commission business. It was estimated that Beale had approximately 30,000 of these cards filed alphabetically in his office. It was further alleged that several months ago Beale carried home with him each night a full brief case. Smith did not know what was contained in the brief case but advised there was no reason for Beale to be taking official work home with him at night. Smith further advised Sanders that Beale had made the statement that he could sell the 3 by 5 cards in his file for a considerable amount. Smith did not indicate whether Beale indicated any intentions of "peddling" this information. He did state, however, that the file is strictly personal and that Beale would not go to such lengths to abstract this information "just for the fun of it." Sanders interpreted this remark that Beale either intends to use the cards politically at this time or perhaps for monetary gains at a later date.

According to Smith, in 1944 the Civil Service Commission established, for all practical purposes, that Beale had been furnishing information to Congressmen Wigglesworth, Busby, Reese and Vursell. He further pointed out that Busby was defeated last year for reelection but is running again in the next election and that his campaign is to be based upon the anti-Communist platform. He stated that Busby and his wife have recently visited in Washington, D. C. in the home of Beale.

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MEMO TO MR. LADD

Smith advised Sanders that he was recently approached by telephone by a Mr. Houston, who is with AFGE, a Federal employees union, and was requested to furnish to a representative of an unnamed Congressman information concerning the inside operation of the Loyalty Review Board. Upon Smith's refusal, Houston allegedly remarked to another individual on the other end of the telephone line: "It makes no difference. I have another contact inside the Loyalty Review Board." Smith stated that Beale is acquainted with Houston.

Smith advised that he realized that the foregoing is not conclusive proof that Beale is giving out information, but that there definitely appears to be a leak in the Loyalty Review Board and that it is his personal feeling that Beale is the source of the leak. Smith characterized Beale as a staunch Republican.

The foregoing information was given to Sanders in the strictest of personal confidence with the understanding that it would be passed to you. Smith requested, however, that any action taken by the Bureau in this connection be in such a manner as to not indicate that he had furnished this information. He pointed out that several people working at the Loyalty Review Board are aware of the fact that he and Sanders are personal friends and that they would naturally suspect him of furnishing information to the Bureau. He advised that he is willing to furnish to the Bureau through Sanders any information he may have or may be able to obtain. He advised that his actions are not motivated by any personal dislike for Beale, but that he did not feel that the information in the Board should be divulged to other persons.

Sanders has advised that Smith originally set up the Civil Service Commission subversive files and has a number of years of experience in Civil Service investigative and administrative work. He is further described as a stable, reliable person.

RECOMMENDATION:

The foregoing is for your information and in accordance with your instructions to Sanders to submit this memorandum inasmuch as this matter would be of interest to the Director.

12:35 PM

March 24, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

43504

Mr. Peyton Ford called me with reference to the meeting of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee <sup>held this morning in the</sup> and Lodge were present. I commented that I certainly could not agree with Senator Lodge's attitude about issuing a statement and Mr. Ford agreed and stated that he had gotten a final agreement that if there was one leak about the meeting or anything connected with it then a statement would be issued promptly. I commented I certainly felt the Attorney General was entitled to that consideration. Mr. Ford then read to me a rough draft of a proposed statement to be used in the event of a leak and asked for my opinion. The statement is as follows:

"Senator Millard D. Tydings, and members of the Subcommittee investigating charges of subversives in the State Department met with the Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, Department of Justice, this morning on the invitation of the Attorney General for the purpose of giving to the Subcommittee such information as the Attorney General felt he could give to them <sup>consistent to the best</sup> interests of the United States. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, prepared for the Attorney General complete analysis of the FBI files with respect to the one name on which the Committee sought the cooperation of the Department. The Attorney General read this complete summation to the Committee and both he and Director Hoover gave to the Committee a very complete statement on the file in this particular case and also a statement with respect to making available to Congressional Committee FBI files. The Attorney General pointed out to the Committee that the contents of this file must be kept in complete confidence, and the fact that such a file was in existence was not to be construed as any reflection on the person involved as it is standard procedure to investigate all allegations made. Attending the conference et cetera  
\*\*\*\*\*The President of the United States is fully advised By the Attorney General in this matter."

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C. J. ...  
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I stated that I thought this statement was all right because I felt there was bound to be a leak someplace. I stated I wish a public hearing could have been

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held this afternoon because we could have gotten a statement up in time for my appearance there that could have nailed it then. As it is I stated that because of Senator Lodge's position in the matter it will have to go over under Monday which is likely to cause a lot of speculations and charges being made up and down the country as to what the mystery is all about.

I told Mr. Ford the thing that concerned me, and which I did not care to mention at the meeting this morning, was that Senator Hickenlooper was not present and I was wondering if the agreements were binding as far as he was concerned because I certainly did not feel that the summary which was read at the meeting should be made public at any hearing. Mr. Ford stated that Senator Hickenlooper was bound by them and that he, Ford, would see that the summary was not introduced. Mr. Ford stated that if any other questions were asked of me the Attorney General and he would object to them, and upon my query as to whether the Attorney General would be back from New York in time for the hearing, Mr. Ford replied that he would be back in time.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

42505

cc-Mr. Nease

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10:03 AM

March 24, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

43502

Peyton Ford called and said there was to be a meeting in the Attorney General's Office at 10:30 which was to be attended by Senators Tydings, McMahon, Green and Lodge and he wanted me to be present to answer two questions: namely. "is this in a summary of your files - yes" and to ask for any views I have on the production of reports. Mr. Ford stated they were not going to discuss anything else. I told him I would be there.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc-Mr. Nease

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M U M • UNITED



GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field  
SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

49870

DATE: March 15, 1950

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

Attention: Assistant Director D. W. Ladd

In accordance with verbal instructions of Assistant Director D. W. Ladd to Special Agent in Charge Guy Hottel on March 7, 1950, Special Agents Kenneth D. Annenson and William J. McGrath, Jr. attended the hearing of the Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the investigation of State Department personnel held at the Caucus Room, Senate Office Building on March 14, 1950.

During the afternoon session of this Committee meeting, Miss DOROTHY KENYON appeared before the Sub-Committee in response to her request and to answer the allegations made by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Miss KENYON furnished background information concerning herself and answered the charges by stating that she is not and never has been a Communist, Fellow Traveller, supporter of, member of, or sympathizer with any organization known or suspected of being controlled or dominated by Communists. Her denial was intended to be all inclusive. She advised that she was a member of Americans for Democratic Action, American Civil Liberties Union, was a registered Democrat, and defined herself as being an independent liberal Rooseveltian Democrat devoted to and working for the working conditions of labor and the preservation of Civil Liberties.

She then followed the list of organizations which she was alleged to be a member of and which she procured from the newspapers and offered her explanations for each of the allegations.

Miss KENYON had a special text which she read to the Committee concerning the foregoing and a copy of this text is enclosed herewith.

Senator Hickenlooper, a member of the Sub-Committee, then proceeded to question Miss KENYON regarding the exhibits which had been turned over to the Sub-Committee by Senator McCarthy and Miss KENYON followed as her answers those which had been given to the Committee in her prepared text. For those organizations of which she stated she had no prior knowledge, she advised that she either had no information in her files, could not remember being active in them, or advised that she had withdrawn from the organization once she found out what the general purpose of it was.

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Senator Hickenlooper produced a photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Daily Worker on February 10, 1944, which reflected a letter sending greetings to the Women of the Soviet Union. He pointed out that Miss KENYON's name appeared as one of the signers to this letter. Miss KENYON stated that she, along with other notable persons such as DOROTHY THOMPSON, had sent this letter of greeting to the Women of the Soviet Union, but pointed out that this was at the height of the war effort when the United States and Soviet Russia were considered close allies, and that she and the other signers did wish to express their admiration for the part the Soviet Women played in the war effort.

Senator Hickenlooper also called to Miss KENYON's attention a news story which appeared in the Times Record, Troy, New York, on January 17, 1950, reflecting the account of a speech Miss KENYON had made before a group in regard to the trial of ALGER HISS. This article quoted Miss KENYON as saying that the trial of ALGER HISS was a result of the hysteria brought about by the House Investigative Committee. She was also quoted as saying that there was no direct evidence to prove the accusations against HISS. In answering, Miss KENYON stated that these statements were correct as she recalled, and remembered also saying that she felt that any jury that might be selected to try ALGER HISS would be prejudiced to a certain degree. She felt that it would be impossible to get a fair jury for the trial of HISS because of the hysteria built up by the House Committee on Un-American Activities about the case.

Miss KENYON further added that she had always been a champion of Civil Liberties and a fighter for the cause of the underdog and that she felt that the terming of an organization as being subversive without direct process of law was in itself a violation of civil liberties.

In further defense of her statements that she was not a Communist, or Communist sympathizer, Miss KENYON stated that since she has been at the UN she has constantly fought for her Russian equal on the Board who is a Madame POPOVA. She also cited the release of a news item from Moscow which was critical of her work at the UN and her fight with her Russian counterpart.

During the proceedings, Miss KENYON was asked whether or not she had ever been questioned about her membership in these organizations by anyone at the State Department, to which she answered definitely no. In response to a question she stated that she would have appreciated and been delighted to have been questioned concerning any allegations or questions which might have been reflected in her file.

In closing the hearing, Senator McMahon of Rhode Island, produced a letter which he had received and which Miss KENYON's counsel read into the record. This letter was from a group of prominent New York attorneys attesting the loyalty and fine character of Miss KENYON.

ENCLOSURE

(2)

League of Women Shoppers

I begin with the League of Women Shoppers because my connection with that organization, which was set up to investigate labor disputes, is ancient history and it was also very short-lived. Evelyn Preston Baldwin, wife of Roger Baldwin and a close friend of mine, became its president at its founding in 1935 or thereabouts. I was a sponsor. We both withdrew a year or so later. I remember that I did so because I did not approve the way the investigations were being handled. If it was communist then, neither of us knew it.

(3)

Political Prisoners' Bail Fund Committee

The Political Prisoners' Bail Fund Committee is also ancient history.

I have no documentation on this organization in my files but I remember that I served as sponsor for a short time at the request of Roger Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin, who was a trustee of the Fund, tells me that he and others set it up about 1925 to write bail in a great variety of worthy cases, some may possibly have involved communists but most of them definitely did not. It was liquidated about 1934. He regarded it as wholly non-partisan and non-communist. It is significant that it is apparently not on any subversive list. It is described in the charges merely as subsidiary to the International Labor Defense, which is on the subversive list. The connection between them is not stated.

*There is no evidence it subsidiary of I.L.D. (4) (X)*

Consumer's Union

The Consumer's Union is also ancient history. I have never represented Consumer's Union. I had acted as attorney for Consumer's Research in its incorporation and for several years thereafter prior to 1935 but I never acted for Consumer's Union. Consumer's Union came

Thus far I have not been confronted with this documentary proof and as I am totally unaware of the contents of most of the documents, I am in no position to make any categorical denials or assertions regarding such statements as they may contain. Here and now, however, I can and do state, with the absolute confidence borne of my personal and positive knowledge, that there does not exist and never has existed any genuine document that proves or even tends to prove that I have ever knowingly joined or sponsored or participated in the activities of any organization known to me to be even slightly subversive.

Frankness and caution admonish me to avoid creating false impressions or otherwise putting myself in the position of the lady who protested too much. I cannot and do not deny that my name may have been used, even at times with my consent, in connection with organizations that later proved to be subversive but which, at the time seemed to be engaged in activities or dedicated to objectives which I could and did approve. Nevertheless I challenge and defy anyone to prove that I ever joined, or sponsored, or continued to identify myself with, any organizations or individuals I knew, or had reason to believe, were subversive.

I do not even know the names of all the 28 or more Communist Front Organizations I am supposed to have joined. I have taken the list of organizations from the published reports in the press. The names may not be quite accurate and the list is apparently incomplete. It was impossible for me to identify some of the names and events described in those charges. I have done the best I could, however, in the brief time since hearing of them and have searched my files, and my own memory in respect to each one. If any further organizations are alluded to today I shall ask the Committee's indulgence for time to investigate and make my replies thereon at a later date.

My interest in education, in labor problems and in the problems of women made me an early member of the American Association of University Women, of which I am now second vice-president. I am also a member of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., a director of the Women's City Club of New York, the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, and the Committee of Women in World Affairs. I was also for many years on the board of the Consumers' League of New York and was for a time its President. I am also a member of numerous other women's organizations.

I am, and always have been, an independent, liberal, democrat, devoted to and actively working for such causes as the improvement of the living and working conditions of labor and the preservation of civil liberties. To the latter cause especially I have given much time and attention and have made speeches on that subject for many years in various parts of the country. ~~At times I have expressed~~ unpopular causes in that connection and have probably made some enemies of those who disagreed with my views.

I am, and always have been, an ardent, outspoken American citizen, yielding to no one in my admiration of the great privileges this country offers to all its sons and daughters and determined to do all I can to maintain those privileges inviolate forever. I am, and always have been, unalterably opposed to anyone who advocates the overthrow of our Government by force or violence or who otherwise engages in subversive activities or entertains subversive ideas.

I am not content to rely on these general denials and observations, and therefore proceed to deal more specifically with the charges against me. In substance, as I understand it, it is claimed that it can be established by documentary proof that I have been at some time a member of 28 or more Communist Front Organizations and therefore stand convicted under the doctrine of guilt by association.

jurists (of whom I was the only American) to study the legal status of women throughout the world. This Commission continued to operate until the war made further communication between the members impossible. I have also served on a number of governmentally appointed Commissions and committees dealing with such subjects as the regulation of employment agencies, minimum wage legislation, consumer cooperative corporations, problems growing out of the war-time employment of women, etc. I have also done a small amount of labor arbitration.

My interest in good government led me early into the ranks of the League of Women Voters, of which I have been a member for almost thirty years and which I have served in many capacities and offices. It also led me into the Citizens Union of New York, of whose Executive Committee I have been a member for almost twenty years. When the American Labor party was formed in New York I was one of its earliest members but I left it after our efforts to save it from communist domination finally failed. I am now an enrolled Democrat. I am also a member of Americans for Democratic Action.

My interest in civil liberties led me equally early into the ranks of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which I have been a member of the board for almost twenty years. In that connection I have fought on many civil liberties issues and have participated in many briefs amicus in defense of the bill of rights.

people and my impulse to fight for them is my religion and it is the light by which I live. I also believe that it is America. There is not a communist bone in my body.

This is a matter of grave consequence to me. Literally over night, whatever personal and professional reputation and standing I may have acquired after many years in private practice and some in public office, have been seriously jeopardized, if not destroyed by the widespread dissemination of charges of Communistic leanings or proclivities that are utterly false. The truth may never catch up with the lie, but in so far as I can, I desire to regain as much of what I have lost as possible and I have faith that this Sub-Committee will see that justice is done. Of course I am more than willing to attempt to answer any questions the members of this sub-committee, or anyone permitted by the sub-committee, may care to ask. I conclude with an expression of my appreciation of the opportunity and privilege afforded me so promptly, to answer these charges at this public hearing.

\*\*\*\*



The issue was always slavery versus freedom. I raised the point over and over again in writings, speeches, at meetings, even over the Voice of America.

Eventually Moscow answered back. -- Maria Sharikova, Assistant Chairman of the Moscow Soviet on the Rights of Women is reported on January 5, 1949, to have said:

"Dorothy Kenyon, in endeavoring to conceal her reactionary stand has engaged in slandering the Soviet people, in particular Soviet women. In a radio broadcast over the Voice of America, she talks a lot of irresponsible drivel attempting to deny the political, economic, and social equality enjoyed by the women of the USSR, at the same time painting a glowing picture of the position of women in Britain and the United States, when she knows full well what their position really is. 'I am shocked at this shameful downright lie, completely unsupported by the tiniest fact.' As it happens, Dorothy Kenyon could not quote facts for that would at once disprove her assertions.

"Dorothy Kenyon had engaged in slandering the 'freest women on earth, the women of the USSR.' However, as any of the thousands of visitors to the USSR can witness, 'the slander indulged in by Dorothy Kenyon can hoodwink no one.'"

This is my defense. What does it add up to? With all the mistakes and errors of judgment which the best of us can and do commit only too frequently, I submit that the record proves without question that I am a lover of democracy, of individual freedom and of human rights for everybody, a battler, perhaps a little bit too much of a battler sometimes, for the rights of the little fellow, the under-dog, the fellow who gets forgotten or frightened or shunned because of unpopular views but who is a human being just the same and entitled to be treated like one. The converse of these things; dictatorship, cruelty, oppression and slavery are to me intolerable. I cannot live in their air, I must fight back. This is not perhaps a very wise or prudent way to live but it is my way. It has got me into hot water before and probably will again. But my faith in

This was signed, among many others, by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman and Ambassador Lewis W. Douglas. (See attached photostat),

This history of my efforts during the crucial years 1940-1941 hardly needs any gloss but it should give pause to those who dare to call me a Communist.

After Russia had been attacked we all changed our viewpoint slightly and many of us made earnest efforts to be friends with our new allies. I do not apologize for that impulse or effort. I think it was right and good.

However we failed. When the war ended the cold war began and it is intensifying. I have been in the thick of it. Confronted with Madame Popova of the U.S.S.R. at the United Nations I have had a fight on my hands from the outset. At the first meeting of our Commission on the Status of Women held in February, 1947, she sought preferential treatment for her particular pet organization, the Women's International Democratic Federation, (of which the Congress of American Women is the United States affiliate). I battled her on eight different occasions during that first meeting on that one issue alone, practically single-handed since some of the other delegates did not yet know what it was all about. They know now, though. The reports and summary records of the Commission's proceedings tell the tale.

The struggle went on at subsequent Commission meetings. It reached its peak at Beirut, Lebanon, last spring (See New York Times clipping of March 26, 1949, attached), when after bitter debate over many things, including equal pay for equal work, I finally demanded of Mme. Popova, whether women received equal pay for equal work in the Soviet slave labor camps.

The Communist party line in 1940-41 was anti-war, anti-French and anti-British. But it was not my line. Being on the contrary passionately pro-French and pro-British I became increasingly anxious to aid them as the months passed by, first by all means short of war and later by war itself if need be.

I was one of the original members of the so-called William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. William Allen White in a telegram invited me to join saying,

"Here is a life and death struggle for every principle we cherish in America, for freedom of speech, of religion, of the ballot, and of every freedom that upholds the dignity of the human spirit. Here all the rights that the common man has fought for during a thousand years are menaced. Terrible as it may seem, the people of our country cannot avoid the consequences of Hitler's victory or of those who are or may be allied with him. A totalitarian victory would wipe out hope for a just and lasting peace."

(See telegram of William Allen White dated -- 1940, and letter attached dated June 19, 1940, bearing my name as a member.)

I favored giving Great Britain overage destroyers, I favored Lend Lease, selective service, etc., etc. I made many speeches during that period extolling freedom, urging aid to the Allies and criticizing the isolationists and the Communists alike for their opposition.

On May 26, 1941 (a month before Hitler attacked Russia) I joined with other members of that Committee in an Open Letter to the President of the United States, in effect inviting him to declare war on the dictators. It read in part:

"We cannot close our eyes to the wholesale murder of liberty.... The dictators have extended their world war and world revolution from continent to continent .... The challenge is inescapable. We know that strong action, even armed action, will be required of us."

In the early years of my life I knew very little and cared less about Communists. They were an utterly negligible factor in my life. During the thirties, however, as world tension increased, they began showing their hand, and by the end of that period, I, like others, had come to know and loathe their philosophy. The signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in October, 1939, suddenly made the issues startlingly clear. I voiced those issues in a letter I wrote to Alex Rose, Secretary of the American Labor Party, under date of October 10, 1939, as a statement for him to use in conjunction with my candidacy as Judge of the Municipal Court:

"I regard with horror and loathing the Hitler-Stalin Pact. I agree with you that any fusing of the brown and red dictatorships is a treacherous blow to world civilization, etc." (See attached photostat of letter).

Events moved so quickly after that, by February, 1940, we had been forced to form a Liberal and Labor Committee, of which I was a member, to safeguard the American Labor Party and to fight the Communist attempt to capture it. (See attached photostat of leaflet). At the same time the American Civil Liberties Union found it necessary to purge from its own Board all non-believers in civil liberties. This action barred from its governing councils anyone "who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations indicates his support of such a principle". Within this category we include organizations in the United States supporting the totalitarian governments of the Soviet Union and of the Fascist and Nazi countries (such as the Communist Party and the German-American Bund and others); as well as native organizations with obvious anti-democratic objectives and practices." Needless to say, I was not one of those purged, and I am still a member of that board.

(17)

Advisory Committee of the Citizen's Committee to  
Aid Striking Seamen

(18)

Milk Consumer's Protective Committee

I can find nothing on any of these matters in my files and have no memory of them except a vague recollection of the Gerson and Schappes controversies. If I participated in either of them in any way I have completely forgotten it and I am certain that I never approved or endorsed Communist activities in those or any other matters.

(19)

Congress of American Women

This is one organization I know something about. It is the American affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation, a wholly Moscow-controlled body over which I have been battling with Mme. Popova of the U.S.S.R. at the United Nations for all the years since the creation of the Commission on the Status of Women. To charge me with membership in this organization is nothing short of fantastic.

This completes the roster of specific charges.

One general charge remains, my "constant adherence to the ... party line," as evidenced by this alleged multiplicity of associations, (actually boiled down to a handful and most of them before 1940). Well, how about it? Is this all I have done? Is this the whole of my life? Emphatically, No. I have done many other things, some of them strangely inconsistent with the party line, some of them in flat contradiction to it. Let's look at the record, in the round and not just a distorted fragment.

(11)

American Committee for Democracy and  
Intellectual Freedom

I have no recollection of documentation in respect to signing a petition in my files. I do have correspondence, however, showing that in 1940 I accepted membership on a Citizen's Committee to promote free public education. The letterhead lists many distinguished college presidents and professors, including Miss Park, former President of Bryn Mawr and Professor Harold Urey. This organization is not on the Attorney General's list.

(12)

Greater New York Emergency Conference on  
Inalienable Rights

I can find nothing on this in my files but I find a press clipping reporting a meeting held in New York February 15, 1940, at which Newbold Morris and Mary Woolley, former President of Mt. Holyoke College, were listed as speakers.

(13)

Advisory Board of Film Audiences for Democracy  
and Advisory Board of Films for Democracy

I can find nothing on either of these organizations in my files. I may possibly have made a speech before them. Neither of them are on any subversive list that I can find.

(14)

Shappes Defense Committee

(15)

Daily Worker Letter on Simon W. Gerson

(16)

American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature

"The President has asked me to extend to you every good wish for the success of the meeting and to assure you of his interest in all efforts to continue the good relations between this country and the Soviet Union."

As for the Red Dean of Canterbury, I certainly never welcomed him at Madison Square Garden or anywhere else. I surmise that the fact that my name remained on the sponsor list longer than it should have is the explanation of this incident.

(7)

American Russian Institute

I have no recollection of sponsoring the dinner in question but, since it was given in honor of President Roosevelt, it would not seem inappropriate had I done so.

(8)

American Lawyers' Committee on American Relations  
with Spain

Now for the group connected with Spain. This committee was apparently working early in 1939 to lift the embargo on Spain, which was defeated by the combined efforts of revolutionary forces within <sup>that country</sup> the community plus Hitler and Mussolini. This organization is not on any subversive list that I can find *and I was on it*

(9)

Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo

As for the Washington Committee I can find nothing on this in my files.

(10)

Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade probably belongs in here too. I have no recollection or documentation for this whatever. Furthermore, if the petition which they say I signed really contained a charge that war hysteria was being whipped up by the Roosevelt Administration it is inconceivable that I could have signed it, since I myself was then passionately pro-ally and in process of trying to force our government into greater and greater activity in their behalf rather than less.

June 15, 1949

"Gentlemen:

I am advised that you are still carrying my name on your letterhead as a sponsor of your organization.

I became a sponsor in 1943 or 1944 when the Germans were at the gates of Stalingrad and the United States was deep in admiration of the great courage of the Russian people. Anything which looked toward genuine friendship between the peoples of our two countries was highly desirable. Since then, however, your policy, as I have had occasion to observe it in the press, has had less and less to do with development of genuine friendship between the peoples of our two countries and more and more to do with mere apologetics for the Russian Government, which you have supported no less consistently than you have attacked the United States. This is no way to build friendship and it makes a mockery of your name and alleged purposes. My sponsorship of the Council as a genuine organ of friendship between the peoples has therefore long since lapsed.

I have previously requested you to remove my name from your list of sponsors and I must now insist that you do so.

Sincerely yours "

I assume that my name has been removed by now, although I have no way of being sure. I have no apologies whatever for sponsoring this organization at the time I did and under those circumstances.

As indicative of the standing it had, it is significant that President Roosevelt himself sent a message of greeting to the Council at its meeting on November 16, 1944, reading as follows:

"I am grateful to you and all those who are celebrating American-Soviet Friendship Day for the words of support and confidence I have received. There is no better tribute we can hold out to our Allies than to continue working in ever-growing accord to establish a peace that will endure. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference was a step in this direction. Other steps will be taken. In line with this objective such meetings as you are holding in Madison Square Garden and in other great centers throughout the United States are of tremendous assistance and value."

and that President Truman followed it up by another greeting on November 14, 1945, reading as follows:



into existence, as I recall it, following a strike and split-up of the business into two organizations. They both test merchandise and give advice as to good buys. This is where I had my short acquaintance with Arthur Kallet. He was with Consumer's Research and later with Consumer's Union.

(5)

Conference on Pan-American Democracy

The Conference on Pan-American Democracy comes next. I find a letterhead in my file listing me as a sponsor of this organization dated March 4, 1939, along with <sup>now</sup> Senator Paul A. Douglas, John Haynes Holmes, Quincy Howe, Stanley Isaacs, and Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, all friends of mine. I remember almost nothing about this organization except that I think I may have spoken before it in 1938 or thereabouts. I have never heard of it since. I certainly had no idea at that time that it was communist and I am sure my other sponsor friends had no such idea either.

(6)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Now for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship: I was never a member of this organization but I became a sponsor of it (along with many distinguished people) at the height of the war effort (in 1943, I think it was), when the Russians were making their stand before Stalingrad and many of us believed that friendship with the people of Russia was both possible and good. I withdrew my sponsorship some three years later, when I had become convinced that the organization was no longer being used for the purposes stated in its title. Not long ago a friend told me that my name had not been removed from the sponsor's list as I had requested, and I wrote demanding its removal. I quote that letter:

(1)

First, let me deny acquaintance with practically every one of the persons mentioned in the charges as being "familiar company" to me, "collaborator," or "fellow red." I do not know and have never to my knowledge laid eyes on Bernhard J. Stern, Albert Maltz, Anna Louise Strong, William Gropper, Langston Hughes, Hewlett Johnson, Ben Gold, Lee Pressmen, Whittaker Chambers, Howard Fast, Saul Mills, Ella Winter, John Howard Lawson, Henry H. Collins, Rockwell Kent, Lewis Merrill, Mervyn Rathborne, Dirk J. Struick, Harry Bridges, Paul P. Crosbie, Benjamin J. Davis, Charles Krumbein, Morris V. Schappes, Simon W. Gerson, Louis Weinstock, Irving Potash, Helen Selden, or Josephine Herbst.

I once heard Paul Robeson sing at a concert. Harry F. Ward was, in the thirties (before its communist purge), chairman of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union and I of course knew him there. Corliss Lamont is still on its board. I met Carol King years ago, before she went "left," but I have seen hardly anything of her in many years. Arthur Kallet's name I vaguely remember, as I vaguely remember Consumer's Union, but he and it date back in my memory at least fifteen years and, if he were a communist then, I did not know it.

I may be pardoned for putting the other names mentioned in a different category. They are Mrs. Dean Acheson, Stanley Isaacs, Philip Jessup, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. I am proud to say I have had a slight acquaintance with them all.

To repeat, the rest are unknown to me, except as above mentioned, and the innuendoes as to my relationship with them absolutely false.

Now for the organizations themselves.

I received my A.B. degree from Smith College and my law degree (Doctor Juris) from New York University Law School. I am a member of Phi Beta Kappa and have been for several years a Senator of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

I come of a family of lawyers, my father having been a patent lawyer in New York City where my brothers and a cousin now practise under the firm name of Kenyon and Kenyon. My father's cousin, William S. Kenyon, was for many years a member of the United States Senate and later a Federal Judge in Iowa.

I was admitted to the Bar in 1917 and have practised law continually ever since except during certain periods when I held public office. Mine is a general practice. I am a member of the Bar Association of the City of New York, the New York County Lawyers' Association, the New York State Bar Association, the American Bar Association, the National Women Lawyers' Association, the American Society of International Law, the American Branch of the International Law Association, and several others.


I have held public office three times, first from June 1, 1936, to December 31, 1937, as Deputy Commissioner of Licenses by appointment of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, second from January 1, 1939, to December 31, 1939, as Municipal Court Judge in New York City, also by appointment of Mayor LaGuardia, and third, from January 1, 1947, to December 31, 1949, as U.S. Delegate to the Commission on the Status of Women of the United Nations, by appointment of President Truman, ratified and confirmed by the Senate. I was also appointed in January, 1938, by the League of Nations as one of a Commission of seven

notice or warning to me.

My answer to these charges is short, simple and direct. I am not, and never have been, a Communist. I am not, and never have been, a fellow traveller. I am not, and never have been, a supporter of, a member of, or a sympathizer with any organization known to me to be, or suspected by me of being, controlled or dominated by Communists. As emphatically and unreservedly as possible, I deny any connection of any kind or character with Communism or its adherents. If this leaves anything unsaid to indicate my total and complete detestation of that political philosophy, it is only because it is impossible for me to express my sentiments. I mean my denial to be all-inclusive.

So absolute a negation of the charges should be supplemented with an equally positive, but brief, affirmation of what I am and have been.

121-23278-57  
ENCLOSURE

  
STATEMENT OF MISS DOROTHY KENYON  
BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE  
MARCH 14, 1950

TUESDAY,

FOR RELEASE  
AFTER 2:00 P.M.

My name is Dorothy Kenyon. I live at No. 433 West 21st Street, New York City. I am a practising lawyer with offices located at No. 50 Broadway, New York City.

When I was informed of the accusations that were made against me before this subcommittee last week, I did explode. Doubtless my indignation led me to make some impulsive remarks in unparliamentary language. Reflection, and a recollection refreshed by such investigation as I could make in the interim, now permits a much more dispassionate approach. However, nothing can diminish the deep resentment I feel that such outrageous charges should be publicized before this subcommittee and broadcast over the entire nation without any

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

March 17, 1950

MR. TOLSON:

As a matter of interest, Peyton Ford told me today that he has a very high regard for Jack Peurifoy at the State Department. He stated Millard Tydings had put Peurifoy in a bad position by making the announcement the State Department had promised free and unlimited access to the files of persons suspected of being disloyal or security risks; that after this statement appeared Peurifoy contacted Tydings and Tydings stated that he deliberately issued the statement because he thought it would be good public relations to show the State Department was ready, willing, and able to cooperate. Peurifoy told Tydings the agreement was that the President would wait to hear what the specifics of McCarthy's charges were and would then make a decision. Tydings waived this off by stating it was a matter they could meet later on.

JOSEPH R

I asked Ford if Peurifoy wasn't in a spot in making available State Department files to the Appropriations Committee in 1947. He stated Peurifoy was very much upset about this since he had done this on the orders of General Marshall who had made the statement before one of the Committees that the State Department would make available the files. I told him my recollection was that Congressman Busby was carrying a letter around addressed "To Whom It May Concern," signed by Peurifoy, to people in the State Department instructing the files be made available to them. He stated that should this ever become an issue apparently Peurifoy has an explanation.

FRED E. BUSBY

L. B. Nichols

LBN:FML

Peurifoy always has "explanations" of that he what they are called.

RECORDED - 124  
INDEXED - 124

121-23278-52  
MAR 24 1950  
37

5 MAR 29 1950



Harris & Ewing

**ENVOY RETURNS**—Dr. Philip C. Jessup and Mrs. Jessup are pictured upon their return to Washington last night after a hurried trip from the Far East. Dr. Jessup, United States Ambassador-at-Large, came back to answer charges by Senator McCarthy that he has an affinity for Communist organizations.

#### Wisdom of Documenting

In his letter to Tydings, McCarthy said the recall of Service "amply demonstrated" the wisdom of his past procedure in slowly but fully documenting all his cases. He said he had hoped to document all of the 81 cases equally well, but finally decided to comply with Tydings' demand. He will furnish the names to the subcommittee in secret, he said.

When Tydings told reporters earlier in the day that he was promised access to the files, he said that he had called John E. Peurifoy, Assistant Secretary of State, and found him perfectly willing to make the files available.

The method by which this will be done, however, is not yet decided, Tydings said. He added that there is no question of him attempting to use powers of subpoena voted to his subcommittee by the Senate. The word "subpena" was not even mentioned in his conversation with Peurifoy, Tydings stated.

#### Search May Be Enough

It may be that Tydings will be content to send his investigators to the State Department to look

at the files, rather than take physical possession of them in the Capitol.

Tydings seemed himself a little dubious about the wisdom of congressional committee searching executive branch files.

He pointed out that Presidents since Washington of several parties, had resisted attempts by Congress to obtain executive papers, and their power to do so had never been successfully gainsayed.

"So if President Truman lets the committee have the files," Tydings went on, "he will be creating a precedent. No doubt it will be seized upon to plague him by those who will ask for files they know pretty well in advance he is not going to let them have, so as to make a political football out of the situation.

"But in spite of that, the State Department indicates rather precisely that in the instant matter it will make the files available."

6-20-52

121-23070-52

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Gandy

# State Dept. To Open Files In Loyalty Quiz

Tydings Announces  
**Promise of 'Free,  
Unlimited' Access**

By Alfred Friendly  
*Post Reporter*

Senator Tydings (D., Md.) announced yesterday that the State Department has promised him "free and unlimited" access to its files of persons suspected of being disloyal or security risks.

At the same time, Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.), whose charges of Communist infiltration in the State Department Tydings and a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee are investigating, said he would "reluctantly" give Tydings the names involved in 81 cases.

McCarthy outlined these cases, without giving names, in a Senate speech on February 20. Tydings has been seeking the names from McCarthy ever since the investigating subcommittee was set up. Yesterday, talking to reporters, he repeated the demand in sharp words.

A few hours later, McCarthy wrote him he would turn them over in a few days, and by Monday at the latest.

This will permit Tydings and three newly employed investigators to search, at one time, the files in the 81 cases, plus those of some 33 more names that McCarthy has given the subcommittee.

Other major developments yesterday in connection with the investigation of McCarthy's charges were:

1. U. S. Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup, hurriedly called back from Far East and European talks after McCarthy said he had "an unusual affinity for Communist causes," arrived here yesterday. He said he was ready to appear before

Tydings' subcommittee. He added that there is "no substance" to the charges.

2. John S. Service, United States diplomat denounced by McCarthy as pro-Communist, has been summoned home from India to appear before a State Department loyalty board.

In testimony Tuesday morning, McCarthy said that although Service had been given clearance by the department loyalty body several times, the Government loyalty board of appeals and review had recently made a post-audit of the clearances.

Then the board sent the case back to the State Department, McCarthy said, with a rejection of the findings, a demand that Service appear personally before the department loyalty board, and that a new panel, differing in membership from the one that previously heard the Service case, be convened for a rehearing.

**Most of Charges Denied**  
Lincoln White, State Department press officer, flatly denied most of this yesterday.

He said the review board returned the case to the department Tuesday afternoon, several hours after McCarthy's testimony.

He added that the board did not suggest that Service should be denied a clearance, but simply that he appear personally—as he apparently had not done before—for questioning by the department's loyalty board.

Finally, he said the review body had not suggested that any new or different panel be appointed to hear the Service case.

White said the board's recommendation does not mean that Service is "under any suspicion" and he told reporters:

"We assume the board thinks that Mr. Service should have an opportunity to speak for himself."

White said Service is now en route by ship to Calcutta, India, to take up a new assignment as secretary in the American Embassy at New Delhi. He will return to this country immediately by plane.

A question still unanswered is how McCarthy knew in advance of the review board's action in sending the case back to the State Department.

*Handwritten notes:*  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Gandy

Page

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

121-23278-52

Date: MAR 16 1950



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS

DATE: March 20, 1950

FROM : M. A. Jones

Joseph R.

SUBJECT: "The Significance of Senator McCarthy's Accusations"

Radio Interview  
Station WOOL  
3-19-50 - 2:00 p.m.

8/21/86 SPECIAL AG 77 CIO 999  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED - H-1  
DATE 10/22/87 BY SP2 TAP/muc

Communists in State Department

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

SA Carroll listened to the captioned program yesterday in which the moderator was Carl Shipley and in which the participants were Robert Silverstein, Executive Secretary of the National Lawyers' Guild, Mrs. John Gunther of Americans for Democratic Action, and F. Trowbridge Von Bauer (phonetic). U

The opening comments were by Robert Silverstein who described the hearings propelled by Senator McCarthy as absurd, inasmuch as individuals were assumed to be guilty "by association." He abhorred the lack of objective standards in conducting the hearings and stated that charges of disloyalty should be based upon evidence not "guilt by association." He indicated that the fact that an organization was labeled pro-Communist without a hearing was not fair and he indicated that he could not see why inquiries were being leveled against the State Department which itself is conducting an anti-Communist campaign. U

Von Bauer maintained that the McCarthy hearings reflected the inability of the administration to fully cope with the security problem in an effort to ascertain what the Communist Party was up to and that Congressional hearings of this nature certainly do a lot of good and to prove his premise he mentioned the Alger Hiss case. U

Mrs. Gunther, in reply, stated that Von Bauer painted a terrifically bad picture inasmuch as he intimated that there were a number of Communists in the government and she felt that the Loyalty Program itself had not proven this point. She described the McCarthy hearings as a "smear campaign." Von Bauer replied that there was no room for Communists or Communist sympathizers and any efforts made to drive them out were worthwhile. U

Silverstein commented that Von Bauer's allegations hadn't been proven by the McCarthy committee or any other committee of Congress. U

Von Bauer retorted by saying that Communists constantly "squeal" when any sort of charges are publicly made and that Senator McCarthy's charges should come out and be aired. Mrs. Gunther wanted to know whether or not the Loyalty Program was not sufficient to ferret out disloyal workers in the government. Von Bauer stated that the administration had not done everything possible to dissipate public feeling that there were Communists in the Government. To this Silverstein asked for specifics. Von Bauer replied that he could not be in the position of being a judge; that he did not have complete knowledge of the evidence. Mrs. Gunther said people U

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right margin, including "Johnson" and "100-33546".

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RECORDED - 131  
INDEXED - 131

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100-33547



Memorandum for Mr. Nichols

March 20, 1950

begin to fear when accusations spring from governmental committees and Von Bauer replied that in this instance the inquiries were being made under the leadership of Senator Tydings who is experienced, fair and will give all an adequate hearing.

At this point Shipley steered the discussion along the lines that inquiries and investigations themselves could do more damage than actual damage done by the Communist Party. Mrs. Gunther observed that accusations by "headlines" were extremely dangerous; that headlines certainly gave aid and comfort to the Kremlin and the Communist Party by discrediting the State Department and that the net result would be that attention would be swung away from real Communists. Silverstein at this point stated that Senator McCarthy's accusations and activities did nothing ~~to~~ increase hysteria in the United States.

Von Bauer replied that we were not in a position to tolerate any compromise with Communism and cited the Fuchs case as an example of the damage which could be done. He said that even if a little hysteria crept in, nevertheless present Congressional activities were searching for something "deep."

Shipley asked why the President and the Executive Branch of the government could not handle the situation rather than Congress. Mrs. Gunther observed that the Loyalty Program was created for this sort of activity even though she felt that the Loyalty Program was unnecessary and expensive.

Silverstein indicated that if Congress had evidence it should be turned over to prosecuting authorities and that the Executive Department should remove persons on the policy level whose loyalty is doubtful. Von Bauer replied that all individuals whose loyalty was doubtful should be wiped out of government; that the Executive Branch should do the job but he wondered whether the Executive Branch was trying to do the job and stressed President Truman's indifference to this type of program. Von Bauer said no one could blame Congress for inquiring into these matters. Von Bauer was asked whether the Loyalty Program was not sufficient to cover this situation and he replied that at the present time no one was in a position to state whether it was adequate and again pointed out President Truman's indifference to the whole problem of disloyal individuals.

Silverstein commented that no one had the right to a job in government, but if people were kept out of jobs because of their political beliefs the net result was government censorship. To this Von Bauer replied that Silverstein evidently had a very tolerant attitude toward Communism and commented that every Communist was an Agent of Russia. Silverstein replied that everyone had a right to be considered innocent until proven guilty to which Von Bauer replied that Silverstein was not realistic.

Memorandum for Mr. Nichols

MARCH 20, 1950

In summation Mrs. Gunther catalogued McCarthy's meager allegations as creating a situation of "guilt by association." Silverstein stated that McCarthy's charges were based upon ideas and associations and the net result was an infringement of an individual's basic rights. Von Bauer stated that Communism was a serious matter; that the public was concerned and anxious for the truth and that until the truth fully came out every avenue of investigative activity had to be pursued.

✓ [scribble]

u.

DATE: March 22, 1950

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT:

Peyton Ford called me at 3:00 PM and advised that he had just returned from a two-hour stormy session with Senators Tydings and McMahon. They are insisting that the files of the Bureau be made available to the committee in connection with McCarthy's charges. Mr. Ford stated that at the request of the Attorney General, he had called on the Senators and had very forcibly and flatly stated the Department's position and had stated that they could not be produced. Mr. Ford stated that the Senators agreed with his logic but stated that in this case they felt that the files should definitely be made available. Mr. Ford stated that he flatly refused this request.

He advised further that he had talked to Donald Dawson "Down south" by telephone today and that Dawson is also O.K. as far as the Department's position is concerned. Mr. Ford states he does not think the Senators are going to drop the matter at this point and he expects that he will have further sessions with them.

I told him it was imperative that the Department maintain its position that the files could not be made available. He assured me that he would do so.

DML:dad

DIRECTOR'S NOTATION: "I do hope Dept. sticks to its position. It is sound. any exception would establish a precedent to plague us in the future. H."

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 82 APR 21 1950

32 APR 22 1950

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1950

TO:

- Director 5658  Mr. Tolson  Mr. Mohr 5744
- Mr. Tolson 5744  Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd 5736  Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  Miss Gandy 5633
- Mr. Clegg 5236  Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  Mr. Nease 5633
- Mr. Glavin 5317  Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo 7625  Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen 5706  Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  Records Sec. 7235
- Mr. Tracy 4130  Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  Pers. Records 6635
- Mr. Belmont 1742  Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  Reading Room 5531
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  Mail Room 5533
- Mr. McGuire 5642  Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  Teletype 5644
- Mr. Holloman 5638  Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  Mechanical B-114
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  Supply Room B-118
- Mr. Jones 4235 \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Leonard 6222IB \_\_\_\_\_  Mrs. Chisholm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McCoy 5537 \_\_\_\_\_  Miss Harris \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Waikart 7204 \_\_\_\_\_  Miss Lurz \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. English 5627 \_\_\_\_\_

See Me  For Appropriate Action

Send File  Prepare Reply

Have Sicked

DAVE SENTNER

U.N. KIS

SECRET

SECTION

L. B. Nichols  
 Room 5640, Ext 691

For Immediate Release  
FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 1950

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*Commentary in the State Department*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/19/01 BY 60322 UCBAW

Late today Attorney General J. Howard McGrath confirmed the state-  
ment of Senator Millard E. Tydings that he had had a conference this  
morning with Senator Tydings.

The Attorney General, by way of explanation, said that this morning's  
meeting, which was attended by Senator Tydings and members of his sub-  
committee, was held at the Attorney General's office in the Department of  
Justice; that at this conference Senator Tydings discussed the desire of  
the committee to secure certain files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Attorney General and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the  
Federal Bureau of Investigation, agreed to accept an invitation of the  
committee to appear before the committee on Monday afternoon for the  
purpose of making such statements as they may care to make at that time  
with respect to the files.

In answer to an inquiry as to what else was discussed at the meeting,  
the Attorney General confirmed that there was a lengthy discussion of  
circumstances involving one principal case in which the committee was  
interested. The Attorney General said that Director Hoover, at his request,  
had prepared for him a complete analysis of the FBI file with respect to  
this one case; that the Attorney General read this complete analysis to the  
Committee; that both he and Director Hoover gave to the committee a complete  
summation of this particular file.

*Subcommittee of the Senate  
concerned on Foreign Relations*

*121-23278-1*  
*60-11725-4*

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*MA*

The Attorney General stated to the conferees . . at this morning's meeting that the contents of the file read to them must be kept in strictest confidence. He said that the fact that there was a file on this person was not necessarily to be construed as any reflection on the person involved, as it is standard FBI practice to conduct investigations on all allegations received.

Attending the conference with the Attorney General from the Department of Justice was Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI, Mr. Peyton Ford, The Assistant to the Attorney General, and, during the part of the conference when the Bureau files were not under discussion, Mr. John E. Pourifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State.

The Attorney General said that the President of the United States has been fully advised.





Brewster

tham

Provincetown

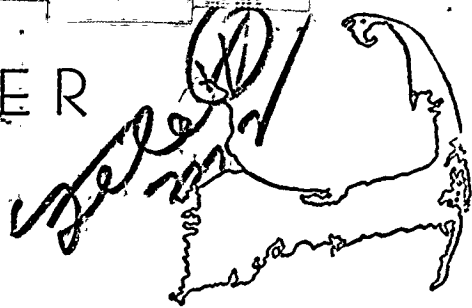
# THE CAPE CODDER

"The Outer Cape's Own Newspaper"

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY

JACK JOHNSON, Editor & Publisher  
LAURA R. JOHNSON, Associate Editor

Address: Box 51, Orleans, Mass.  
March 30, 1950



*Senate*

Dear Mr. Hoover

Foreign Relations Committee

If the FBI files are released to the public gaze (and the information whooped up to make headlines and sell papers), it could cause incalculable harm. Not only to individuals but to our nation's unity.

Could you send us a statement of your stand on this that we could publish prominently in our next issue, and which I would bring to attention of other editors? If you can, I would appreciate getting it by next Monday, April 3d. We would like to publish your statement without any embellishment or any omission.

Faithfully yours,

*Jack Johnson*

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*received*  
*u*

*copy 5/11/50  
to committee Foreign Relations - Oakes  
from inner office 4-3-50 Oakes  
air-mail*

*u*  
*4-20-1950*

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RECORDED - 27

INDEXED - 27

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EX-136

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. IADD

DATE: March 21, 1950

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY (R.-Wisc.))

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

ASAC Lally called from Baltimore at 11:30 A.M. on the morning of March 20. He stated that through Don Surine, a former Bureau Agent, the Baltimore Office has learned that Surine, who is connected with Senator McCarthy's Office, has in his possession a memorandum which contains information regarding Walter N. Posniak, a State Department employee. This memorandum quotes information from the report of SA Joseph Kelly and SA Clancy of the Bureau in June of 1948. SA John Montgomery, who saw the memorandum, believes that actual portions of the report were copied.

The former Agent also had in his possession the list of 81 names mentioned by Senator McCarthy. The only name which could be obtained by the Baltimore Office was that of Cora DuBois.

ADDENDUM

Cora Alice DuBois was identified by the Bureau as being Case #60 as referred to by Senator McCarthy. By your memo dated February 24, 1950, captioned "Communists in the State Department (Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy - Rep.-Wisconsin)," a summary memo concerning DuBois was sent to the Director. A copy is attached. Cora Alice DuBois is the subject of a full field loyalty investigation conducted by the Bureau in 1948, and copies of the reports were sent to the CSC on September 10, 1948. By letter dated June 15, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board advised that the employee had been declared "Eligible on Loyalty."

Walter N. Posniak. Bureau files do not disclose any identifiable information concerning this individual. It is believed that this person is possibly Edward George Posniak, a State Department employee who was investigated under the Loyalty Program in 1948 and copies of the reports were sent to CSC on July 26, 1948. By your memo dated February 15, 1950, captioned "Loyalty of Government Employees, U. S. Department of State," a summary memo concerning Edward George Posniak was sent to the Director. A copy of this summary is attached.

CEH:ees:mer

Attachment

RECORDED - 50

INDEXED - 50

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34

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APR 25 1950

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CORA ALICE DuBOISI. ALLEGATION BY SENATOR McCARTHY

"Case No. 60. This individual was employed by OSS, in the Division of Research, from June 1942 to September 1945, at which time he was transferred to the State Department. He is now a branch chief in Research and Intelligence. One of his former supervisors stated that he was a Communist.

"For some time he has resided with another State Department employee, previously mentioned herein, whose investigation was requested because of communistic activities. Nevertheless, this individual has been cleared and is still working in an important position where he handles top-secret material in the State Department."

II. POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION

A review of the Bureau's files indicates that the above person is apparently Cora Alice DuBois, also known as Alice Cornelia DuBois, Chief, Southern Areas Branch, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Bureau records reflect that we made an investigation of this person under the Loyalty Program. The basis for this investigation was the appearance of the employee's name on an open letter to the President of Brazil requesting the release of Luiz Carlos Prestes, Honorary Chairman of the National Liberation Alliance of Brazil, from a Brazilian prison. This letter appeared in the December 3, 1940 edition of "New Masses" and was sponsored by the Council for Pan American Democracy, an organization declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835. As a result of this investigation, copies of this letter were furnished to the Civil Service Commission. In addition, it was developed that employee roomed with Jeanne Taylor who registered in the New York State elections in 1935 as a Communist and in September, 1941, signed two Communist Party nominating petitions in New York City. Reliable informants linked Jeanne Taylor with individuals connected with Communist front organizations who had given support to Communism. Jeanne Taylor was terminated from the State Department on April 23, 1947 as an undesirable employee. Miss DuBois was listed as a reference by Miss Jane Foster in 1943, when the latter applied for a position with OSS. A reliable informant identified Miss Foster as a Communist Party member during her stay in Washington. Miss DuBois was also listed as a reference by Furhan Abdul Careen, an OSS applicant who was formerly employed in the building housing the "Daily Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, and who had contributed articles to the "Daily Worker."

121-23773-55

CORA ALICE DuBOIS (Continued)

In 1948, Miss DuBois requested permission from the Department of State to accept a nomination to the Board of Directors of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, cited as a Communist front organization by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943. Miss DuBois was employed by the Division of Special Information from June 8, 1942, until January 31, 1943, when this division was transferred to the Office of Strategic Services. She was employed there until September 30, 1945, transferring to the State Department. No former or present supervisor of the employee stated during this investigation that he or the employee was a Communist. Copies of reports in the Loyalty investigation were sent to CSC on September 10, 1948, with supplemental reports being furnished on November 9, 1948. By disposition sheet dated June 15, 1949, the Bureau was advised that the employee was "Eligible on Loyalty." As of August, 1949, this employee was still working at the Department of State, Washington, D. C. (121-8038)

EDWARD GEORGE POSNIAK  
Economist  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Edward George Posniak was born on June 4, 1911, at Moscow, Russia. He entered the United States on August 8, 1935, and was naturalized in Washington, D. C., on January 3, 1939.

Basis for Investigation

In June, 1942, Washington T-1 [redacted] a reliable informant, of the E. Quincy Smith Real Estate Company, Washington, D. C.) advised that the name Edward G. Posniak appeared on the mailing list of the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 was recontacted but furnished no additional information. b7D

Washington T-4 [redacted] a reliable informant) advised that Posniak was a member of the United American Spanish Aid Committee in the late 1930's. T-4 further advised that the employee's wife was a member of the Communist Party both before and after her marriage to Posniak. T-4 stated Posniak admitted being a member of the Communist Party in Europe and reportedly stated his father was a Trotskyite. T-4 reported Posniak came to some "open unit" meetings of the Communist Party and also to recruiting meetings of the Communist Party from 1938 to 1942. The informant said Posniak was "horrified" at the Russo-German Pact in 1939. T-4 reported that Posniak's wife was formerly secretary to Dave Lasser of the Workers Alliance. She was also active in the Young Communist League before and for a while after she became a member of the Communist Party. Mrs. Posniak formerly lived with Etta Claire Hershfield and the wife of Bernard Ades. Both employee and his wife have maintained close association with Hershfield, who, according to T-4, is an admitted member of the Communist Party. T-4 stated that Ades and his wife are members of the Communist Party. Mr. Ades ran for Governor of the State of Maryland on the Communist Party ticket in 1934, according to T-4.

Washington T-2 [redacted] a reliable informant) advised that Etta Claire Hershfield is a member of the Communist Party.

Other associates, fellow employees and neighbors consider Posniak loyal.

One informant, [redacted] a fellow employee in the State Department in 1946, now at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, advised that Posniak seemed to be more patriotic to the country of his birth but could furnish no details. He informed that this opinion was based on his (Posniak's) approach to Czechoslovakian affairs which he handled in the State Department.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
100-23-55

The United American Spanish Aid Committee was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front on March 29, 1944. The Workers Alliance, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League were cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Neither Washington T-1 nor Washington T-4 will testify.

Reports to CSC, July 26, 1948; to Department, March 23, 1949.

Disposition

No disposition in file February 13, 1950. No prosecution by Department May 18, 1949.



March 23, 1950

INDEXED - 78

121-23271-56

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RECORDED - 78

Honorable Bourke B. Nickenlooper  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I wish to acknowledge your communication of March 21, 1950.

In response to your inquiry, I wish to advise that this Bureau has not investigated Mr. Robert Morris, nor has he ever been officially associated with the FBI.

Mr. Frederick Ayer, Jr. was appointed a Special Agent on August 25, 1941, and voluntarily submitted his resignation on December 14, 1945. His record in the service of the FBI was excellent.

I trust that the foregoing information will be of assistance to you.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

LBN:hmc

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
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- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
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 [Initials]

1950  
 JUN 1 1950

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN  
 WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
 ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
 MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.  
 CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.  
 THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.  
 BRIEN MCMAHON, CONN.  
 J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.

ARTHUR H. VANDER BICH.  
 ALEXANDER WILEY,  
 H. ALEXANDER SMITH, N. J.  
 BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA  
 HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.

FRANCIS O. WILCOX, CHIEF OF STAFF

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 21, 1950

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
 Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Department of Justice Building  
 Washington 25, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

On behalf of the minority members, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. and myself, of the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, appointed to investigate charges against State Department employees made by Senator Joseph McCarthy, the names of Mr. Robert Morris as co-counsel and Mr. Frederick Ayer, Jr., as his assistant, have been submitted to the subcommittee to act as co-counsel and his assistant along with the counsel and assistants named by the majority members.

Mr. Morris worked with the Coudert Committee in New York investigating Communist activities, he was with the Naval Intelligence during the war and I believe he had charge of the Communist Soviet Desk for that department during at least a portion of that time. He now is associated with Congressman Coudert.

Mr. Frederick Ayer, Jr., was, as I am informed, with your Bureau for a substantial period of time during the war.

I am submitting these names to you out of an abundance of caution for any comment which you may care to make or for any information in your files which might indicate that it should be called to our attention, and that might mitigate against the employment of these men in this important capacity. I may say that Senator Lodge and I have no derogatory information against these men, but on the contrary have recommendations of the highest degree for the both of them.

Thanking you for any cooperation or information which you may feel it proper to give, I am

Sincerely yours,

B. B. Hickenlooper

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121-23278-56

MAR 30 1950

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

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 BBH:MMM

*[Handwritten signatures and stamps]*



*From Staff  
3/21/58*



*Stanley*

- 1. Herbert FIERST 121-7630
- 2. John Carter VINCENT 121-11900
- 3. Peveril MEIGS 121-642
- 4. Gizella ~~ILLYEFALVI~~ VITES
- 5. Jay ROBINSON 121-9838
- 6. Frances M. ~~TUCHSCHER~~
- 7. Marcia Ruth ~~HARRISON~~ 121-1163
- 8. Stanley GRAZE 121-638
- 9. David Demarest LLOYD 121-16509
- 10. Marjorie S. ~~POSNER~~
- 11. Frances FERRY 121-5979
- 12. Helen ~~YUHAS~~ 121-4757
- 13. Carleton WASHBURN 121-1863
- 14.
- 15. Philip ~~BUSSUP~~ 121-9893
- 16. Robert T. MILLER 65-56402
- 17. Jeanne E. ~~TAYLOR~~ 100-359243
- 18. Edythe J. LEMON
- 19. William ~~REMINGTON~~ 121-6157
- 20. S. Stevenson ~~SMITH~~
- 21. Mucio ~~DELGADO~~
- 22. Alexander ~~RAPOPORT~~
- 23. Mr. ~~CHIPCHIN~~ 123-1593
- 24. Mrs. ~~LESS~~ 123-807

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

*Per not ment*

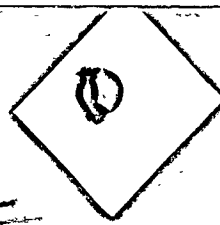
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names  
121-23278-14*

INDEXED - 7007 121-23278-57

*2/15/58*



*A Grandal*

*Grandal  
Edw.*



- 25. Tegel Conrad GRANDAL 123-1212
- 26. Lowell M. CLUCAS, Jr. 123-778
- 27. Ivan KATUSICH 123-861
- 28. Hans ZANSBERG 121-16494
- 29. Gerald GRAZE 121-1521
- 30. Joseph JOSEPHSON
- 31. <sup>Louis</sup> Lewis ROSS 123-
- 32. Robert ROSS 123-977
- 33. Herman SEIGEL 123-915
- 34. Ella M. MONTAGUE 121-1321
- 35. Melville SHELL
- 36. Frederick W. SMITH 123-918
- 37. Olga F. OSNATCH 123-579
- 38. Arthur Milton KAUFMAN 121-1515
- 39. Max A. VOLER 121-1745
- 40. Stella GORDON 121-22179
- 41. Daniel F. MARGOLIES 121-787
- 42. Gottfried Thomas MANN
- 43. Sam FISHBACK 121-1864
- 44. William D. CARTER 77-24311
- 45. Norman T. NESS 121-1772
- 46. William T. STONE 121-10973
- 47. Esther ~~Caukin~~ BRUNAUER 121-615

*For school as interest*

48.) ) Mr. and Mrs. Robert Warren ~~BARNETT~~ 121-3249  
 49.) ) 121-4022

50. Sylvia SCHIMMEL 121-8958 123-4036

51. Rowena ROMMEL 121-1434

52. Philip RAINE 121-1370

53. Richard ~~POST~~ 121-63

54. Val R. ~~LORWIN~~ 121-1744

55. Gertrude CAMERON 121-3702

56. Paul A. LIFANTIEFF-LEE

57. Fred Warner NEAL 121-12317

58. Lois CARLISLE 121-1985

*Over Contact*

59. Franz Leopold ~~NEUMANN~~

60. Cora DuBOIS 121-8038

61. Alice DEMERJIAN 121-2793

62. Isham W. ~~PERKINS~~ 121-5330

63. Stanley WILCOX 121-937

64. Hollis W. PETER 121-1397

65. Victor HUNT 123-486

66. David ~~RANDOLPH~~ (Rosenberg) 100-334981 (Hotel Act)

67. John Richard ~~LINDSEY~~ 77-23311

68. Aaron Jack GROSS 77-15606

69. Sylvia MAGUIE 121-5019

70. Harold BERMAN 123-817

71. Stoian STOIANOFF 100-254309

- 72. No name given *Arnold MANGOLIN* *Arnold Mangolin* 121-10421
- 73. Leonard HORWIN
- 74. Joseph T. JANKOWSKI
- 75. Mrs. Preston Keesling LEWIS 121-11291
- 76. James T. *FORD* (*Joseph T. FORD*)
- 77. Edward G. *POSNIAK* \* 121-97
- 78. Andrew W. *KAMARCK* 121-9119 124-1174
- 79. T. Achilles POLYZOIDES 116
- 80. *F. S. BURAN ?*  
John T. *WASHBURN* 121-3292
- 81. Ruby A. *PARSONS* 121-11730

\* Originally read into Congressional Record as a repeat on David Demarest LLOYD - should have been Edward G. POSNIAK

- John Stewart *SELVIEG*
- John Stewart Service 121-13347
- Joe. Anthony *PANUEL* 121-16537 Joseph Anthony *PANUEL*
- Dorothy *KENYON* 121-16964 Dorothy *KENYON*
- Haldore E. *HANSON* 121- Haldore E. *HANSON*
- Gustavo *DURAN* Gustavo *DURAN*
- Fredrick Lewis *SCHUMANN* Fredrick Lewis *SCHUMANN*
- Harlow *SHAPELY* HARLOW *SHAPELY*
- Owen J. *LATTIMAN* Owen J. *LATTIMAN*
- Mary Jane *KEENEY* MARY JANE *KEENEY*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT  
FROM : C. H. STANLEY  
SUBJECT: FEVERIL MEIGS  
Applicant - Quartermaster General  
War Department  
Washington, D. C.  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: March 22, 1950

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

Communists in State Department

PURPOSE: To record telephonic conversations held this morning with Colonel McIntyre of IDA regarding the above-captioned case.

BACKGROUND: Late yesterday afternoon, Colonel McIntyre called the Correlation and Liaison Section concerning the above-captioned case and referred to the Army's letter of January 5, 1948, requesting an investigation of Meigs who was being considered for employment by the Army. Colonel McIntyre asked whether the Bureau had ever replied to this letter.

This morning Mr. Millard of the Correlation and Liaison Section called Colonel McIntyre 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. Colonel McIntyre admitted that he had the Bureau's acknowledgment and wanted to know if any further reply had ever been made. Mr. Millard pointed out to Colonel McIntyre that the reports of a full field investigation were sent to the Civil Service Commission in accordance with established procedures under the Loyalty Program on April 19, 1948. Mr. Millard further pointed out that our files show that individual copies of the loyalty reports were given to the Army through liaison channels on April 20, 1949. Colonel McIntyre indicated that this was true and he was in possession of these reports. This satisfied his inquiry in this regard and thereafter he asked Mr. Millard concerning the general evaluation of informants by the Bureau in Loyalty cases. Mr. Millard informed him that in each 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 Program to discuss the matter with Mr. Johnson of the Loyalty Section.

Colonel McIntyre thereafter pointed out to Mr. Johnson that he was interested in knowing whether the Bureau's loyalty investigation had proved or disproved the original allegations against Meigs. Mr. Johnson informed him that we had conducted the investigation at the Army's request and that we had forwarded the reports reflecting the results of that investigation to the appropriate authorities and that the question as to whether the allegations were proven or disproven was a question for the Board adjudicating the matter to decide. Colonel McIntyre then asked whether, in those instances where an informant is evaluated by the Bureau as of known reliability, the statements of such informants could be taken as reliable. Mr. Johnson advised Colonel McIntyre that when the Bureau evaluated an informant as of known reliability, we did so on the basis of our past experience with that informant and that we had no reason to

Attachment

NRJ:hmd

2 APR 10 1950  
RECORDED - 36  
EX - 62  
62-39749-1251  
62-39749-1

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-39749-1251

Handwritten signatures and initials, including "AB" and "JH".

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 be given to the statements of such informants. Colonel McIntyre indicated that he recognized this fact and Mr. Johnson then indicated to Colonel McIntyre that if the 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 with security. Colonel McIntyre indicated he appreciated this fact but stated that 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. U

As you will recall, Peveril Meigs has been identified as "Case No. 3" cited by Senator McCarthy on the floor of the Senate as reported in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950. It appears from Colonel McIntyre's closing remarks that the Army is aware of this and may be concerned over the fact that he is apparently still employed by the Army. U

It is noted that Meigs 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 Meigs 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 Meigs. U

ACTION: None. There is attached a copy of a summary of the information developed during the loyalty investigation regarding Meigs 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 Colonel McIntyre's call is the probability that the Army is concerned over Senator McCarthy's allegations regarding Meigs 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. U

RECORDED - 56

March 29, 1950

10-1

Mr. Gladden William James  
661 Maxwell Avenue  
Boulder, Colorado

Dear Mr. James:

121-23278-59

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

With reference to the subject you discuss 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.

FRY:cjh

CJH

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 17  
MAR 30 1950  
COMM - FBI

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI  
RECEIVED READING ROOM  
MAR 29 5 29 PM '50

APR 25 1950

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

*Announcing*

# 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.

~~12-1193-11~~  
ENCLOSURE

121-23278-59



4497

661 Maxwell Ave.,  
Boulder, Colo.,  
March 22, 1950.

Hon. Edgar Hoover,  
F. B. I.  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am a natural born citizen of the United States, and  
a taxpayer, also a hater of Communism.

I would like for you to tell me why it is necessary for  
the President 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 want to know what laws, customs or the like regulate these matters.  
If 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

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials*

Sincerely,

*Gladden W. James*  
Gladden W. James

*nmh  
ack 3-29-50  
gry*

*g. w. James*  
*121-23278-59*  
*162-91925-11*  
APR 6 1950  
12

RECORDED - 56  
INDEXED - 56

March 27, 1950

121-23278-60

~~66-925-297~~

RECORDED - 26  
INDEXED - 26

Mrs. Marie A. Hanill  
1 Saint Dunstan's Garth  
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Hanill:

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 might 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  
Director

FRY:pg

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
FBI  
MAR 27 5 01 PM '50

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 5  
MAR 28 1950

RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE  
MAR 28 9 27 AM '50



March 22, 1950

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's charges.

Many good wishes and thanks for your wonderful work.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Marie A. Hamill  
#1 St. Dunstan's Garth  
Balto. 12, Md.

*Marie A. Hamill*

COMMUNISTS IN THE  
STATE DEPARTMENT

RECORDED - 26

121-23770-60

APR 27 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 22, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

4496

SUBJECT:

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

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

This certainly would be illogical as most of the cases I assume have been before the Board & have been cleared by the Board.

B.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Rec'd  
New  
Jan 24

121-23278-608

RECORDED - 114

INDEXED - 114

EX-9

53 APR 4 1950

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-23278-608

March 23, 1950

2:50 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Senator Brien McMahon called to advise me that there was some talk up 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 Department but that it must be coming from the FBI. Senator McMahon stated that unfortunately Senator Hickenlooper had asked Jessup, 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 country 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 myself on the over-all policy as far back as the Coplon Case, and other cases that had arisen, that the files should not be made available. Further, I commented that I basically 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 charges, in other words, if a man makes an allegation he should certainly be called upon to prove it himself, otherwise he should not have made the allegation. I stated that very serious accusations were made and now they were calling upon the FBI to produce its records and files to prove these allegations. I added that I felt this would set an over-all bad precedent; that if this can be done in one case, anyone else, either on the House side or the Senate side, can get up and make charges and demand that we produce the files, and if they are produced one time and refused another time then the assumption is going to be made that we are afraid to produce them. I stated it did not necessarily follow that if the files were produced they would sustain these allegations; that, as a matter of fact, I did not know what cases McCarthy was referring to except the nine that he has publicly named. Senator 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 about Owen Lattimore but I was puzzled as to some of the statements that had been made.

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

INDEXED - 25  
RECORDED - 25  
62-91723-35

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 FBI. He stated he would send me the transcript.

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 4:15 pm  
DATE 4-28-50  
BY

35 MAY 1 1950

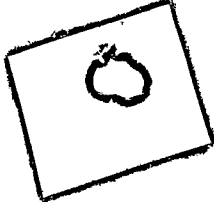
In regard to the speculation as to the source of McCarthy's material I advised Senator McMahon that yesterday Doris Fleeson, the newspaper woman, called and in my absence talked to Mr. Nichols. I informed him that she inquired as to whether McCarthy was getting his information from here and she was told 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 McCarthy 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 Miss Fleeson was quite hostile toward the Bureau and explained to him generally the basis for the same. U

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 suspicions but did not know whether they were very 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 former Agent Downey Rice was working for him and that former Agent Surine was working for him or was going to work for him. I explained that Surine had been dropped from our rolls about three or four months ago and had been attached to our Baltimore Office which had been investigating Lattimore and although he had not been assigned to this case that would not have precluded him from having access to the files. 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 State Department had never asked for one but that we have had him under investigation for espionage; that he has been involved on the fringe of a lot of Communistic activity though we have never been able to find any indication that any so-called out and out Russian Agents contacted him. 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 asked 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. U

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 asking 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 it was even possible that some disgruntled State Department employee could be feeding him a lot of stories. U

With reference to the Lattimore Case I stated I did not believe the telephones were tapped; that I had not heard that angle before. McMahon then referred again to the questioning of Jessup and his denial that he had called Lattimore to ask him to go to China with him and the suspicion which this question by Senator Hickenlooper had aroused as to a possible tap. I also commented that I was concerned when McCarthy made some indication that he had seen reports indicating that two Russian agents had gone directly to Lattimore and I commented that it stood to reason if we had actual legal proof that Lattimore was a top Russian spy in this country we probably would have moved in on him long ago. McMahon agreed with me and stated that he had previously made the statement that it was very important that he know where McCarthy got his information and all about it because if the facts were as he detailed them then someone be it in the FBI, the Attorney General, or the Secretary of State, was in a very precarious position for having concealed a top Russian spy. I stated that of course Lattimore had been suspect and we have been conducting an investigation of him but we had no definite proof and if we didn't have it then nobody else would have it. 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 John Carter Vincent but finally 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 / JEH*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

U

cc-Mr. Nease

JEH:EH



FROM

DO-7

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 \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Tolson  
 Clegg  
 Glavin  
 Ladd  
 Nichols  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Gurnea  
 Harbo  
 Belmont  
 Mohr  
 Nease  
 Miss Gandy

*Review at once.  
 It was furnished  
 by Sen. McMahon.*

- See Me \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- For Your Recommendation ( )
- What are the facts? ( )
- Remarks:

*Add memo to Director  
 3-24-50 ddg-MN*

121-23278-62

ENCLOSURE 62-37147-1489

PHILIP CARYL JESSUP  
Deputy U. S. Representative  
United Nations Security Council  
New York City

Background:

Philip Caryl Jessup was born at New York, New York, on January 5, 1897, as the son of Henry Wynans Jessup born in Syria and Mary May Statesbury born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Jessup attended Columbia University where he received a Doctor of Philosophy degree on June 1, 1927. He was admitted to the District of Columbia Bar in 1926, and to the New York State Bar in 1927. From 1927 to 1945, he was a member of the Law Firm of Parker and Duryce, New York City. Since 1925, he has been a member of the Faculty of Columbia University at New York City. During 1924 and 1925, he was Assistant Solicitor for the U. S. State Department. In 1925, 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 Hague during 1929, and in 1930, was Legal Adviser to the American Ambassador to Cuba. Jessup held the position of Chairman of the Office of Foreign Relief in the U. S. Department of State from February until December, 1945. During 1943, and 1944, he also served as Assistant Secretary General at the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Conference and the Bretton Woods Conference. Jessup is the author of numerous books dealing with International Law.

Basis for Investigation:

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

Confidential Informant New York City T-1, a reliable informant furnished a letter dated April 29, 1940, wherein appears the letterhead of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. This letter had listed Jessup as a member of the Board of Sponsors of this organization. It is to be noted that Confidential Informant New York City T-2 has advised that the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, merged its work with that of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in 1939 or 1940. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Confidential Informant New York City T-3, a reliable informant advised that in June, 1945, Professor S. B. Krylov, Legal Adviser to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and Russian Delegate to the San Francisco Conference, informed Glesarenko, a Russian Consular official, that he considered Jessup, who was then Consultant with the American Delegation to the San Francisco Conference, to be a very important person and Krylov described the employee as "very useful to us."  
(121-9898-12)

ENCLOSURE

~~62-39719-1487~~

121-23278-62

Results of Investigation:

On June 31, 1948, the investigation concerning Jessup was discontinued when it was learned that Jessup had resigned his position as Member of the U. S. Mission to the United Nations. On July 27, 1948, the Civil Service Commission transmitted the letter from the State Department advising that Jessup had been appointed to the position of Deputy U. S. Representative on the United Nations Security Council, and requested that the investigation of Jessup be reinstated. In view of Jessup's latter position, Departmental advice was requested as to whether the investigation should be reinstated. Under date of September 4, 1948, the Department authorized such investigation.

The loyalty investigation was then completed and developed the following information in addition to that set out in the Basis:

Confidential Informant New York City T-4, a reliable informant advised that in 1948, the name "Philip Jessup, State Department" appeared in the address book of Jacob Arenoff, who was an associate of Arthur Adams, a suspected Soviet Intelligence Agent. Confidential Informant New York City T-5, a reliable informant advised that in 1941, Jessup's name appeared on a list maintained by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

New York City T-7, a reliable informant advised that in 1947, Mrs. Philip C. Jessup, the wife of the employee, was a member of the Board of Directors of the China Aid Council at New York City. It is to be noted that the China Aid Council was cited as a Communist front and a subsidiary organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of 1948. (121-8893-12)

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities contain the following information pertaining to Jessup:

"Public Hearings, Appendix 9, page 1098, indicates that one Philip Jessup (Prof.) Columbia University, New York, New York, was on the Faculty Advisory Board of the 'American Law Student's Association.' Page 1087 of the above-mentioned volume indicates that the 'American Law Student's Association' was included among those organizations classified as 'Miscellaneous Communist and Communist-front organizations.'"

Dies Public Hearings, Appendix 9, Page 1097, indicates that one Philip C. Jessup (Dr.), appeared on a list of sponsors of a dinner dedicated to "American-Soviet Post-War Relations," which was held at the Hotel Commodore, New York, N. Y., under the auspices of the "American-Russian Institute."

25

Dies Public Hearings, Appendix 9, Page 1206, indicates that one Philip C. Jessup, (Prof.), not otherwise identified, appears as a signer of a call for a "National Emergency Conference" at Washington, D. C. on May 13, 14, 1939, which on Page 1205 of the above-named volume is indicated to be a Communist-front organization.

Dies Public Hearings, Appendix 9, Page 1210, indicates that one Philip C. Jessup (Prof.) appears on the letterhead of a "Legislative Letter" issued by the "National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, 306 Broadway, New York, New York, dated February 13, 1940, and announcing the success of the organization in achieving the dismissal of indictments against 16 Detroit people charged with having aided Americans to enlist in the Army of the Spanish Republic.

The above-named subject is listed as an officer of the "National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights," in the capacity of a member of the Board of Sponsors. It is indicated that the "National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights" was cited as a Communist-front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1942; March 29, 1944.

The files further reflect photostatic copies of original letterheads dated April 6 and 13, 1944, which indicate that Philip C. Jessup (Mrs.), was on the Board of Directors of the "China Aid Council." (121-9893-16)

The personnel file of Michael Greenberg at the Bureau of Economic Warfare reflects that in an application filed in 1942, he listed as a reference Philip Jessup, Professor of International Law, Columbia University. Confidential Informant Washington T-5, a reliable informant advised that Michael Greenberg was active in a Soviet Espionage Conspiracy in New York City and Washington, D. C., in the early 1940's and had been reported to this informant to have been a member of the Communist Party in England. This informant further stated that Greenberg was in close contact with many known Communist and pro-Soviet individuals. (121-9893-16)

On his Loyalty Form, Jessup listed membership in the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the biographical sketch concerning Jessup in the files of the U. S. Mission to the United Nations set forth the fact that Jessup was Chairman of the Pacific Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1938 to 1942. Concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations, Louis Buzenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker, an East Coast daily Communist newspaper, on April 22, 1948, advised that "the Institute of Pacific Relations was originally non-Communist, but Communists infiltrated it. The Institute of Pacific Relations was discussed at political committee meetings of the Communist Party. The professional staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations contained many non-Communists who were friendly to the Communists because of the myth that the Chinese Reds were merely agrarian reformers. The Communist Party did have a very great influence in the Institute of Pacific Relations and at times controlled its policy." (121-9893-12)

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□

Mr. Bernard F. Sandifer, Assistant Chief, United Nations Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C., advised that he had been personally acquainted with Jessup since 1927, and had been closely associated with him during a greater part of that time. It was Sandifer's opinion that Jessup had an excellent mind, practical common sense and wide experience and was one of the outstanding men of the country and probably the best international lawyer in the United States. He stated that Jessup had been active in foreign affairs in the United States since 1924 and in his opinion was entirely loyal to the United States. Sandifer stated that the only criticism he had ever heard concerning Jessup's associations was that as an international lawyer particularly, he was criticized for his attitude around 1940, when he had been opposed to what he felt was the breaking of neutrality laws by this government and attempting to aid England and France. Sandifer stated that he learned that Jessup had been a member of the American First Committee but was certain that such membership had no effect upon Jessup's loyalty.

Mr. Sean Rusk, Director, United Nations Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C., advised that it had been his observation that Jessup had been "superbly effective in defense of the positions of the United States, an excellent advocate, and a person whom he had found to be entirely loyal to his instructions." Rusk stated that it was "quite clear that he is devoted to the progress of the United States and to our part in the United Nations." According to Rusk the only two organizations to which Jessup belonged where any suspicion might be attached were the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where Jessup served on the Board of Directors and the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Rusk advised that he did not believe the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was subversive or Communist controlled and that he thought the reputation of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations had been gained through the personal indiscretions of Carter who had headed the organization. It was Rusk's opinion that Jessup was definitely anti-Communist and a person to whom the foreign policy of the United States could be entrusted with complete faith. (121-2595-48)

Professor Roger W. Jervey, School of International Relations, Columbia University, New York City, advised that he had known Jessup for 20 years and had an excellent opportunity to judge the loyalty of Mr. Jessup due to his close associations. He stated that Jessup was "entirely sound as far as loyalty to the United States was concerned" and further was "definitely opposed to permitting Russia or any other foreign country to dictate to the United States or force the United States to take any action contrary to its best interests." Jervey emphasized that if allegations of disloyalty had been received against Mr. Jessup that it should be borne in mind that it was impossible for a man to reach a high position such as that held by Mr. Jessup without making enemies. He also emphasized that

it should further be borne in mind that "during the war Russia had been ally and the American Government had encouraged friendliness toward Russia." Under such conditions Professor Jervey stated, many persons who were not Communists joined organizations or permitted their names to be used as "sponsors" quite freely, frequently granting such requests merely upon receiving a general statement of the purposes of the organization involved.

Mr. Harry Guggenheim, former American Ambassador to Cuba, advised that Jessup had been legal advisor to him in Cuba in 1930. Mr. Guggenheim declared "there is no question as to Mr. Jessup's integrity and loyalty. They are above reproach."

Mr. Adolf A. Berle, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of State, described Jessup as "one of the greatest living American experts on international law." Berle stated that he is certain that the employee has never been a Communist and has never been sympathetic in any way to the political theories of Soviet Russia and, in fact, was actively opposed to many Russian theories. (121-9893-41)

It is to be noted that during the Bureau's investigation, interviews with fellow employees, associates, employers, neighborhood investigation failed to develop any disloyal information concerning Jessup.

Regarding Dr. Jessup's connection with the American Russian Institute, it is to be noted that the following was developed by the Bureau during its loyalty investigation:

"Dias Committee Public Hearings, Appendix B, Page 1097, indicates that one Philip O. Jessup (Dr.), appeared on a list of sponsors of a dinner dedicated to the "American-Soviet Post War Relations" which was held at the Hotel Commodore, New York, New York, under the auspices of the "American Russian Institute."

Furthermore, Confidential Informant NYC 9-6, a reliable informant furnished a photostatic copy of a Program for a Dinner and Presentation given by the American Russian Institute on May 7, 1946, at New York City. This Program lists the employee as a "sponsor". Confidential Informant [redacted] on March 22, 1946, advised that the organization which was giving the dinner and presentation on May 7, 1946, was the "American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, Inc., located in New York City. (121-9893-41) (121-9893-16) b7D

This information from informants and the information in records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities relative to association with the American Russian Institute was not incorporated into the Bureau's loyalty reports inasmuch as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union at New York City was not at that time cited by either the

Attorney General or the U. S. House of Representatives Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a subversive organization. It is to be noted that the "American Russian Institute, New York" was first cited by the Attorney General on April 21, 1949.

It is noted that Dean Eusk, mentioned previously, was investigated under the Loyalty Program in 1948, copies of the reports being transmitted to the Civil Service Commission on December 9, 1948. By letter dated June 13, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board advised that Eusk had been declared "eligible on loyalty."

Disposition:

The Bureau was advised by the Loyalty Review Board by Disposition Sheet dated February 4, 1949, that Eusk had been "retained."

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 24, 1950

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: PROPOSAL BY SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS TO OBTAIN FBI FILES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Roop	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

③ Comments  
PURPOSE  
In State Department

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. It was furnished by Sen. McMahon." U

### FACTS

At the close of a session lasting an hour and 20 minutes, much of which time was devoted to questioning Senator McCarthy as to whether he knew the contents of the FBI files on Owen Lattimore, the Committee approved a motion by Senator Hickenlooper authorizing and directing the chairman to "immediately request all of the security, loyalty, and personnel files of the State Department and of the Civil Service Commission and the F.B.I. (investigative files on, No. 1, the nine persons publicly mentioned by Senator McCarthy; No. 2, the list of twenty-five that he gave; No. 3, the list of eighty-one, or whatever it is, that he has furnished to the subcommittee by delivery to the chairman," (p.34)/as amended by Senator McMahon (p.36)/ to exclude from the request "the twenty-five against whom no specific charges have been made." Following this action, Senator McMahon said the request would be followed by subpoena if not complied with, but Senator Hickenlooper declared the committee had taken no action on that. (p.37) U

At the outset Senator McCarthy identified the case of Owen Lattimore as the very important one about which he desired to give the committee information. He said: "I am absolutely confident that this is the case that you really should find--well, its explosive. If you crack this case it will be the biggest espionage case in the history of this country." (pgs. 1, 3, 4) U

Senator McCarthy said he thought the committee would have to rely quite largely upon the FBI file. (p.2) Asked by Senator McMahon if he had seen the FBI files, Senator McCarthy replied that he thought he knew what was in them. (p.5) Senator McMahon pressed the question at length, pointing out that if McCarthy was permitted the files he did not know why the committee should not be permitted to see them. McCarthy finally stated he might say "that I have not seen the original FBI files." (p.7) Senator McCarthy had the following to say:

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

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"I do not know if you have had any experience with the F.B.I files or not. They are serialized and numbered. You could take things out of those files. It would be extremely difficult.

"In the Kansas City case, which was not made public, I do not believe, some of the F.B.I. files were obtained, and it did appear that a sizeable number of documents had been removed. But the staff apparently--Flanagan and Rogers, I believe, were on the staff--had no difficulty at all detecting the number of documents that were removed. I think fortunately we did nothing about that publicly.

"I was giving a picture of the files. As I recall, the evidence was that Hoover did not know anything about any removals, and such like. I merely mention that to show you if you get those files I do not think you will have any trouble at all knowing what is in them.

"I have not talked to Hoover about this. If I did, I do not suppose he would give me the information.

Senator McCarthy stated he thought that if Chairman Tydings took this testimony over to Mr. Hoover and said: "Is this substantially true?" that with the respect McCarthy had for Mr. Hoover, he was sure Mr. Hoover would not lie to the chairman. McCarthy wanted to make it clear that Mr. Hoover had not given him any information himself of any kind from the files. (p.10) McCarthy said any information he gave would tend to disclose the source of his information. (p.11) He said he thought Lattimore was the top of the whole ring of which Hiss was a part; that he also thought the committee would find that Stephen Brunauer and Herbert Fierst were tied up with that ring.

Senator Tydings served notice on every man on the committee that he was "going to do everything that I can do to get every file that is requested." (p.13) The chairman said he had been well advised, though he had not talked with you, that you, unfortunately for this hearing, had taken the position that the minute you ever disclosed one of the FBI files, persons subsequently interviewed, would, in the light of knowledge of such revelation, refuse to be as frank as they would otherwise be. Senator Tydings said he understood by the grapevine that you were protesting against the opening of any of the files because FBI reports are in the loyalty files. "Hoover is a right tough bird," Senator Tydings said, "and he isn't going to do this unless we can show him a particular circumstance that will justify him in making an exception."

Senator McMahon declared "If Mr. Hoover's files are going to be divulged to Senator McCarthy and by him the contents of them to the press then certainly the reason why we should not get them falls to the ground, because the Senator has made this charge against Lattimore. True, he did not attach his name to it last night, but he has made this charge. He has made it on the basis of the FBI files. Now, so long as a charge has been made on the basis of the files, I don't see how they are going to keep the FBI file away from us. Therefore, it is very material to find out whether the Senator from Wisconsin actually did have access to those files." (pgs 14, 15)

In the following discussion of the possibility as to whether criminal prosecution had been considered by the Justice Department, McCarthy stated categorically he was making no charge of any dereliction by the prosecution forces. (p.17) Senator McCarthy declared it was his firm conviction from all the information he could get that the files would show Lattimore had been contacting and giving material to Russian espionage agents. (pgs 19, 20)

Senator Tydings stated he had reason to believe the President wanted to give the committee the files. He likewise had reason to believe the State Department wanted to give the committee the files. However, he had reason to believe that you and Attorney General McGrath were probably concerned about this question of opening the files for fear of its effect on future investigations and the chairman repeated: "I don't care what McGrath wants or what Hoover wants, I want those files." (pgs 27, 28)

As the session drew to a close, Senator Tydings emphasized anew that he was going to exert every influence he had to get the files. (p.32)

In addition to Lattimore, Hiss, Fierst, and Brunauer, the names, Service, Thayer, Jessup, and Kenyon were referred to during the session.

As you will recall, our investigations of Esther Caukin Brunauer, Herbert Abner Fierst, Dorothy Kenyon, John Stewart Service, and Charles Wheeler Thayer, among others, were summarized in my memorandum to you dated February 15, 1950, captioned "Loyalty of Government Employees, U. S. State Department." In addition, summaries on Brunauer and Fierst were included in my memorandum to you under date of February 24, 1950, providing identifying data and summaries concerning the individuals accused anonymously by Senator McCarthy before the Senate. This memorandum was captioned "Communists in the State Department - Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy - Rep. - Wis.)"

There is attached hereto for your additional information a summary which Mr. Belmont furnished me on March 11, 1950, regarding Philip Caryl Jessup.

ACTION:

None. This is for your information.

Attachment

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT:

DATE: March 24, 1950

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Rosen

Tracy

Harbo

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

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 March 23. Also present were Messrs. Peyton Ford and James McInerney. 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 McCarthy's charges of State Department employees.

*Concurrence*

You outlined very completely and thoroughly your position with reference to the production of such files, i.e. 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 taken immediately and that this position should be maintained.

RECORDED - 36

The Attorney General indicated that one of three positions could be adopted:

(1) The Department should make the files available to the Committee in accordance with their request.

(2) The Attorney General could, on a confidential basis 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

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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.

STATEMENT OF  
GENERAL J. HOWARD MCGEE  
BEFORE  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
8:30 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.

INDEXED - 104

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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 2151 of the Congressional Record of February 22, and which so 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 the 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-

mitted 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 Edmund 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 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 to be given up. The President and his Cabinet came to a 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 1866 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 performance 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 25th 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, summarized 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 Employees 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 counterespionage 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 exonerate 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 us, seriously impair the effectiveness of the Employee

- 9 -

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.

00 OM

DO-7

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 \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

*OK*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*File*

*3/27/50*

- See Me \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- For Your Recommendation ( )
- What are the facts? ( )
- Remarks:

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March 24, 1950

44:18 PM

COMMUNISTS  
THE STATE Dept.

MEMORANDUM 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 anxious because we certainly did not have that information. I advised the Attorney General 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 anyone 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 prerogative 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 not know who else would be investigating Lattimore. I further stated that the Senator indicated he was going to make some statements over the week-end; that he had thought the announcement by Senator Tydings was just window dressing; that everyone knew what I thought about the files. I stated I again urged him to be very sure of his charges before making them. The Attorney General was in agreement with this.

Very truly yours,

121-23278-64

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O. RECORDED  
TIME 1:20 pm  
DATE 3-24-50  
BY [Signature]

MAR 30 1950

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Tolson
- Nease

INDEXED

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Tele. Room
- Gandy

# Opening The Files

By Marquis Childs

## Let J. Edgar Hoover Testify

SENATOR McCarthy began by charging in his first political speech that there were 207 card-carrying members of the Communist 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.



Childs

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

It becomes doubly important in view 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 leadership looks on worried about the next move their irresponsible prankster may make. Gabrielson says, "We have too long tolerated communism within our Government." He says, "We must drive them out!" This goes quite a way toward making it official.

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 anti-Communist, anti-Socialist line of the GOP.

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 though 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 functioning of the Federal Bureau of Investigation would be impaired, even though he is reluctant, and properly so, to give public testimony on matters of public policy, the Senate committee should call on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for his opinion on opening the files.

There can be little doubt what that opinion would be. The issue arose in the first trial of Judith Coplon. Miss Coplon's attorneys persuaded the judge that the FBI files should be opened.

After the first three or four files were spread on the record, Hoover made a strenuous protest to the then Attorney General, Tom Clark. He pointed out that serious 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 diminish.

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 action.

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 that the refusal cloaks the guilt of individuals, who have not been successfully tagged as "pro-Communist" by random accusations.

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 jury. Hoover gave it as his opinion that the FBI does not want powers which would create a 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.

Very well stated!

INDEXED -

121-65

INDEXED

APR 6 1950

Page

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

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

140 3C

APR 7 1950



# INCOMING TELEGRAM

Received 6 on the State Department  
through Liaison channels

Date 4/4/50 *Ren*

134  
RESTRICTED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE—DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS TELEGRAPH BRANCH

Action: NEA

Info:

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SAM

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CIA

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Control 13344

Rec'd March 29, 1950  
11:28 a.m.

FROM: New Delhi  
TO: Secretary of State  
NO: 423, March 29, 3 p.m.  
REEMBTEL 387, March 23.

*Stanley  
of  
Haines*

Only one more editorial on McCarthy charges. Hitavada of Nagpur commented: "recall of Phillip C. Jessup, who was patiently building up anti-Communist front in Asia will not strengthen US diplomacy. To the Republicans all is Red that is not reactionary. Democratic Party has repeatedly trounced Republicans but they determined never to learn. US masses not so much enamoured of private enterprises as Republicans would have it. Every Liberal in US now under fire and apparently policy of Republican Party is to try to return to power on wave of anti-Russian, anti-Communist hysteria engendered by their reactionary veterans. Loyalty check up of State Department employees will yield little more than verbal pyrotechnics".

HENDERSON

EMB:MGG

*State Department  
Communist  
Declassified per State Dept  
letter dated 4/26/79*

INDEXED

*1121-23278-65X*  
NOT RECORDED  
24 JUN 15 1950

RESTRICTED

170

56 JUL 6 1950

INFORMATION COPY

*SF  
McCarthy*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT



TO : MR. NICHOLS  
FROM : F. C. HOLLOMAN  
SUBJECT: ROBERT J. MORRIS

DATE: 3-24-50

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Tolson
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Ladd
<input type="checkbox"/>	Clegg
<input type="checkbox"/>	Glavin
<input type="checkbox"/>	Nichols
<input type="checkbox"/>	Rosen
<input type="checkbox"/>	Tracy
<input type="checkbox"/>	Harbo
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mohr
<input type="checkbox"/>	Tele. Room
<input type="checkbox"/>	Nease
<input type="checkbox"/>	Gandy

Senat - Foreign Relations Committee

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 City. He stated that Morris was a New York secretary of Congressman Coudert and was formerly a secretary for Congressman Coudert when Coudert was a Senator at which time he was engaged in Communist investigations. Morris was a Lieutenant Commander assigned to the Third Naval 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. U

Morris is personally known to Agent Robert Granville who stated that Morris 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. U

FCH:gs

*Handwritten initials and checkmarks*

*Handwritten letter 'k'*

Senat - Foreign Relations Committee

RECORDED - 78

INDEXED - 78

121-23278-66  
~~6271922~~ / 13  
MAR 29 1950

57 APR 24 1950

*Handwritten signature/initials*

March 24, 1950

4494

3:03 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. NICHOLS  
MR. LADD

I called the Attorney General to advise him that I had received a telephone call from Senator 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,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 6:30
DATE 3-24-50
BY JCH

121-23278-66X

RECORDED - 124  
INDEXED - 124

~~121-23278-66X~~  
MAR 30 1950  
3

cc-Mr. Nease

JCH:EH

EX - 8

53 / 66 /

Handwritten notes in left margin: "C. ... on 1.6 ..."

Handwritten mark "V"

Received from the State Department  
through Liaison channels

Date 5/24/50

*On a Confidential basis*

NAMES MENTIONED BY SENATOR McCARTHY DURING APPEARANCES  
BEFORE THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE  
SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

DEC 8 1971

XEROXED ORIGINAL-REMAIN

*Department of State  
Communications & State*

*Handwritten notes and initials on the left margin.*

*121-232-78-67  
CONFIDENTIAL*

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Name	Entered on Duty	Secretary of State At time of Appointment	Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At time of Appointment	Present Status	Secretary of State At time of Separation	Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At time of Separation
<i>X</i> RUNAUER, Esthe	3/8/44	Hull	Shaw	Presently employed		
This case appears as Number 47 in Senator McCarthy List of 81 - Congressional Record 2/20/50						
<i>X</i> DURAN, Gustavo	1/30/43	Hull	Shaw	Resigned 10/3/46	Byrnes	Russell
<i>X</i> HANSON, Haldore	2/19/42	Hull	Shaw	Presently employed		
<i>X</i> HESSUP, Philip	10/15/24 2/1/43	Hughes Hull	Carr Shaw	Resigned 1925 Separated by transfer to Foreign Economic Administration 7/30/43 Resigned 2/12/47 (Completion of Assignment)	Kellogg Hull	Carr Shaw
	9/5/45 Without Compensation	Byrnes	McCarthy	Resigned 2/12/47 (Completion of Assignment)	Marshall	Pourifoy
	4/25/47 When Actually Employed	Marshall	Pourifoy	Terminated 12/5/47 (Completion of Assignment)	Marshall	Pourifoy
	1/5/48	Marshall	Pourifoy	Terminated 3/1/49 to accept appointment as Ambassador-at-Large	Acheson	Pourifoy
	3/1/49	Acheson	Pourifoy	Presently employed		
This case is Number 15 on McCarthy List						

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<u>Name</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State At time of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At time of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At time of Separation</u>
<del>KENYON, Dorothy</del> When Actually Employed U.S. Member Commission on Status of Women in Economic and Social Council	11/8/46	Byrnes	Russell	Terminated 12/31/49 (Completion of Assignment)	Acheson	Pourifoy
<del>LATTIMORE, Owen</del> U.S. Reparations Mission to Japan at the request of Edwin <del>X</del> Pawloy.	10/15/45	Byrnes	Russell	Terminated 2/12/46 (Completion of Assignment)	Byrnes	Russell
6/5/46 Mr. Lattimore made a speech to a group of State Dept. employes on this date.		Byrnes	Russell			
10/6/49 Delegate to Conference on Chinese Affairs. Without compensation		Acheson	Pourifoy	Terminated 10/8/49 (Completion of Assignment)	Acheson	Pourifoy
<del>SCHUMAN, Frederick L.</del> NEVER EMPLOYED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE Mr. Schuman gave a one-hour lecture at the Foreign Service Institute on June 19, 1946.						
<del>SERVIGE, John Stewart</del>	6/23/33	Hull	Carr	Presently employed		
<del>SHAPLEY, Harlow</del> Representative to National Commission, Executive Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Dr. Shapley was designated by the Association and was appointed as a Member of the National Com- mission by the Secretary of State.	5/30/47	Marshall	Pourifoy	Presently has a without compensation appointment		

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State at Time Of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State For Administration at Time Of appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time Of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Sec. of State Administratio. At Time Of Separation</u>
<del>X</del> BELGADO, Mucio	21	8/31/45 Transferred from OIAA under EO 9608	Byrnes		Presently employed		
<del>O</del> DEMERJIAN, Alice	61	9/27/45 Transferred from FEA under EO 9630	Byrnes	McCarthy	Reduction in force 5/20/49	Acheson	Peurifoy
<del>X</del> DUNOIS, Cora	60	9/20/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Presently employed.		
<del>X</del> FERRY, Frances	11	9/20/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Resigned 12/28/47	Marshall	Peurifoy
<del>X</del> FIERST, Herbert	1	9/24/46	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>X</del> FISHBACK, Sam	43	6/16/46 Transferred from FEA under EO 9630	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>X</del> FORD, James T.	76		NEVER EMPLOYED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE				
<del>O</del> GORDON, Estelle	40	11/18/45	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>X</del> GRAZE, Gerald	29	APPLICANT ----	NEVER EMPLOYED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE				

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State at Time Of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State For Administration at Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time Of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Sec. of State Administration At Time Of Separation</u>
<del>GRAZE, Stanley</del>	8	11/7/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	Russell	Resigned 4/30/48	Marshall	Peurifoy
<del>GRONDAHL, Tegner Conrad</del>	25	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes		Presently employed		
<del>GROSS, Aaron Jack</del>	68	6/3/46 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>HARRISON, Marcia E.</del>	7	9/27/45 Transferred from FSA under EO 9630	Byrnes	McCarthy	Presently employed		
<del>HORNIN, Leonard</del>	73	8/14/44	Hull	Shaw	Resigned 11/12/47	Marshall	Peurifoy
<del>HUNT, Victor M.</del>	65	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes		Resigned 4/15/49	Acheson	Peurifoy
<del>ILLYENALVA VITEZ, Gizella</del>	4	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes		Resigned 3/5/48	Marshall	Peurifoy
<del>JANKOWSKI, Joseph T.</del>	74	3/11/47	Marshall	Peurifoy	Resigned 1/10/48	Marshall	Peurifoy

CONFIDENTIAL



<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Separation</u>
<del>JEESUP, Philip</del>	15	10/15/24 2/1/43	Hughes Hull	Carr Shaw	Resigned 1925 Separated 9/30/43 by transfer to Foreign Economic Administration	Kollogg Hull	Carr Shaw
		9/5/45 Without Compensation	Byrnes	McCarthy	Resigned 2/12/47 (Completion of assignment)	Marshall	Peurifoy
		4/25/47 When Actually Employed	Marshall	Peurifoy	Terminated 12/5/47 (Completion of assignment)	Marshall	Peurifoy
		1/5/48	Marshall	Peurifoy	Terminated 3/1/49 to accept appoint- ment as Ambassador- at-Large	Acheson	Peurifoy
		3/1/49	Acheson	Peurifoy	Presently employed		
<del>JOSEPHSON, Joseph</del>	30	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	Nono	Reduction in force 12/6/48	Marshall	Peurifoy
<del>KAMARCK, Andrew W.</del>	78	APPLICANT -- NEVER EMPLOYED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE					
<del>KATUSICH, Ivan</del>	27	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	Nono	Resigned 4/29/49	Acheson	Peurifoy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Separation</u>
<del>KAUFMAN, Arthur Milton</del>	38	1/1/46 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>LANDSBERG, Hans H.</del>	28	APPLICANT -- NEVER EMPLOYED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE					
<del>LIMON, Edythe J.</del>	18	2/16/46	Byrnes	Russell	Resigned 11/23/47	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>LESS, Mrs. (KOPELEWICH, Esther, nee)</del>	24	3/4/49	Achocon	Pourifoy	Presently employed		
<del>LEWIS, Mrs. Preston K.</del>	75	12/3/46	Byrnes	Russell	Resigned 9/23/47	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>LIFANTIERA LEE, Paul A.</del>	56	9/20/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Presently employed		
<del>LINDSEY, John Richard</del>	67	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Reduction in force 9/12/47	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>LLOYD, David Demarest</del>	9	9/17/43 Reappointed by transfer from FEA under EO 9630 on 9/27/45 Applicant for re-employment in October 1946	Hull Byrnes	Shaw McCarthy	Separated by transfer 10/15/43 Terminated 9/30/46 (Completion of Assignment) --- Not employed	Hull Byrnes	Shaw Russell
<del>LORWIN, Val R.</del>	54	12/19/45	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed (On Leave Without Pay)		

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Separation</u>
* MAGUIE, Sylvia.	69	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Resigned 9/14/48	Marshall	Peurifoy
① MANN, Gottfried Thomas	42	1/21/47	Marshall	Russell	Reduction in force 5/26/47	Marshall	Peurifoy
* MARGOLIES, Daniel F.	41	1/10/47	Acheson(Actg)	Russell	Presently employed		
* MEIGS, Poveril	3	9/20/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Reduction in force 11/25/47	Marshall	Pourifoy
* MILLER, Robert T.	16	6/7/44	Hull	Shaw	Resigned 12/13/46	Byrnes	Russell
* MONTAGUE, Ella M.	34	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Presently employed		
* AL, Fred Warner	57	4/24/46	Byrnes	Russell	Resigned 3/12/48	Marshall	Peurifoy
* NESS, Norman T.	45	8/12/46	Byrnes	Russell	Resigned 4/30/48	Marshall	Peurifoy
① NEWMANN, Franz Leopold	59	9/29/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Presently employed		
* OSNATCH, Olga F.	37	12/16/48	Marshall	Peurifoy	Presently employed		

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Separation</u>
<del>PARSONS, Ruby A.</del>	81	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Resigned 4/2/48	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>PERKINS, Isham W.</del>	62	11/16/27	Kellogg	Carr	Resigned 3/19/48	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>PETER, Hollis W.</del>	64	3/30/45	Stettinius	Holmes	Presently employed		
<del>POLYZOIDES, T. Achilles</del>	79	3/8/46	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>POSNER, Margery S.</del>	10	9/20/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Resigned 2/11/48	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>POSNIAK, Edward G.</del>	77	10/10/45	Byrnes	McCarthy	Presently employed		
<del>POST, Richard H.</del>	53	1/18/40	Hull	None	Resigned 12/30/48	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>RAINE, Philip</del>	52	7/14/31	Stimson	Carr	Presently employed		
<del>RANDOLPH (Rosenberg), David</del>	66	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Reduction in force 9/16/47	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>RAPOPORT, Alexander</del>	22	3/7/49	Acheson	Pourifoy	Presently employed		
<del>REMINGTON, William</del>	19	NEVER EMPLOYED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE					

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Separation</u>
<del>ROBINSON, Jay</del>	5	9/27/45 Transferred from FEA under EO 9630	Byrnes	McCarthy	Resigned 4/16/48	Marshall	Pcurifoy
<del>ROMMEL, Rowena</del>	51	8/4/43	Hull	Shaw	Presently employed		
<del>ROSS, Louis</del>	31	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Presently employed		
<del>ROSS, Robert</del>	32	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Presently employed		
<del>SCHINDLER, Sylvia</del>	50	9/26/45	Byrnes	McCarthy	Presently employed		
<del>SHELL, Melvin</del>	35	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Resigned 12/24/48	Marshall	Pcurifoy
<del>SIEGEL, Herman</del>	33	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Presently employed		
<del>SMITH (Schmidt) Frederick W.</del>	36	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Presently employed		
<del>SMITH, Samuel Stephenson</del>	20	APPLICANT -- NEVER EMPLOYED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE					

CONFIDENTIAL

<u>Name</u>	<u>McCarthy List</u>	<u>Entered on Duty</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Appointment</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Secretary of State At Time of Separation</u>	<u>Asst. Secretary of State for Administration At Time of Separation</u>
<del>STOIANOFF, Stoian</del>	71	8/31/45 Transferred from OWI under EO 9608	Byrnes	None	Separated 12/8/47 (Completion of Assignment)	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>STONE, William T.</del>	46	11/12/45	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>TAYLOR, Jeanne H.</del>	17	9/20/45 Transferred from OCS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Resigned 4/23/47	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>TUCHSCHER, Francis M.</del>	6	9/20/45 Transferred from OSS under EO 9621	Byrnes	McCarthy	Presently employed		
<del>VINCENT, John Carter</del>	2	4/4/24	Hughes	Wright	Presently employed		
<del>VOLIN, Max A.</del>	39	1/2/47	Byrnes	Russell	Resigned 6/30/48	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>WASHBURN, John T.</del>	80	NEVER EMPLOYED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE					
<del>WASHBURN, Carleton Wolsey</del>	13	9/12/46	Byrnes	Russell	Terminated 8/11/48 (Completion of Assignment)	Marshall	Pourifoy
<del>WILCOX, Stanley</del>	63	8/15/46	Byrnes	Russell	Presently employed		
<del>YUHAS, Holene</del>	12	1/30/45	Stettinius	Holmes	Resigned 9/8/47	Marshall	Pourifoy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUMMARY

Formerly employed.....	33
Never employed.....	7
Presently employed .....	40
	<hr/>
	80 *

\* Senator McCarthy did not name No. 72

Received from the State Department  
through Liaison Office

Date 3/24/50

on a confidential  
basis

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SENATOR McCARTHY, LIST OF 81

1. FIERST, Herbert ✓
2. VINCENT, John Carter
3. MEIGS, Peveril ✓
4. ILLYEFALVI-VITES, Gizella ✓
5. ROBINSON, Jay ✓
6. TUCHSCHER, Frances M. ✓
7. HARRISON, Marcia Ruth ✓
8. GRAZE, Stanley ✓
9. LLOYD, David Demarest
10. POSNER, Marjorie S.
11. FERRY, Frances
12. YUHAS, Helen
13. WASHBURNE, Carleton ✓
14. ARNDT, Ernst Theodore
15. JESSUP, Philip ✓
16. MILLER, Robert T.
17. TAYLOR, Jeanne E.
18. LEMON, Edythe INDEXED - *new*
19. REMINGTON, William
20. SMITH, S. Stevenson
21. DELGADO, Mucio
22. RAPOPORT, Alexander
23. \*CHIPCHIN, Nelson
24. LESS, Mrs.  
\* (KOPELEWICH, Esther) \* Less

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/11/78 DA/DLC

121-23278-69  
NOT RECORDED  
12 JUN 13 1950

*Index back*  
*405 in index*  
*121-23278-4457 + 170*  
*5 - my*

*Communicate in State Department*

*38*  
53 JUL 5 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



25. GRONDAHL, Tegner Conrad
26. CLUCAS, Lowell M., Jr.
27. KATUSICH, Ivan
28. LANSBERG, Hans.
29. GRAZE, Gerald
30. JOSEPHSON, Joseph
31. ROSS, Lewis ✓
32. ROSS, Robert ✓
33. SIEGEL, Herman ✓
34. MONTAGUE, Ella M. ✓
35. SHELL, Melville
36. SMITH, Frederick W.
37. OSNATCH, Olga F.
38. KAUFMAN, Arthur Milton ✓
39. VOLIN, Max A.
40. GORDON, Stella
41. MARGOLIES, Daniel F. ✓
42. MANN, Gottfried Thomas
43. FISHBACK, Sam ✓
44. CARTER, William D.
45. NESS, Norman T. ✓
46. STONE, William T. ✓
47. BRUNAUER, Esther Caukin ✓

- 48.)  
49.) BARNETT, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Warren ✓ ✓
50. SCHIMMEL, Sylvia ✓
51. ROMMEL, Rowena ✓
52. RAINE, Philip ✓
53. POST, Richard
54. LORWIN, Val R. ✓
55. CAMERON, Gertrude ✓
56. LIFANTIEFF-LEE, Paul A.
57. NEAL, Fred Warner
58. CARLISLE, Lois ✓
59. NEUMANN, Franz Leopold
60. DuBOIS, Cora ✓
61. DEMERJIAN, Alice ✓
62. PERKINS, Isham W.
63. WILCOX, Stanley ✓
64. PETER, Hollis W. ✓
65. HUNT, Victor
66. RANDOLPH, David (Rosenberg)
67. LINDSEY, John Richard
68. GROSS, Aaron Jack
69. MAGUITE, Sylvia
70. BERMAN, Harold
71. STOIANOFF, Stoian

- 72. No name given
- 73. HORWIN, Leonard
- 74. JANKOWSKI, Joseph T.
- 75. LEWIS, Mrs. Preston Keesling
- 76. FORD, James T.
- 77. POSNIAK, Edward G. ✓
- 78. KAMARCK, Andrew W.
- 79. POLYZOIDEŠ, T. Achilles
- 80. WASHBURN, John T.
- 81. PARSONS, Ruby A. ✓

INSTRUCTIONS: This form is to be removed from file by a Filing Unit employee only upon the return of the item.

Subject  
*Communist in State Department*

Type of Mail	Date of Mail
<input type="checkbox"/> Report	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Incoming letter	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Outgoing letter	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Memorandum	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Airtel	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Teletype	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Enclosure (describe)	_____
_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Laboratory Work Sheet	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Personnel Security Questionnaire (PSQ)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Loyalty Form	_____
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (describe)	_____
<i>List of names on Senator M<sup>c</sup>Carthy</i>	
<i>List NR <del>121-23278</del> 3-24-50</i>	

Removed for	Removed by	Date of Removal
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. <i>4913 / Cons.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Miss <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Room	<i>J. Sullivan</i>	<i>5/15/81</i>

Reason for Removal

For copying (If for another agency, list agency and date of request.)

\_\_\_\_\_

To send to \_\_\_\_\_

To attach to \_\_\_\_\_

For office use \_\_\_\_\_

For change to another file \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Complete File and Serial Number 121-23278-68

March 30, 1950

~~62-114233~~  
131-23273-70

RECORDED

INDEXED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Re: Views of Judge Thomas J. O'Connor concerning Confidential Nature of FBI Files

In view of your recent appearance before the Subcommittee of the Senate 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 letter is highly appropriate, and because of his experience and position, his views are worthy of note.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

AHB:tlc

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Holloman
- Miss Gandy

MAR 31 1950  
COMM-FBI

55 MAY 5 1950

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAR 30 6 40 PM '50

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAR 30 5 55 PM '50



COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

Lucas County, Ohio

C  
O  
P  
Y

Toledo, Ohio

March 25, 1950

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

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.

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 accounts 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 production of your files.

I am 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 open 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 foresee 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.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

121-23275-7  
~~121-11725-5~~

I am motivated 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.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS  
LUCAS COUNTY, OHIO ✓

TOLEDO, OHIO ✓

March 25, 1950

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ RECORDING

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According to the newspaper accounts 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 production of your files.

I am 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 open 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 foresee much difficulty in investigations by your agents for the 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.

RECORDED ✓ *278-70*

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

*Senate, House Committee*

*ackw 3/30/50*

*MS*



BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

3-30-50

To:

- |                 |                     |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| ___ Mr. Tolson  | ___ Miss Gandy      |
| ___ Mr. Ladd    | ___ Mr. McGuire     |
| ___ Mr. Clegg   | ___ Mr. Jones       |
| *** Mr. Belmont | ___ Central Hold    |
| ___ Mr. Harbo   | ___ Desk Room 7235  |
| ___ Mr. Glavin  | ___ Mail Room       |
| ___ Mr. Nichols | ___ Foreign Service |
| ___ Mr. Rosen   | ___ Desk            |
| ___ Mr. Tracy   | ___ Code Room 4642  |
| ROOM            |                     |

Attention: AHB:tlc *[Signature]*

Memo dated 3-30-50 to the Attorney

General forwarding copy of letter

from Judge Thomas J. O'Connor:

Please note on copy of letter from

Judge O'Connor that the word White

(first word in para. 2) was corrected

here from White.

JUDGES  
JOHN M. MC CABE  
PAUL W. ALEXANDER  
JOHN Q. CAREY  
THOMAS J. O'CONNOR  
HARVEY G. STRAUB  
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.

Sincerely yours,

*Thomas J. O'Connor*  
Judge.

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

*File*  
*3/28/50*

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 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,

*3-10-50*  
**APR 10 1950**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

INDEXED

121-23278-571

62-91923-2

RECORDED  
31 MAR 30 1950

SEARCHED

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 66-7225-1

particularly in security cases, they contain not only background data on the individual but details of his private life which bear upon the investigation. In these files also are the identities of our confidential sources of information and full details of investigative techniques. In short, they consist of a running account of all that transpires.

A file is maintained in each case because the FBI has received information, allegations, or a complaint which if proven comes within the sphere of our responsibility, in pursuance of either Congressional or Executive Directives. After the investigation is completed, when indicated by Department procedure or judgment, a summary of the facts developed is furnished to the Department of Justice or United States Attorneys. In other types of investigations, the reports of Special Agents are submitted to the interested agency of the government. Details and information dealing with administrative operations and confidential sources of information remain in our files. The contents of these files were never intended to be disclosed and, unless we drastically change and circumscribe our procedures, they should not be disclosed.

The question of divulging contents of the files of agencies of government is not a new one. When confronted with the question of divulging the files of an Executive Department of the Government in 1909, the late President Theodore Roosevelt said:

"Some of these facts....were given to the Government under the seal of secrecy and cannot be divulged and I will see to it that the word of this Government to the individual is kept sacred."

The disclosure of the contents of the files of the FBI would reveal confidential procedures and techniques. If spread upon the record, criminals, foreign agents, subversives, and others would be forewarned and would seek methods to carry out their activities by avoiding detection and thus defeat the very purposes for which the FBI was created. Each exception undermines this principle, establishes a precedent, and would inevitably result in a complete collapse of a traditional policy which has proven its soundness.

A disclosure of FBI reports would reveal the identity of confidential sources of information and, if it did not place the lives of such persons in actual jeopardy, it would certainly ruin their future value and effectiveness.

The disclosure of FBI reports would make otherwise patriotic citizens reluctant to furnish information. Already, as a result of some unfortunate disclosures of our files in court proceedings, our Special Agents frequently are being told by persons from whom they seek information that they will decline to be interviewed for fear the information will be misused by some agency other than the FBI.

In the conduct of official investigations, information of a highly restricted nature having a direct bearing upon national security often finds its way into the files which, if disclosed, would be of considerable value to a foreign power. Increasingly, we have observed efforts of a foreign power to seek intimate personal details concerning many of our leaders in Government and industry. They should not be aided by having these details made public for their use and advantage, thereby crippling the important work of the FBI.

So far, I have directed my remarks against a disclosure of FBI files on security grounds. There are other compelling reasons why the files of the FBI should remain inviolate. For the want of a more apt comparison, our files can be compared to the notes of a newspaper reporter before he has culled the

printable material from the unprintable. The files do not consist of proven information alone. The files must be viewed as a whole. One report may allege crimes of a most despicable type, and the truth or falsity of these charges may not emerge until several reports are studied, further investigation made and the wheat separated from the chaff.

I, for one, would want no part of an investigative organization which had the power of discretion to decide what information would be reported and what would be omitted. An item of information which appears unimportant today may provide the solution of a case when considered with information received at a later date, or it may later establish the innocence of the accused.

Should a given file be disclosed, the issue would be a far broader one than concerns the subject of the investigation. Names of persons who by force of circumstance entered into the investigation might well be innocent of any wrong. To publicize their names without the explanation of their associations would be a grave injustice. Even though they were given an opportunity to later give their explanation, the fact remains that truth seldom, if ever, catches up with charges. I would not want to be a party to any action which would "smear" innocent individuals for the rest of their lives. We cannot disregard the fundamental principles of common decency and the application of basic American rights of fair play.

The FBI has the obligation, within the scope of Federal law, not only to protect the rights, lives, and property of our citizens, but also to protect the confidential relationship of the citizen when he patriotically serves his Government by providing information essential to our security.

FBI reports set forth all details secured from a witness. If those details were disclosed, they could become subject to misinterpretation, they could be quoted out of context, or they could be used to thwart truth, distort half truths, and misrepresent facts. The raw material, the allegations, the details of associations and compilation of information in FBI files must be considered as a whole. They are of value to an investigator in the discharge of his duty. These files were never intended to be used in any other manner and the public interest would not be served by the disclosure of their contents.

In taking this stand, I want to reiterate - a principle is involved. I would take this same stand before the Attorney General, as I already have, or before any other body. The fact that I have great respect, confidence, and a desire to be of assistance to a committee of distinguished Senators, however, in no way detracts from a principle. I say this because I do not want any misinterpretation of my remarks, nor do I want it said that this and other committees of Congress do not have my respect and confidence. I would be derelict to my duty, untrue to my conscience, and unworthy of my trust to take any other position.

April 3, 1950

RECORDED - 130

INDEXED - 130

121-232-78-72  
~~62-7793-10~~

Mr. Stuart H. Clement  
178 Bishop Street  
New Haven 11, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Clement:

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,

G. I. R. 17

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

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

COMMITTEE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FRE:cjh

65 APR 20 1950

MAILED 3  
APR 3 1950  
COMM. R.

Handwritten initials

Handwritten initials

Handwritten initials



QUART H. CLEMENT  
178 BISHOP STREET  
NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT

March 27, 1950

Dear Mr. Hoover -

You don't know me,  
and I know you only through your  
fine reputation as the head of the  
F.B.I., whose activities I had long  
admired before your outstanding  
performance today before the  
Senate Committee.

I just want you to know  
that I was thrilled by your  
statements as reported by various  
commentators over the radio  
tonight. I sincerely hope that the  
President will "see the light" and  
not require you to turn over your  
records, as demanded by Sen.  
McCarthy. I cannot imagine how  
he got that way, but he has

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121-230278-72  
~~67-71123~~

APR 19 1950

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... certainly gave off the deep end  
when he seeks to imperil the  
efficiency of your fine organi-  
zation.

More power to you in your  
fight for the integrity and  
secrecy of the R.B.T. records!

Sincerely yours -

Grant H. Clunnet

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI  
RECEIVED  
MAR 25 2 03 PM '50  
MR. JONES

RECORDED  
MAR 29 1 40 PM '50

*Handwritten signature*

April 3, 1950

88655

Senate  
Foreign Relations COMMITTEE

Mr. Frederic R. Wood  
103 Peterborough Street  
Boston 15, Massachusetts

F. R. Wood

121-23278-73  
Dear Mr. Wood:

RECORDED - 114

INDEXED - 114

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

I am enclosing a copy of my statement before the Committee of 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 honest person should fear wire tapping if the evidence is not admissible in court as evidence."

HJC:ajp

FBI  
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APR 3 1950

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APR 3 1950  
COMM - FBI

57 APR 22 1950

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_

se

W

W

W

Frederic R. Wood  
89 Peterborough Street  
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Mar. 27, 1950

Dear Mr. Hoover, I have great faith and confidence in the F. B. I.

But, frankly, I am puzzled. If your files can't be shown an investigating committee, in executive session, and if the disclosure of certain evidence to ensure convictions in court is harmful to your sources of information, why is this data collected? where will it be used? If every

there may be good and sufficient answers and reasons but maybe I'm not supposed to understand. Maybe it's too confidential.

RECORDED - 114

APR 12 1950

Sincerely,  
FR. Wood

FR. Wood

JMA

W. J. ...  
11-3-50

I feel there are many Russian spies in our country and you don't want to show too much of your hand or system.

April 6, 1950

4487

*Pearl S. Sharrer*

Miss Pearl Sharrer  
78 Lardner Place  
Buffalo 9, New York

RECORDED - 32  
INDEXED - 32

Dear Miss Sharrer:

Your letter dated March 27, 1950, with enclosure, has been received and I want to thank you for furnishing your observations to me.

I am happy to know that my views with reference to the files of the FBI are shared by you, and I am enclosing a copy of my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950, which I thought you might like to have.

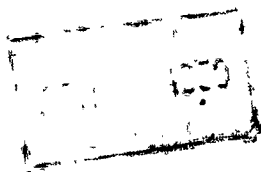
Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure: Director's statement of March 27, 1950.  
NOTE: Bureau files 100-207475 reflects that Mrs. Pearl F. Sharrer, Main Street, Harmony, Pennsylvania, wrote to the Bureau in 1943, furnishing miscellaneous information which was referred to Military Intelligence Division of the War Department. Inasmuch as it is impossible to definitely identify this individual with the correspondent, the latter is being addressed as Miss Pearl Scharrer in the absence of data concerning her marital status.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JNC:mbp



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*W*

Buffalo, 9N.Y.,

76 Harvard Pl.,

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 , annihilation 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.

RECORDED - 32

121-23278-74  
62-91923-  
APR 14 1950

Where would the communists try to over throw our govennment but in the most important 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 sympathizers, will be their

thinking. That is just what they want to go around the

Committee

Relations

Private  
Security

ENCL

32

Handwritten initials and date: 3/27/50

Handwritten initials: (PMD) my

ADD - 10/10/50

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

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 nursed 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 about 8 by 10 inches and about two 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 spin their good way. We better awake before it is too late. Read your Bible on the future of the world after the flood. It is all recorded there. It behoves us to read and learn. At this time the words have more meaning than ever before because

face~~d~~ with conditions there-in stated. Our Bible can be our guide to save us only we must awake and use it. The solution is all in the Holy pages. 4490

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 p~~a~~aned 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 believe we are not necessary to <sup>them</sup> me 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 freigh~~t~~en us into thinking they are supernatural and will destroy us. There dange 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. MacCarthy 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 stop their speed..

It must be 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 plenty in Pitts. 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 too open 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 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 Bible today for the world solution of today they can find there?

A man like you will have more effect on a world hook' 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.

Sincerely in the life of the U.S.A

*Pearl S. Harner*

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 details made public for their use and advantage, thereby crippling the important work of the FBI," he said.

*(a back fair)*  
 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

121-23278-74

ENCLOSURE



STATEMENT OF  
ATTORNEY GENERAL J. HOWARD McCARATH

BEFORE  
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.

*Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations*

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ENCLOSURE

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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.

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, summarized 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 counterespionage 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 exonerate 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.

April 4, 1950

4485

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~~121-23278-76~~

EX-13

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/19/01 BY 60322 UCBAW

Mr. Richard E. Falconer  
553 Bayless Street  
Azusa, California

Dear Mr. Falconer:

Your letter dated March 27, 1950, had 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

Enclosure

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

FRY:cjh

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Case \_\_\_\_\_
- Andy \_\_\_\_\_

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*[Handwritten signature]*

*House Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations*

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4486

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

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 unbridled 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 sincerely yours,

*Richard E. Falconer*

Richard E. Falconer

553 Bayless Street,  
Azusa, Calif.

March 27th, 1950

*used  
Dec 4-4-50  
JBY*

RECORDED - 74  
INDEXED - 74

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~~62-7193-38~~

PER. FILES

EX - 73



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: March 28, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Names furnished to Tydings Committee by Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Gandy	_____

PURPOSE

To advise you of the results of a check of our files on all the names furnished to the Tydings Committee by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy with reference as to (1) whether the cases have been properly handled and (2) whether our files are in shape.

BACKGROUND

By memorandum of February 24, 1950, you were furnished the identity of 68 of the individuals referred to anonymously by Senator McCarthy before the Senate, as reported in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950. These identifications were made through a comparison of the Senator's allegations with the material which had been provided to the Bureau confidentially on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee.

You will recall that, with respect to the original testimony of Senator McCarthy, certain cases mentioned by him could not be identified by either the Bureau or the State Department due to the fact that the Senator lumped several cases together and omitted several others.

On March 21, 1950, the State Department furnished us with a list of the 81 names given by Senator McCarthy to the Tydings Committee. Subsequently, on March 24, 1950, the State Department furnished the Bureau with a chart showing the employment status at the Department of State of each of the 81 individuals plus the 9 individuals named by Senator McCarthy in his appearances before the Tydings Committee.

You instructed that we check our files on all the names furnished to the Tydings Committee by Senator McCarthy and make certain that we have properly handled the cases and that our files are in shape.

An analysis has been made of the complete list of 81 names furnished to the Tydings Committee. In 41 of the cases full field loyalty investigations have been conducted and referred to the Civil Service Commission. In one case (Estelle Gordon, Case No. 40) we are presently conducting a full field loyalty investigation at the specific request of the State Department. In 6 of the cases preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigations have been conducted and in 14 of the cases full field investigations were conducted under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America Program). In those cases where we have completed preliminary inquiry or full field type loyalty investigations, or investigations under the Voice of America Program, the case files show that the investigations were properly handled in accordance with existing Bureau policy.

Attachments  
CHS:NRJ/lhs/zg

Deleted Copy Sent *Margaret Harrison*  
by Letter *4/11/76*  
Per FOIA Request

RECORDED - 124  
INDEXED - 124

122-39749-1509  
APR 10 1950

*Handwritten signatures and initials*



In 7 of the 81 cases other type applicant or security investigations have been conducted in the past or are presently pending. With respect to these 7 cases, however, 5 of the individuals involved are no longer employed in the Government and have not been in Government service since 1947 so far as our files show. The remaining two involve Case No. 79 - T. Achilles Polyzoides and Case No. 68 - Aaron Jack Gross, both of whom are still employed at the State Department. Polyzoides is presently the subject of an Atomic Energy Act investigation which we estimate will be completed March 29, 1950. As you previously have been advised, reports in this case will be furnished to the Civil Service Commission and the State Department as well as the Atomic Energy Commission. With regard to Gross, State Department records indicate he transferred to the State Department from the Office of War Information on June 3, 1946. In 1942 we conducted a Special Inquiry type investigation regarding Gross for the Office of Coordinator of Information, predecessor agency to the OWI. It is noted our reports in this Special Inquiry case do completely cover the allegations presently made by Senator McCarthy. Although there is nothing additional in our files, it does not appear that this case has been properly adjudicated under the Loyalty Order and, consequently, we have initiated a full field investigation.

There are 12 of the 81 cases in which no investigation has been conducted by the Bureau but of these 10 of the individuals involved are no longer employed by the State Department and there is no indication in Bureau files that they are employed elsewhere in the Government. A check has been made with the Civil Service Commission and there is nothing in their records to indicate these 10 individuals are employed in the government at the present time. The remaining 2 involve Case No. 56 - Paul A. Lifantief-Lee and Case No. 59 - Franz Leopold Neumann, both of whom are presently employed by the State Department. Our files do not show sufficient information to warrant initiation of investigation of Lifantief-Lee. With respect to Neumann, it is noted that the case involving him could not be identified by either the Bureau or the State Department until Senator McCarthy actually furnished the 81 names to the Tydings Committee due to the fact that in his original testimony before the Senate on February 20, 1950, Senator McCarthy omitted Case No. 59. No Loyalty Form for Neumann has been located in our files. However, our files do contain some information of questionable significance which may pertain to Neumann and which does warrant the initiation of a preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigation to establish identity and to further evaluate the information. Accordingly, a preliminary inquiry type investigation has been initiated.

In so far as the condition of our files is concerned, in the event they are subpoenaed by the Tydings Committee, it should be noted that the following general characteristics pertain in the loyalty files:

- 1) The original copy of reports as received from the field have been, in almost every instance, edited and changed by the Bureau to delete controversial material. It might be noted that, in this connection, many of these cases were handled in the early stages of the Loyalty Program.
- 2) Original copies of the reports contain administrative and informant pages showing the identity of our confidential informants and the identity of cooperative private citizens who have cooperated with the Bureau on a confidential basis.
- 3) References are made in the files to other Bureau file numbers and investigations.
- 4) Each file contains an administrative marking of "disloyal" or "unfounded" for statistical purposes within the Bureau. If these notations came to the attention of outsiders, it might create the erroneous impression that the Bureau

is adjudicating these cases and eventually result in a controversy with the Loyalty Review Board.

5) Administrative memoranda containing various notations as to proper action which should be taken on controversial issues by various Bureau officials.

6) Intra-Bureau communications revealing use of confidential procedures and the identity of other Government agencies providing us with information.

The characteristics noted above will also pertain generally in the case files of investigations conducted under the Voice of America Program, as well as those where we have conducted other type applicant investigations. These characteristics are, of course, in accordance with existing Bureau policy and procedure. Although the above list is not purported to be a complete list of the controversial types of material appearing in case files, it does present a general picture of the type of material contained therein which strongly evidences the need for us to strenuously resist any efforts on the part of the Tydings Committee or any other Congressional Committee to obtain our files for either public or private hearings.

As you will recall, Senator McCarthy in his early appearances before the Tydings Committee named 9 individuals whose names were publicized in the press. Some of these 9 individuals are the subjects of pending internal security or espionage investigations. In investigations of these types all investigative techniques are utilized, including those of a very confidential nature, and, of course, the case files in these type investigations are replete with information revealing identity of extremely confidential informants. Also contained in files of this nature are names of various innocent citizens who would be dealt a grave injustice by having their names publicly revealed. Particularly illustrative of these points is the Bureau's internal security file on Harlow Shapley, which is so replete with serials containing information identifying confidential techniques of the Bureau and mentioning the names of prominent individuals that under no circumstances could this particular file be made available to any outside agency or committee for examination. We have, of course, disseminated all information of a type that can be disseminated to the proper authorities. Particularly with respect to loyalty investigations and investigations under the Voice of America Program, the Civil Service Commission and/or the State Department already are in possession of our investigative reports.

For your information there is attached a list showing a brief analysis on each of the 81 cases cited by Senator McCarthy, showing the Bureau's investigative position and the employment status of each of the individuals involved so far as our files and the records of the State Department reflect. A separate list is also attached showing an analysis of the Bureau's investigative position on the 9 individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy in his appearances before the Tydings Committee whose names were publicized in the press. As you will recall, these individuals were Esther C. Brunauer (and her husband, Stephen Brunauer), Gustavo Duran, Haldore Hanson, Philip Jessup, Dorothy Kenyon, Owen J. Lattimore, Frederick L. Schumann, John Stewart Service and Harlow Shapley. It is noted that Esther Brunauer and Philip Jessup also are included as Case Numbers 47 and 15, respectively, in Senator McCarthy's list of 81.

ACTION

As you testified, disclosure of our files would seriously hamper our entire operations and would jeopardize the identity of our informants and our future effectiveness. Grave injustices would be done to many innocent people. We should certainly continue to resist any efforts on the part of the Tydings Committee or any other Congressional Committee to obtain our files for review.



March 28, 1950

THE 81 CASES FURNISHED BY SENATOR JOSEPH  
R. MCCARTHY TO THE TYDINGS SUBCOMMITTEE  
OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

CASE NO. AND NAME

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

No. 1. HERBERT ABNER FIERST  
Fierst was subject full field loyalty  
investigation. Reports sent to CSC 9-15-48.  
Loyalty Review Board disposition "eligible  
on loyalty" 10-7-49. (121-7630)

Presently employed by State  
Department.

No. 2. JOHN CARTER VINCENT  
Information in Bureau files re Vincent  
furnished to Attorney General by memorandum  
5-17-48 requesting advice whether loyalty  
investigation should be conducted. Memorandum  
dated 6-9-48 received from Peyton Ford advising  
question referred to State Department and State  
Department indicated in possession of all infor-  
mation. Mr. Ford suggested Bureau review infor-  
mation in State Department file and unless lead  
developed requiring additional investigation,  
unnecessary to undertake full field loyalty  
investigation. After review State Department  
file memorandum directed to Attorney General  
7-13-48 advising no investigation would be  
conducted. State Department also advised by  
Liaison 7-16-48. Loyalty Form subsequently  
returned to CSC 4-18-49 with notation all infor-  
mation in files of Bureau in possession State  
Department and in absence of request, no investi-  
gation would be conducted. (121-11900)

Presently employed by State  
Department

No. 3. PEVERLY MEIGS  
Meigs was subject full field loyalty investi-  
gation. Reports sent to CSC 4-19-48. Loyalty  
Review Board disposition "retained" 4-15-49  
(by Army). (121-842)

Employed by Department of Army  
as of 4-15-49. Terminated by  
State Department 11-25-47.

~~121-23278-1509~~  
121-23278-77

No. 4. GIZELLA ILLYEFALVI VITEZ

Vitez never investigated by Bureau. Investigation conducted by CSC in 1944 and 1945. Rated eligible 3-8-46 by CSC Loyalty Rating Board. (62-17890-607 pg 5181). Loyalty Form returned to CSC stamped "No disloyal data - FBI files" 3-19-48. During subsequent investigation of brother-in-law, Nicholas Torsz under VOA Program, completed and sent to State Department 6-1-48, information developed that Gizella Illyefalvi-Vitez was member of IWO, contributed articles to Hungarian newspaper sponsored by IWO, criticized U. S. Government and advocated ideals of Communism and Russian Government. Reports on brother-in-law reflecting this information also sent to CSC 9-20-48. (123-43). No indication in Bureau files that Vitez is presently employed in Executive Branch of Government.

Resigned State Department 3-5-48.

No. 5. JAY ROBINSON

Robinson was subject full field loyalty investigation, which was discontinued when ascertained Robinson terminated employment by State Department. CSC advised of discontinuance of investigation. 6-11-48. (121-9838)

Resigned State Department 4-16-48.

No. 6. FRANCES MYRLE TUCHSCHER

Tuchscher was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3-13-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained" 2-4-49. (121-2117)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 7. MARCIA RUTH HARRISON

Harrison was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 4-20-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "eligible on loyalty" 6-7-49. (121-1163)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 8. STANLEY GRAZE

Stanley Graze was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3-3-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "resigned or otherwise separated" 3-25-49. (121-638)

Resigned State Department, 4-30-48.

~~62-39449-1509~~  
121-23278-77  
20

4  
77

No. 9. DAVID DEMAREST ~~LLOYD~~  
Lloyd was subject full field loyalty investigation for National Military Establishment. Reports sent to CSC 3-9-48. No Loyalty Review Board disposition received. (121-16509)

Presently employed White House Staff as Representative, National Military Establishment. Terminated State Department 9-30-46.

No. 10. MARGERY S. ~~POSNER~~  
Posner never investigated by Bureau. Loyalty Form submitted by State Department returned to CSC 3-30-48 stamped "No disloyal data FBI files." No indication employed U. S. Government since resigned from State Department 2-11-48. No disloyal information in Bureau files under name Margery Posner other than information provided Bureau confidentially by former SA Robert E. Lee on 1-29-48 indicating husband was signer of CP petition. Bureau files under name Margery Snowden, apparently maiden name, reflect information indicating applicant for American Youth for Democracy membership in 1945. (62-39749-1109; 61-777-53-33)

Resigned State Department 2-11-48.

Referral/Direct



No. 12. HELENE ~~YUHAS~~  
Yuhas was subject full field loyalty investigation discontinued on determination she had terminated State Department employment. CSC advised of discontinuance 6-11-48. (121-4757)

Resigned State Department 7-8-47.

No. 13. CARLETON ~~WASHBURNE~~  
Washburne was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6-7-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained" 10-1-48. (121-1863)

Terminated State Department 8-11-48.



121-23278-77  
~~62-39749-1529~~  
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No. 15. PHILIP JESSUP

Jessup was subject of full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 10-18-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained" 2-4-49. (121-9893)

Presently employed by State Department

No. 16. ROBERT T. MILLER

Miller resigned from State Department prior to issuance of EO 9835 on 3-22-47. As State Department employee was subject of Internal Security - Hatch Act investigation from 8-8-44 to 11-45. Thereafter continued under Internal Security - R classification on receipt of allegations by Elizabeth Bentley. Copies of Hatch Act reports sent to State Department and on 11-25-45 Secretary of State advised by Director of Elizabeth Bentley's allegations. From 12-5-45 to 11-25-46 summaries re Miller's activities and connections with Gregory espionage ring furnished to State. (101-6611)

Resigned State Department 12-13-46.

No. 17. JEANNE H. TAYLOR

Taylor never investigated by Bureau. Taylor resigned State Department employment prior to appropriation of funds for administration of EO 9835 on 8-1-47. No Loyalty Form located re Taylor and no indication in Bureau files employed in Executive Branch of Government subsequent to resignation from State Department.

Resigned State Department employment 4-23-47.

No. 18. EDYTHE J. LEMON

Lemon never investigated by Bureau. No Loyalty Form located on Lemon in Bureau files. Bureau files show no indication employment Executive Branch U. S. Government subsequent to resignation from State Department 11-28-47.

Resigned State Department 11-28-47.

No. 19. WILLIAM REMINGTON

Case No. 19 originally identified by State Department as Hans H. Landsberg (see present Case No. 28). William Remington was subject full field loyalty investigation as employee Department of Commerce. Reports sent to CSC 6-12-48. Reinstated after appeal to Loyalty Review Board 2-9-49. Present subject of pending Espionage investigation. (121-6159)

Employed Commerce Department as of 2-9-49. Never employed State Department.

~~121-9893-1-1287~~

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No. 20. SAMUEL STEPHENSON SMITH  
Smith never investigated by Bureau. Bureau files show numerous disloyal references on person believed identical with Samuel Stephenson Smith indicating CP front affiliations. No indication in Bureau files Smith ever employed in Executive Branch U. S. Government.

One time applicant for position with State Department but never employed.

No. 21. MUCIO DELGADO  
Delgado was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-22-48. (123-787)

Presently employed State Department.

No. 22. ALEXANDER RAPOPORT  
Rapoport was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-19-48. (123-557)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 23. NELSON CHIPCHIN  
Chipchin was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 8-19-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "eligible on loyalty" 8-22-49. (123-1593)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 24. ESTHER LESS, aka Esther Less Kopelewich  
Less was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 1-26-49. (123-807)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 25. TEGNEL CONRAD GRONDAHL  
Grondahl was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-27-48. (123-1212)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 26. LOWELL M. CLUCAS  
Clucas was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-27-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "eligible on loyalty" 6-13-49. (123-778)

Presently employed by State Department

No. 27. IVAN KATUSICH  
Katusich was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-23-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "eligible on loyalty" 6-15-49. (123-861)

Resigned State Department 4-29-49.

~~12-3-49-1007~~



No. 28. HANS H. LANDSBERG

Case No. 28 previously identified by Bureau and State Department as Leander B. Lovell (see below). Landsberg was subject full field loyalty investigation as appointee Department of Commerce. Reports sent to CSC 7-14-49. No Loyalty Review Board disposition received. (121-16494)

Appointed Department of Commerce 5-21-48. Applicant but never employed by State Department.

LEANDER B. LOVELL

Lovell subject full field loyalty investigation as employee Office Military Government, Department of Army, Germany. Reports sent to CSC 5-27-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "cleared on security under P.L. 808" (by Army) 8-19-49. Lovell now subject pending investigation under European Recovery Program in view of present employment Economic Cooperation Administration. (121-5012; 124-4205)

Terminated State Department 10-19-40. Subsequently employed Department of Army until 11-49. Now employed Economic Cooperation Administration.

No. 29. GERALD GRAZE

Gerald Graze was subject full field loyalty investigation as employee Federal Security Agency. Reports sent to CSC 5-8-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained - restored after appeal to Loyalty Review Board," 3-25-49. (121-1521)

Employed Federal Security Agency as of 3-25-49. Applicant but never employed by State Department.

No. 30. JOSEPH JOSEPHSON

No investigation of Josephson conducted by Bureau. Allegations by Senator McCarthy involved signing affidavit that he was member of Communist Party. However, material provided by former SA Robert E. Lee shows only that person of similar name signed CP petition (not Communist affidavit). Bureau files reveal CP petition signer apparently identical with one J. Josephson, a dentist in New York City, rather than Joseph Josephson, former employee State Department. Loyalty Form submitted by CSC on person apparently identical with former State Department employee returned to CSC stamped "No disloyal data FBI files" 6-4-48. (121-4-631649; 62-39749-1109; 100-3-4-A-DW May 28, 1943)

Terminated State Department by reduction in force 12-6-47.

No. 31. LOUIS ROSS

Note: This case carried on Senator McCarthy's list as Lewis Ross. No record of a Lewis Ross employed State Department. However, Louis Ross was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-26-48. (123-984)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 32. ROBERT ROSS

Robert Ross was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-15-48.

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 33. HERMAN SEIGEL

Seigel was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-26-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "eligible on loyalty" 2-27-50. (123-915)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 34. ELLA M. MONTAGUE

Montague was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3-27-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "eligible on loyalty" 8-17-49. (121-1391)

Presently employed State Department.

No. 35. MELVIN SHELL

Note: This case carried on Senator McCarthy's list as Melville Shell. No investigation conducted by Bureau re Shell. Bureau files contain no identifiable disloyal information other than material provided confidentially by former SA Robert E. Lee 1-29-48 indicating unusual interest in mail while employed as messenger in State Department and discussion with one fellow employee indicating possible interest in Russia. No Loyalty Form located in Bureau files. No indication in Bureau files employment Executive Branch U. S. Government subsequent to resignation State Department 12-24-48. (62-39749-1109)

Resigned State Department 12-24-48.

No. 36: FREDERICK W. SMITH (SCHMIDT)  
Smith was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7-27-48. (123-918)

Presently employed by State Department.

No. 37. OLGA E. OSNATCH  
Osnatch was subject investigation under P.L.  
402, 80th Congress, (VOA Program). Reports  
sent to State Department 6-24-48. (123-579)

Presently employed by State  
Department.

No. 38. ARTHUR MILTON KAUFMAN  
Kaufman was subject full field loyalty  
investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3-18-48.  
No Loyalty Review Board disposition received.  
(121-1515)

Presently employed by State  
Department.

No. 39. MAX VOLIN  
Volin was subject full field loyalty  
investigation. Reports sent to CSC  
3-4-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition  
"resigned or otherwise separated" 9-21-48.  
Presently subject pending Espionage investi-  
gation. (121-1745; 65-58823)

Resigned State Department  
6-30-48.

No. 40. ESTELLE GORDON  
Gordon is subject pending full field  
loyalty investigation requested by  
State Department, which was opened 3-24-50.  
(121-22179)

Presently employed by State  
Department.

✓ No. 41. DANIEL F. MARGOLIES  
Margolies was subject full field loyalty  
investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3-3-48.  
Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained"  
7-27-49. (121-787)

Presently employed by State  
Department.

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No. 42. GOTTFRIED THOMAS MANN  
No investigation conducted by Bureau regarding Mann. Note, resigned from State prior to appropriation of funds for administration E.O. 9835 on 8/1/47. No Loyalty Form located in Bureau files and no indication Bureau files of subsequent employment in Executive Branch of Government subsequent to separation from State 5/26/47.

Terminated State Department by reduction in force 5/26/47.

No. 43. SAM FISHBACK  
Fishback was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 5/3/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Retained", 9/30/48. (121-1864)

Presently employed State Department

No. 44. WILLIAM D. CARTER  
Note, Carter separated from State Department prior to appropriation of funds for administration of E.O. 9835 on 8/1/47. State Department records indicate Carter transferred to State from Office of War Information 8/31/45. Bureau conducted Special Inquiry investigation for Office of Coordinator of Information in 1942. Reports were furnished to OCI 5/42 and 6/42. OCI is predecessor agency for Office of War Information. (77-24311)

Terminated State Department by reduction of force 7/26/47.

No. 45. NORMAN T. NESS  
Ness was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/1/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Retained" 9/20/48. (121-1772)

Resigned State Department 4/30/48.

No. 46. WILLIAM T. STONE  
Stone was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 7/30/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Retained" 5/27/49. (121-10973)

Presently employed State Department

No. 47. ESTHER C. BRUNAUER  
Esther Brunauer was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/2/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 2/4/49. (121-615)

Presently employed State Department

No. 48. ROBERT WARREN ~~BARNETT~~

Robert Barnett was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6/12/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 9/30/48. (121-4022)

Presently employed State Department

No. 49. PATRICIA ~~BARNETT~~

Patricia Barnett was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6/12/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 9/30/48. (121-3249)

Presently employed State Department

No. 50. Sylvia ~~Schimmel~~

Schimmel was subject of full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 7/22/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Retained," 1/7/49. (121-8958)

Presently employed State Department

No. 51. ROWENA ~~ROMMEL~~

Rommel was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/30/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 2/4/48. (121-1434)

Presently employed State Department

No. 52. PHILIP ~~RAINE~~

Raine was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/1/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 9/20/48. (121-1390)

Presently employed State Department

No. 53. RICHARD ~~POST~~

Post was subject full field loyalty investigation as employee of State Department. Reports sent to CSC 3/1/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Resigned, or otherwise separated," 3/18/49. (121-63)

Resigned State Department 12/30/48.

No. 54. VAL R. ~~LORWIN~~

Lorwin was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/5/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 2/4/49. (121-1744)

Presently employed State Department, on leave without pay.

No. 55. GERTRUDE ~~CAMERON~~

Cameron was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6/18/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 9/30/48. (121-3702)

Presently employed State Department.

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No. 56. PAUL A. LIFANTIEFF-LEE

Presently employed State Department

No investigation conducted on Lifantieff-Lee by Bureau. Senator McCarthy's allegation on this case based on information furnished State Department by Navy that Lifantieff-Lee had secret State Department document in room shared by him and another Russian. Routine investigation made by State in December, 1946. Information developed Navy had received information that one Illarion G. Matveev, an associate of Lifantieff-Lee was observed in possession of confidential State Department report. Nothing derogatory developed by State other than fact that Lifantieff-Lee was roommate of Matveev. On request State Department, 5/8/47, Bureau advised no derogatory information in our files. In connection Matveev, he was subject IDA investigation based on allegations by fellow employees at Army Map Service. IDA investigation discredited allegations made concerning him and indicated motivated by professional jealousy. IDA report indicated intention of Commanding Officer, Army Map Service, as of 2/49 to re-employ Matveev in duties involving access to classified material. Bureau files also indicate Lifantieff-Lee used as informant by San Francisco Office on Russian-Fascist matters in 1942. Loyalty Form on Lifantieff-Lee returned CSC 3/31/48, stamped, "No disloyal data, FBI files. (62-39749-1109; 100-346251-6, 7, 8)

No. 57. FRED WARNER ~~NEAL~~

Resigned State Department 3/12/48.

Neal was subject preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigation discontinued when ascertained Neal had resigned employment with State Department. Loyalty Form returned CSC 8/19/48 with notation thereon referring to fact Neal no longer employed by State Department. No indication Bureau files of subsequent employment Executive Branch, U.S. Government. (121-12317)

No. 58. LOIS ~~CARLISLE~~

Presently employed State Department.

Carlisle was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/3/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Eligible on Loyalty," 9/13/49. (121-1985)

No. 59. FRANZ LEOPOLD NEUMANN

No investigation conducted of Neumann by Bureau. Note, Case No. 59 originally omitted in Senator McCarthy's testimony before Senate on 2/20/50. First identified as Franz Leopold Neumann when names of 81 given by Senator McCarthy to Tydings Committee. No Loyalty Form located in Bureau files on Neumann. Bureau files contain information that Neumann was member Institute of Social Research, an organization founded in Frankfurt, Germany, members of which allegedly came to U. S. in early days of persecution by German Regime; that a Dr. Franz Neumann, otherwise unidentified, was a lecturer in 1947 on Marxist political theory at lectures sponsored by John Reed Society of Harvard University. Note, John Reed Clubs of the U. S. cited by the HCUA. A preliminary inquiry has been initiated to establish identity and further determine significance of information in Bureau files.

Presently employed State Department.

No. 60. CORA ~~DUBOIS~~

Cora DuBois was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 9/10/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Eligible on Loyalty," 6/15/49. (121-8038)

Presently employed State Department.

No. 61. ALICE ~~DEMERSIAN~~

Demersian was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6/4/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Eligible on Loyalty," 7/25/49. (121-2793)

Separated State Department by reduction in force 5/20/49.

No. 62. ISHAM W. ~~PERKINS~~

In regard to this case, Senator McCarthy did not allege disloyalty but rather moral interpretude. Perkins was subject of preliminary inquiry type investigation which failed to develop information warranting conversion to full field investigation. Accordingly, Loyalty Form returned to CSC 5/19/48 stamped, "No disloyal data, FBI files.) (121-5330)

Resigned State Department 3/19/48.

No. 63. STANLEY ~~WILCOX~~

Wilcox was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/1/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Retained," 9/20/48. (121-937)

Presently employed State Department.

No. 64. HOLLIS W. ~~PETER~~  
Peter was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 3/24/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Retained," 2/24/49. (121-1397)

Presently employed State Department

No. 65. VICTOR ~~HUNT~~  
Hunt was subject investigation under P.L. 402, 80th Congress (VOA Program). Reports sent to State Department 7/13/48. In connection, subsequent application with Atomic Energy Commission, Hunt investigated under Atomic Energy Program. Reports sent to AEC 7/6/49. (123-486; 116-141733)

Resigned State Department 4/15/49.  
Applied Atomic Energy Commission,  
5/16/49.

No. 66. DAVID ~~RANDOLPH ROSENBERG~~  
Note, Randolph terminated employment with State Department prior to time actual procedures for administration of E.O. 9835 in effect. State Department records indicate entered on duty from Office War Information 8/31/45. Randolph was subject of Internal Security - Hatch Act investigation by Bureau while at OWI in 1945. Reports sent to State Department 4/10/46. (100-334981)

Terminated State Department 9/16/47

No. 67. JOHN RICHARD ~~LINDSEY~~  
Note, Lindsey terminated employment with State prior to time procedures for administration of E.O. 9835 in effect. State Department records indicate transferred to State 8/31/45 from Office War Information. Lindsey was subject of Special Inquiry investigation by Bureau conducted for Office of Coordinator of Information in 1942. Final reports this investigation furnished to Office of Coordinator of Information, predecessor to Office of War Information on 7/3/42. Subsequently on 8/2/46, Bureau directed letter to State re Lindsey's arrest by Park Police and reported desire of Soviet Embassy to have him released. Note this information included in Senator McCarthy's allegations. (77-23311)

Terminated State Department by  
reduction in force 9/12/47.

No. 68. AARON JACK ~~GROSS~~  
State Department records indicate Gross transferred to State Department from Office of War Information on 6/13/46. Gross was subject of Special Inquiry type investigation by Bureau

Presently employed State Department.



No. 68. AARON JACK GROSS (Continued)  
for Office of Coordinator of Information,  
predecessor of Office of War Information.  
Reports furnished to OCI 4/3/42. These reports  
completely covered allegations made by Senator  
McCarthy. Summary of information was furnished  
to State Department 8/7/46. All information on  
which Senator McCarthy bases his allegations  
apparently in possession State Department since  
material provided confidentially by former  
Special Agent Robert E. Lee on 1/29/48 covers  
same allegations and Lee took his material from  
State Department files. Lee's report indicates  
CSC recommended removal of Gross 11/4/41 but  
recommendation not acted on and Gross advised  
11/30/42 Commission had reversed its decision;  
that form giving Gross security clearance dated  
10/8/47 in State Department file checked, "Results  
of investigation completely favorable to subject."  
Loyalty Form located in alphabetized forms showing  
returned to CSC 3/12/48 stamped, "No disloyal data  
FBI files." Although previous reports of special  
inquiry type investigation conducted by Bureau  
completely cover Senator McCarthy's allegations  
and this information apparently in possession of  
State Department, obviously case not adjudicated  
under Loyalty Order. Accordingly, full field  
loyalty investigation regarding Aaron Jack Gross  
has been initiated. (77-15606; 62-39749-1109)

No. 69. SYLVIA MAGUIE  
Maguite was subject full field loyalty investiga-  
tion as State Department employee. Reports sent  
to CSC 7/21/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition  
"Resigned or otherwise separated," 10/26/48.  
(121-5019)

No. 70. HAROLD BERMAN  
Berman was subject investigation under P.L. 402;  
80th Congress (VOA Program). Reports sent to  
State Department 7/26/48. (123-817)

No. 71. STOIAN STOIANOFF  
Stoianoff subject of Internal Security - R -  
Bulgarian investigation by Bureau in 1949. Left  
U. S. for Bulgaria via Lisbon, Portugal, 3/28/49.  
Bureau investigation presently closed and pertinent  
information developed furnished to INS, CIA and  
State Department. (100-354309)

Resigned State Department 9/11/48.

Presently employed State Department.

Terminated State Department 12/8/47.

No. 72. ARNOLD D. MARGOLIN

Note no name given by Senator McCarthy to Tydings Committee on Case No. 72. However, this case identified by both Bureau and State Department as referring to Arnold D. Margolin. Margolin subject of full field loyalty investigation as employee Department of Army. Reports sent to CSC 11/4/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition, "Resigned or otherwise separated? (from Department of Army) 6/24/49. State Department list furnished Bureau 3/3/50 re State Department's identification of Senator McCarthy's cases identifies Margolin as Case No. 72 and indicates Margolin employed by State Department. (121-10421; 62-39749-1147)

Presently employed State Department

No. 73. LEONARD HORWIN

No investigation conducted of Horwin by Bureau. No identifiable disloyal information in Bureau files other than material provided by former SA Robert E. Lee confidentially on 1/29/48 indicating alleged close association with "known leftists and fellow travelers." No Loyalty Form located in Bureau files on Horwin. No indication in Bureau files employed Executive Branch subsequent to resignation from State Department 11/12/47. (62-39749-1109)

Resigned State Department 11/12/47.

No. 74. JOSEPH T. JANKOWSKI

Jankowski was subject preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigation discontinued when ascertained he resigned from State Department. Loyalty Form returned to CSC 12/24/48 with notation showing Jankowski's resignation 1/10/48. No indication Bureau files of subsequent employment Executive Branch, U. S. Government. (121-11382)

Resigned State Department 1/10/48.

No. 75. MRS. PRESTON KEESLING LEWIS

Mrs. Preston Keesling Lewis was subject preliminary inquiry type investigation discontinued 6/4/48 when ascertained through liaison channels she had resigned from State Department 9/23/47. No indication Bureau files of subsequent employment Executive Branch of Government. (121-11291)

Resigned State Department 9/23/47.

No. 76. JAMES T. ~~FORD~~  
No investigation conducted of James T. Ford by Bureau. Note, Case No. 76 previously identified by both Bureau and State Department as referring to Joseph T. Forno who terminated employment with State Department 1/31/47, prior to issuance of E.O. 9835 on 3/22/47. No identifiable disloyal information in Bureau files on James T. Ford. No identifiable information in Bureau files re Joseph T. Forno, other than material provided by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee, 1/29/48, which contains no information of disloyal nature but contains allegations re competency and falsification of application records which is substantially same as made by Senator McCarthy. (62-39749-1109)

Never employed State Department

No. 77. EDWARD G. ~~POSNIAK~~  
Note, Case No. 77 originally called repeat to Case No. 9 (David Demarest Lloyd) by Senator McCarthy before Senate on 2/20/50. Case No. 77 named as Edward G. Posniak in names furnished by McCarthy to Tydings Committee. Posniak was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6/26/48. No Loyalty Review Board disposition received. (121-97)

Presently employed State Department

No. 78. ANDREW W. ~~KAMARCK~~  
Kamarck was subject preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigation not converted to full field investigation and Loyalty Form returned to CSC 6/24/48 stamped, "No disloyal data FBI files." Kamarck subsequently investigated under European Recovery Program by Bureau. Reports sent to CSC 10/27/48 for consideration under Loyalty Program. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Retained," (by Treasury Dept.) 1/28/49. (121-9119; 124-1174)

Employed Treasury Department as its representative at American Embassy, Rome, Italy, as of 1/28/49. Applicant for position with State Department but never employed.

No. 79. T. ACHILLES POLYZOIDES  
Polyzoides is subject of pending Atomic Energy Act investigation. Estimated date of completion 3/29/50. Reports will be furnished to State Department and CSC as well as Atomic Energy Commission.

Presently employed State Department.

No. 80. JOHN T. ~~FISHBURN~~

Note Case No. 80 on list furnished Tydings Committee by Senator McCarthy carries name as John T. Washburn, who has never been employed by State Department. Both Bureau and State Department previously identified allegations in Case No. 80 as pertaining to John Tipton Fishburn. Fishburn was subject of full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 5/17/48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "Retained" 9/20/48. (121-3292)

Presently employed State Department.

No. 81. RUBY A. ~~PARSONS~~

Ruby A. Parson was subject of full field loyalty investigation as employee, Office of Military Government, Department of Army, Germany. Reports sent to CSC 12/15/48. No Loyalty Review Board disposition received. (121-11730)

Resigned State Department 4/2/48. Subsequently employed Germany by OMG, Department of Army but returned U. S. 10/13/49 "on completion of assignment."

March 28, 1950

NINE INDIVIDUALS MENTIONED BY SENATOR MCCARTHY DURING  
APPEARANCES BEFORE TYDINGS' SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE  
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

NAME

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

ESTHER C. BRUNAUER (See case No. 47 in list of 81)  
Esther C. Brunauer was subject full field loyalty  
investigation. Reports sent to CSC, 3-2-48.  
Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained" 2-4-49.  
(121-615)

Presently employed State  
Department.

STEPHEN BRUNAUER (mentioned in connection with case  
of wife, Esther C. Brunauer.) Stephen Brunauer  
was subject of investigation by Bureau under Atomic  
Energy Act, which was completed 5-15-47. Reports  
furnished to Atomic Energy Commission 5-15-47; to  
ONI 5-22-47; and to Attorney General 12-6-47.  
Brunauer has also been the subject of extensive  
investigation by ONI, which was completed, accord-  
ing to Bureau files on 10-8-48. As a result of fact  
ONI was actively investigating Brunauer at time  
Bureau charged with investigative jurisdiction over  
Naval civilian employees under EO 9835, no investi-  
gation under Loyalty Program initiated by Bureau.  
When Loyalty form received, returned to CSC by  
letter 5-22-48, advising CSC that ONI had for some  
time been conducting investigation re activities of  
Brunauer; that this investigation still being  
actively pursued; that in view of ONI investiga-  
tion, no investigation regarding Stephen Brunauer  
would be conducted by Bureau. In this connection  
no request for investigation of Stephen Brunauer  
ever received by Bureau from ONI. (116-2863)

Presently employed Department  
of the Navy.

GUSTAVO DURAN, resigned State Department,  
10-3-46. Note Duran resigned from State De-  
partment 10-3-46 prior to issuance EO 9835 on  
3-22-47. Duran subject Internal Security -  
Hatch Act investigation in 1946, which, in  
effect, was special inquiry for Spruille Braden,  
then Assistant Secretary of State. Summary of  
results this investigation furnished State De-  
partment 5-3-46. Duran presently subject of pend-  
ing espionage investigation by Bureau. (64-27446)

As of June, 1949, employed  
Chief, Section, Cultural  
Activities, United Nations.

121-23278-77

ENCLOSURE

1  
~~62-39749-1509~~

HAIDORE HANSON. Hanson was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6-24-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained" 9-30-48. (121-3622)

Presently employed State Department.

PHILIP JESSUP (See case No. 15 in list of 81.) Jessup was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 10-18-48. Loyalty Review Board disposition "retained" 2-4-49. (121-9893)

Presently employed State Department.

DOROTHY KENYON. Kenyon was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 6-20-49. No Loyalty Review Board disposition received. (121-16964)

Terminated State Department 12-31-49.

OWEN J. LATTIMORE. Served from 10-15-45 to 2-12-46 on U.S. Reparations Mission to Japan at request of Edwin W. Pawley, terminating on 2-12-46 on completion of assignment. On 6-5-46 Lattimore made speech to group of State Department employees. 10-6-49 to 10-8-49 served as delegate to conference on Chinese Affairs without compensation, terminating 10-8-49, on completion of assignment. Lattimore is presently the subject of a pending Espionage - R investigation. Summaries of information sent to State Department 3-17-50; to Peyton Ford of Justice Department, 3-21, 22, 24-50; to Attorney General 3-24-50. (100-24628)

Not employed State Department.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN. Schuman was subject Internal Security - Hatch Act investigation while employed Federal Communications Commission in 1943. Reports sent to Interdepartmental Committee 3-12-43. Advice received from FCC 4-10-44 indicating Schuman resigned 6-17-43. Subsequently Schuman was subject Security Matter - C investigation which was closed on 9-17-48. (100-165656)

Never employed State Department.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE. Service was subject full field loyalty investigation. Reports sent to CSC 12-23-48. No Loyalty Review Board disposition received. (121-13347)

Presently employed State Department.

HARLOW SHAPLEY. According to State Department employment chart furnished Bureau March 24, 1950, Dr. Shapley was designated by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was appointed as a member of the National Commission by the Secretary of State. According to information received through Liaison from the State Department, Dr. Shapley is not an employee of the Department of State as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. With further reference to Shapley's possible connection with the Government, on May 24, 1948, in answer to an inquiry by the Bureau, Mr. T. Vincent Quinn, then Assistant Attorney General, advised that Harlow Shapley's employment with the National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D. C., did not bring him within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Shapley presently subject pending Internal Security - C investigation by the Bureau. Subject of Security Index card in Boston, Massachusetts area. (100-341825)

Presently has without compensation appointment as Representative to National Commission, Executive Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, having entered on duty May 20, 1947.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: March 28, 1950

FROM : Mr. Nichols

10-1

SUBJECT:

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Abe Harris of the Department phoned with regard to the Director's memorandum to the Attorney General dated February 24, regarding public disclosure of FBI reports and in particular to item Number 4, Page 2, wherein Harris feels some words were left out of the last line. Harris feels the sentence would read better if it were corrected and the White House has asked him this morning if the wordage can be clarified. The paragraph in question reads - "disclosures might be made under circumstances which would deny the aggrieved to publicly state their positions." Harris feels that the words "the opportunity" should be added after the word aggrieved so that the sentence would read - "disclosures might be made under circumstances which would deny the aggrieved the opportunity to publicly state their positions."

I see no objection to the change and recommend we advise Harris that it would be satisfactory to insert the words "the opportunity" so he can advise the White House.

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

JJM:mcq

*MW*  
 121-23278-78  
 Harris advised  
 3/28/50  
 JBN

RECORDED  
 INDEXED *pub*

121-23278-78  
~~121-23278-4~~  
 MAR 30 1950

APR 7 1950

*MW*



March 28, 1950

Dear Mr. E. Hoover,

Though I am not yet of age to vote, I feel that by the time I am of age - there won't be any Country to vote in.

Why all this puttering around and beating about the bush? If there are so many communists in government positions unknown to the democratic public, why keep the fact a secret? Why not publish their names and deport or try as traitors these "upholders of democracy" - who are so unfaithful. How can they contribute to one country's government and welfare when in their hearts they are pledged to an other country?

Sir, couldit you please take this fact into consideration - that it is really me of the next generation whom are going to pay for your mistakes. Perhaps you don't even realize this fact but it's very true. So why not be more careful in your (departments) doings!

Rec 4/6/50 782

(HMA)  
-Y

121-73278-19  
RECORDED - 19  
EX-51  
APR 15 1950

For instance - open those so called "Files" in Spanish as is befitting those whose names appear therein. Don't you realize that this is a "cat and mouse" game. Pretty soon the "cat" will over come the "mouse" - and it will be the younger generations that will suffer. Silence may be golden but this just doesn't seem to be a case for such action.

Since the above mentioned seems to be the problem - why don't you do something about it? Jaspers! think about us a little... don't be so selfish. Remember we are supposed to follow in our elders' footsteps. Does this exclude their errors or doesn't it?

Boy! you people sure do give us something to look forward to. But what it may be - I hope and pray will be for betterment.

Good luck, Sir!

Sincerely yours,

D. Meyers

RECEIVED  
FBI  
NOV 3 11 46 AM '50  
MR. JONES  
11780

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

April 6, 1950

Mr. T. Meyers  
Hammond, Indiana

Dear Mr. Meyers:

Your letter dated March 28, 1950, has been received and I am taking the liberty of acknowledging it in the absence of Mr. Hoover from Washington.

I am enclosing the complete text of the Director's statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950. I hope this material will clarify misconceptions which you may have with reference to the files of the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

*Helen Gandy*

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary



Enclosure

44-291550

*no additional data obtained  
re address. returned  
by P.O. - side P-8*

~~44-291550-20~~  
121-23278-79

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.  
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID  
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300  
(PMGC)

8-PM  
M 1950 9

APR 21 1950

Mr. T. Meyers  
Hammond, Indiana



*Not at Indiana Police  
Garden*

HAMMOND  
IN  
APR 21  
1950  
IND.

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1111

NOT IN DIRECTORY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

HAMMOND  
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1950  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1111

HAMMOND  
APR 17  
1950  
1300 PM

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23 UPLAN ROAD  
WELLESLEY 81, MASSACHUSETTS

March 28, 1950

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

Dear Sir: It seems absurd for me to make suggestions to the F.B.I., but they say every crack pot in the country is doing it, so I venture to ask, what has already perhaps been considered, if the history and affiliations of Chairman MacCarthy of the Un-American Activities Committee have been investigated? What he is accomplishing, - disturbances within our borders and weakening of our position abroad, - fits so neatly into the Russian pattern that one can but wonder. Certainly what he is doing might well be the <sup>dream</sup> of any Russian spy.

His apparent stupidity may be only assumed. I make the suggestion for what it is worth,  
Yours truly,  
*(Handwritten signature)*  
Herbert E. Tucker

*mem ask 4-1-50 mjc*

RECEIVED  
MAR 29 1950  
FBI  
MAR 29 1950  
MAR 29 1950

121-23278-80  
~~62-41773-31~~  
RECORDED - 26

April 10, 1950

Honorable Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board  
U. S. Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

RECORDED - 114 121-3-256  
Dear Mr. Richardson:

Pursuant to the request contained in your letter of April 5, 1950, the following information is submitted regarding the persons appearing on the list which was mentioned in your communication.

According to the records of this Bureau, full field loyalty investigations have been conducted on the following individuals and reports were submitted to the Civil Service Commission on the dates indicated:

Case No.	Name and Agency	Reports to Civil Service Commission
1	Herbert Abner Fierst Department of State	September 15, 1948
3	Peveril Meigs Department of the Army	April 19, 1948
6	Frances Myrle Tuchscher Department of State	March 15, 1948
7	Marcia Ruth Harrison Department of State	April 30, 1948
8	Stanley Graze Department of State	March 3, 1948
9	David Damarest Lloyd National Military Establishment	May 9, 1949
11	[Redacted]	September 2, 1948
13	Carlston Washburne Department of State	June 7, 1948
14	Ernst Theodore Arndt Department of the Air Force	March 3, 1949

APR 12 1950  
COMM - FBI

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Referral/Direct

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments - copies of reports of  
Robert Ross  
Harold Berman  
Victor Hurt  
Olga F. Osnatch  
Frederick W. Smith  
Alexander Rapoport  
Mucio Del Gado  
Louis Ross

APR 11 12 30  
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APR 11 12 30  
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APR 11 12 30

Case No.Name and AgencyReports to  
Civil Service Commission

15	Philip Caryl Jessup Department of State	October 18, 1948
19	William Walter Redington Department of Commerce	June 12, 1948
28	Hans H. Lamsberg Department of Commerce	July 14, 1948
29	Gerald Grace Federal Security Agency	May 8, 1948
34	Ellis H. Montague Department of State	March 27, 1948
38	Arthur Milton Kaufman Department of State	March 18, 1948
39	Max A. Vella Department of State	March 4, 1948
41	Daniel F. Margolis Department of State	March 3, 1948
43	Sam Fishback Department of State	May 13, 1948
45	Ernest T. Hess Department of State	March 1, 1948
46	William T. Stone Department of State	July 30, 1948
47	Ethel C. Brunner Department of State	March 2, 1948
48	Robert Warren Barnett Department of State	June 13, 1948
49	Mrs. Robert Warren Barnett (Patricia Barnett) Department of State	June 12, 1948
50	Sylvia Schimmel Department of State	July 22, 1948
51	Revena Bammel Department of State	March 20, 1948
52	Philip Raine Department of State	March 1, 1948
53	Richard Post Department of State	March 1, 1948
54	Val R. Lorvin Department of State	March 5, 1948
55	Gertrude Cameron Department of State	June 18, 1948
58	Lois Carlisle Department of State	March 5, 1948
60	Cora DuBois Department of State	September 10, 1948
61	Alice Demerjian Department of State	June 4, 1948



<u>Case No.</u>	<u>Name and Agency</u>	<u>Reports to Civil Service Commission</u>
63	Stanley Wilcox Department of State	March 1, 1948
64	Hollis W. Peter Department of State	March 24, 1948
69	Sylvia Maguife Department of State	July 21, 1948
77	Edward G. Posniak Department of State	June 26, 1948
80	John T. Washburn (Probably refers to John Tipton Fishburn) Department of State	May 17, 1948
81	Ruby A. Parsons Department of the Army	December 15, 1948

In accordance with your request, with reference to the individuals listed above, the files of this Bureau are presently being reviewed and in the event additional information to that already furnished to the Civil Service Commission is reflected therein, such information will be made available to you.

Regarding case numbers five and twelve, Jay Robinson and Helene Yuhas, respectively, the records of this Bureau reflect that loyalty investigations were instituted on Robinson and Yuhas and discontinued upon receipt of information indicating that they had terminated their employment with the State Department. The Civil Service Commission was so advised on June 11, 1948.

With reference to case number 40 involving Estelle (Stella) Gordon, case number 59 involving Brans Leopold Neumann, and case number 68 involving Aaron Jack Gross, full field loyalty investigations are presently being conducted and you will be furnished with the results of these investigations immediately upon their completion.

Investigations have been conducted by this Bureau in the following cases under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America):

<u>Case No.</u>	<u>Name and Agency</u>
21	Mucio Delgado Department of State
22	Alexander Rapoport Department of State
23	Nelson Chipchin Department of State
24	Ether Less, also known as Esther Less Kopelovich Department of State
25	Tegnel Conrad Grondahl Department of State
26	Lowell M. Clucas Department of State
27	Ivan Katuzich Department of State
31	Lewis (Louis) Ross Department of State

<u>Case No.</u>	<u>Name and Agency</u>
32	Robert Ross Department of State
33	Herman Seigel Department of State
36	Frederick W. Smith (Schmidt) Department of State
37	Olga F. Osnatch Department of State
65	Victor Hunt Department of State
70	Harold Berman Department of State

With reference to the above Voice of America cases, attached hereto are photostatic copies of this Bureau's investigative reports in those cases in which the Civil Service Commission has not previously been furnished with reports. Of course, copies of the reports in the above Voice of America cases were previously forwarded to the Department of State upon completion of the investigation.

Regarding case No. 78, Andrew W. Kamarck, an investigation was conducted by this Bureau under the European Recovery Program and reports were furnished to the Civil Service Commission for consideration under Executive Order 9835 on October 27, 1948.

The files of this Bureau are being reviewed and any additional information regarding Kamarck, as well as the individuals investigated under the Voice of America Program, will be made available to you.

Regarding case No. 79, T. Achilles Polyzoides, an investigation was conducted by this Bureau under the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act and reports were forwarded to the Civil Service Commission for consideration under Executive Order 9835 on April 7, 1950.

In case No. 2, John Carter Vincent, as the records of the Civil Service Commission will reflect, the loyalty form for Vincent was returned to the Civil Service Commission by this Bureau on April 18, 1949, with the notation on the reverse side that information available concerning Vincent in the files of this Bureau had been furnished to the State Department and that in the absence of a specific request no loyalty investigation would be instituted. This action followed correspondence between the Department of Justice and the Department of State concerning the desirability of an investigation. A summary of pertinent information appearing in the files of this Bureau concerning Vincent will be furnished to you.

In case No. 57, Fred Warner Neal, an inquiry was instituted and discontinued when it was ascertained that Neal had terminated employment with the State Department. The Civil Service Commission was advised of this fact on August 19, 1948, by return of Neal's Loyalty Form.

In case number 62, Isham W. Perkins, the loyalty form was returned to the Civil Service Commission on May 19, 1948, marked, "No disloyal data."

In case number 74, Joseph T. Jankowski, an inquiry was instituted in this case and discontinued when it was ascertained that Jankowski had terminated employment with the State Department. The Civil Service Commission was advised of this fact by this Bureau on December 24, 1948, by return of the loyalty form regarding Jankowski.

It is noted that the records of the Civil Service Commission reveal that the three individuals listed immediately above, Neal, Perkins, and Jankowski, are not presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Government.

In case number 75, Mrs. Preston Keesling Lewis, the records of the Department of State reveal she resigned her position with that Department on September 23, 1947. According to the records of the Civil Service Commission, Mrs. Lewis is not presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Government.

The records of the Civil Service Commission fail to indicate that the following individuals are presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Government:

<u>Case Number</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Date Terminated State Department</u>
4	Gizella Illyefalvi-Vitez	March 5, 1948
10	Margery Posner	February 11, 1948
16	Robert T. Miller	December 13, 1946
17	Jeanne H. (E.) Taylor	April 23, 1947
18	Edythe J. Lemon	November 28, 1947
20	Samuel Stephenson Smith	Applicant - Never employed State Department
30	Joseph Josephson	December 6, 1947
35	Melvin Shell (Melville Shell)	December 24, 1948
42	Ottfried Thomas Mann	May 26, 1947
44	William D. Carter	July 26, 1947
66	David Randolph (Rosenberg)	September 16, 1947
67	John Richard Lindsey	September 12, 1947
71	Stoian Stoianoff	December 8, 1947
73	Leonard Horwin	November 12, 1947
76	James T. Ford	Never employed State Department

With reference to case number 56, Paul A. Lifantieff-Lee, the records of the Department of State reflect that Lifantieff-Lee is presently employed by that Department. A summary of pertinent information appearing in the files of this Bureau concerning Lifantieff-Lee will be prepared and furnished to you.

With reference to Jay Robinson, Helene Yuhas, Fred Warner Neal, Isham W. Perkins, Joseph T. Jankowski, and Mrs. Preston Keesling Lewis on whom some action under the Loyalty Program has been taken by this Bureau, a review of our files is being made and you will be furnished with a summary of pertinent information appearing therein concerning these individuals.

With regard to the eight additional individuals referred to on your list, the records of this Bureau reflect that full field loyalty investigations have been conducted concerning the following three and reports furnished to the Civil Service Commission on the dates indicated:

<u>Name and Agency</u>	<u>Reports to Civil Service Commission</u>
John Stewart Service Department of State	December 23, 1948
Dorothy Kenyon Department of State	June 20, 1949
Haldore Hanson Department of State	June 24, 1948

The remaining five individuals, Gustavo Doran, Mary Jane Keeney, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Owen J. Lattimore, and Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, have not been investigated by this Bureau under the provisions of Executive Order 9835. The files of this Bureau do not reflect a request for investigation of these individuals under the Loyalty Program nor advice indicating they are presently employed in positions bringing them within the purview of Executive Order 9835. These cases have been discussed with Mr. Peyton Ford, The Assistant to the Attorney General, with whom you have conferred on this project. Accordingly, no information is being furnished in these cases since they did not come within the purview of the Loyalty Program.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

No list enclosed.

STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY  
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"  
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO  
FILE LRB:SWR:jad  
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

April 5, 1950

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

Dear Mr. Hoover:

As you are aware, the President has requested the Loyalty Review Board to review such cases as have been identified before the Tydings Subcommittee. I have been endeavoring to secure an authentic list of such cases, and I enclose the list as I have been able to have it made up.

The request of the President called for the inclusion within the record for review, of all material available to the FBI. As you will observe from this list, some of these persons have gone through the loyalty program, and a pertinent FBI report has been made concerning them. With reference to such, we would like to have any additional or supplemental material which the FBI may have with reference to them.

With reference to the other names, we would like to have from the FBI anything by way of material relevant to questions of loyalty, which the FBI can furnish to us.

Since the matter is one of first importance, any expedition in furnishing any of the suggested material to the Board would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

*Seth W. Richardson*  
Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board

*Handle immediately*

RECORDED - 114

*3*  
*No copy made*  
*4/10/50*  
*now attached*

*name file for*  
*4-6-50*  
*AS:NAJ*

*167-3-56*  
*MAY 10 1950*  
*4-10-50*

*Copy furnished  
by Seth Richardson  
4-6-50*

SENATOR McCARTHY, LIST OF 81

1. FIERST, Herbert
2. VINCENT, John Carter
3. MEIGS, Peveril
4. ILLYEFALVI-VITES, Gizella
5. ROBINSON, Jay
6. TUOHSCHER, Frances M.
7. HARRISON, Marcia Ruth
8. GRAZE, Stanley
9. LLOYD, David Demarest
10. POSNER, Marjorie S.
11. FERRY, Frances
12. YUHAS, Helen
13. WASHBURN, Carleton
14. ARNDT, Ernest Theodore
15. JESSUP, Philip
16. MILLER, Robert T.
17. TAYLOR, Jeanne E.
18. LEMON, Edythe J.
19. REMINGTON, William
20. SMITH, S. Stevenson
21. DELGADO, Mucio
22. RAPOPORT, Alexander
23. CHIPCHIN, Nelson
24. LESS, Mrs.  
(KOPELEWICH, Esther Less)
25. GRONDAHL, Tegner Conrad
26. CLUCAS, Lowell M., Jr.
27. KATUSICH, Ivan
28. LANSBERG, Hans
29. GRAZE, Gerald
30. JOSEPHSON, Joseph
31. ROSS, Lewis
32. ROSS, Robert
33. SIEGEL, Herman
34. MONTAGUE, Ella M.
35. SHELL, Melville
36. SMITH, Frederick W.
37. OSNATCH, Olga F.
38. KAUFMAN, Arthur Milton
39. VOLIN, Max A.
40. GORDON, Stella
41. MARGOLIES, Daniel F.
42. MANN, Gottfried Thomas
43. FISHBACK, Sam
44. CARTER, William D.

*121-3-256*

ENCLOSURE

45. NESS, Norman T.
46. STONE, William T.
47. BRUNAUER, Esther Caukin
- 48.)
- )BARNETT, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Warren
- 49.)
50. SCHIMMEL, Sylvia
51. ROMMEL, Rowena
52. RAINE, Philip
53. POST, Richard
54. LORWIN, Val R.
55. CAMERON, Gertrude
56. LIFANTIEFF-LEE, Paul A.
57. NEAL, Fred Warner
58. CARLISLE, Lois
59. NEUMANN, Franz Leopold
60. DuBOIS, Cora
61. DEMERJIAN, Alice
62. PERKINS, Isham W.
63. WILCOX, Stanley
64. PETER, Hollis W.
65. HUNT, Victor
66. RANDOLPH, David (Rosenberg)
67. LINDSEY, John Richard
68. GROSS, Aaron Jack
69. MAGUIE, Sylvia
70. BERMAN, Harold
71. STOIANOFF, Stoian
72. No name given
73. HORWIN, Leonard
74. JANKOWSKI, Joseph T.
75. LEWIS, Mrs. Preston Keesling
76. FORD, James T.
77. POSNIAK, Edward G.
78. KAMARCK, Andrew W.
79. POLYZOIDES, T. Achilles
80. WASHBURN, John T.
81. PARSONS, Ruby

SERVICE, John Stewart  
 DURAN, Gustave or Gustavo  
 KENNY, Mary Jane  
 SHAPLEY, Dr. Harlow (Willis Harlow)  
 LATTIMORE, Owen J.  
 KENYON, Dorothy  
 HANSON, Haldore  
 SHUMAN, Dr. Frederick L.

Bureau files contain two letters from Edna W. Roy & Velora W. McCoy of Pittsburg, California, signed jointly. One requested an investigation by the FBI, which matter did not come within our jurisdiction; the other was enclosing a copy of their letter to the President entitled "Small Property Owner verses the O.P.A." Both were acknowledged. They were dated 1/10/50 and 6/3/49 respectively. 121-23278-81



994

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4/10/50

To:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tolson             | <input type="checkbox"/> Miss Gandy      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Ladd               | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. McGuire     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Clegg              | <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Jones       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Belmont            | <input type="checkbox"/> Central Hold    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Harbo              | <input type="checkbox"/> Desk Room 7235  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Glavin             | <input type="checkbox"/> Mail Room       |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nichols | <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign Service |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Rosen              | <input type="checkbox"/> Desk            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tracy              | <input type="checkbox"/> Code Room 4642  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ROOM                   |  |

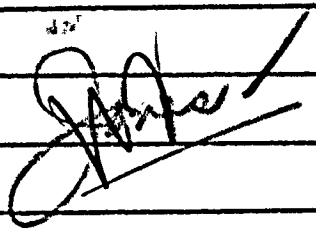
ATTENTION: NJC:bjc

TO: Miss Edna Roy

DATED: April 10, 1950

RE: Letter over Miss Gandy's signature.

Attached "blue" envelope retyped since letter was written on black letterhead stationery.



121-23278-81

(Reading Room 5531)  
Extension 348

99a

April 10, 1950

RECORDED - 59

~~66-725-201~~

EX-83

Miss Edna Roy  
990 West Street  
Pittsburg, California  
121-23278-81  
Dear Miss Roy:

Your letter dated March 28, 1950, has been received and I am taking the liberty of acknowledging it in the absence of Mr. Hoover from Washington.

I am enclosing the complete text of Mr. Hoover's Statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

I am sure that the Director's remarks will clarify any misconception that you may have with reference to the need for maintaining the files of the FBI inviolate.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
APR 10 11 07 AM '50

APR 11 1950  
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

NOTE: Bureau files contain two letters from Edna W. Roy & Velora W. McCoy of Pittsburgh, California, signed jointly. One requested an investigation by the FBI, which matter did not come within our jurisdiction; the other was enclosing a copy of their letter to the President entitled "Small Property Owner verses the O.P.A. Letter dated June 3, 1949 was a bombastic plea to have the O.P.A. investigated. Correspondent described the O.P.A. as highly Communistic and acting in violation of the Constitution of the United States. Both letters were acknowledged. They were dated 1-10-50 and 6-9-49 respectively.

NJC:bjo

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 10 1950  
COMM-FBI  
6-11-50

Pittsburg, California  
March 28, 1950

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In regards to the probe into the State Department, for communistic minded persons and the charges made by the Hon. Senator McCarthy, we do not understand the decision handed down by you and the Attorney General McGrath. Certainly, we know that you, Mr. Hoover, have reasons, far beyond the statements given on the air. Surely, making the records of Government employees public is not Unamerican.

In this day and age, Mr. Hoover, every American is either fully aware or becoming aware, that the Nation is pock-marked with subversive activities. Thousands of people have sworn allegiance to the Communist Party. Millions of people have sworn allegiance to Labor. These allegiance, Mr. Hoover, are believed by us to be Unamerican and we believe, that before many months have passed, that this Great Nation will have to suffer. The lust for power has become a vile and evil thing. The method of attack being the paycheck, which is an illusion. The people know that a great evil exists but the propaganda is so great that they have not yet been able to clear up their confused minds.

Do you think, Mr. Hoover, that by "white washing" the Republican Party and our very great American Men, such as: the Hon. Senator, McCarthy, Senator Taft, and Senator Bridges, will relieve this great overall confusion? Mr. Hoover, after viewing the charges made by Senator McCarthy, after listening to the answers, the radio commentators, and considering the President's views, I cannot help but believe, with all my heart, that Senator McCarthy is right. I also believe that it is Unamerican to keep the file of the FBI closed at this time. There can be no more half-way business now. Either we are Americans fighting for the American way of life, which is freedom all the way, or we are not Americans, fighting for power in a secretive, underhanded, subversive way designed to kill the American way of life.

If I were in the State Department, or in any Government Organization of importance, I would demand that my record be made public to the people. As an American citizen my record stands open to the world. I am proud of my passed record, of my honesty in dealing with my fellow men, I am proud of my deep concern regarding the confusion and the fear that is so prevalent today, among the people. I am proud of the American blood that is in my veins, ~~but~~ I am greatly perturbed about the decisions and the bickering that goes on in the Capitol of this Nation.

subversive  
If there is anything in the files, against any of these men, I believe it should be made public, and the employees should be dismissed from their jobs immediately. No one in this Nation is indispensable unless, perhaps, it is you, Mr. Hoover, because you head the greatest department in our Nation, your job has been handled honorably and you yourself have become the bulwark of the people. I know that you know how great the subversive element is, how strong they have become and how hard they are working for their cause. I only hope that the decision you have made in holding back these files will prove to be the right decision.

May God Bless You.

Respectfully yours,

Edna Roy  
990 West Street  
Pittsburg, California

Communist Party  
Department

MM 4/1/50  
ack  
P.S. United we stand  
Divided we fall  
P.S. United we stand, Divided we fall

Ames

RECORDED - 53  
INDEXED - 53

121-23278-81  
66-1200-307  
APR 14 1950

INDEXED - 25

April 4, 1950

RECORDED - 25

gr

~~62-91723-31~~

11-1  
10-1

Miss Harriet E. Tuell  
29 Upland Road  
Wellesley 81, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Tuell:

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Your letter dated March 28, 1950,  
has been received and I am taking the liberty  
of acknowledging it in the absence of Mr. Hoover  
from Washington.

It has occurred to me that you might  
like to have a copy of the Director's Statement  
before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee  
on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950, which  
I am enclosing.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

Enclosure

NJC:bjc

Bjc

APR 5 12 25 PM '50

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

4

MAY 2 1950

Comm. into State Dept.

Mar. 28th, '50

Dear Mr. Hoover:

While I have always maintained that you have been doing a marvelous job, I cannot comprehend the logic of your arguments in the present crisis in our State Dept. You state that you cannot show the records investigating the loyalty of persons in your dept. for obvious reasons. According to that reasoning, no matter what your agents discover, guilty persons cannot be punished, for the sources of information would be revealed making your force subject ~~information~~ to inferior work or a possible work fate in the future. Then ~~more~~ the obvious conclusion is that we must let subversive workers simply continue, without prosecution of the guilty ones, and let our government go under be default or decadence. I would appreciate a personal reply, for I am most concerned about the direction we are heading the past 10 years or so. Sincerely, Edwin T. Schlaifer  
2802 W. Atkinson Ave. Milwaukee 16, Wis.

(MA)

h

RECORDED - 25 / 21-23278-82

~~66-7225-309~~

APR 19 1950  
34

mpc  
mbl  
ack  
4-8-50

(4m)

RECORDED - 25

April 6, 1950

INDEXED - 25

~~66-7225-309~~  
121-23278-82

Mr. Edwin F. Schleiher  
2302 West Atkinson Avenue  
Milwaukee 16, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Schleiher:

Your postal card dated March 28, 1950, has been received and I am pleased to enclose a copy of my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

My remarks on that occasion make clear my views with reference to the confidential nature of the FBI's files.

In connection with your conclusions that we must let subversion continue without prosecution I need refer only to the trial of the eleven communist leaders in New York last summer. The record proves that the FBI desires to maintain confidences so as to be able to develop valuable sources of information which have a direct bearing on the internal security of the nation.

For your information the FBI has nothing to do with the institution of prosecutive actions; that is the responsibility of the Attorney General, his assistants in the Department of Justice, and the United States attorneys in the various sections of the country.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED - DIRECTOR  
FBI  
DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
7 18 PM '50

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosure: Director's statement of March 27, 1950.

NJC:ai:mbh

APR 11 1950  
FBI

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

65669

April 7, 1950

RECORDED - 68  
INDEXED - 68

Dr. J. Minkin  
1355 Grand Concourse  
Bronx  
New York 52, New York  
121-231-18-83  
Dear Dr. Minkin:

Your letter dated March 28, 1950, has been received and I want to thank you for furnishing me your observations with reference to the need for maintaining files of the FBI confidential.

You may be sure I appreciate your writing as you did and I am enclosing a copy of my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
FBI  
APR 7 8 12 PM '50

Enclosure

NOTE: Bureau file 100-258542-79 contains an investigative report concerning Ralph Bowman, with aliases, who has been investigated under the Classification "Internal Security - C." Bowman was reportedly in the Communist Party in 1930 to 1936. He was a member of the Central Committee of the party and has been identified as the subject "A1" in the Comrap Case. Dr. Juda Minkin, 1355 Grand Concourse Boulevard was reported to be a friend of Bowman. Minkin graduated from the Berlin Medical School in Germany in 1933 and is engaged in general medical practice.

NJC:alp:at

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 11 1950

53 MAY 1 1950

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

J. MINKIN, M. D.  
1355 GRAND CONCOURSE  
BRONX 52, N. Y.

65670

March 28, 1950

Honorable Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I want to convey to you some thoughts that come to me concerning the request that the F. B. I. should open its files to the Congress for investigation.

As I come in contact with many people I get often inquiries in connection with the loyalty checkups.

I would not mind to give information of a very definite character but often I may have only some distant "leads" or suspicions. They might be of no importance at all but they might lead to important discoveries during further investigations.

I and many others like me will always hesitate possibly to give such unimportant information if there is any chance for it to become publicly known.

In other words, I consider the opening of the files will greatly impede the loyalty investigations.

Please remember that the public knows that all information given to a large group of people, even to a Congress committee, becomes publicly known.

I am writing this to you in the spirit of cooperation to improve the work that you are interested in.

Sincerely yours,

*J. Minkin*  
J. Minkin, M. D.

JM:rbm

*Copy to Secretary Dean Acheson  
and Senator McCarty.*

*NML  
ack 4/12/50  
Tye*

RECORDED - 68

INDEXED - 68

*[Handwritten initials]*

*121-23278-83  
66-7275-21*

50 MAY 1 1950

*100-258542-79  
See 61-3297  
Comments by State Department*



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 29, 1950

*gm*

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: PRODUCTION OF BUREAU LOYALTY FILES

Senate FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

While talking to Peyton Ford on other matters on the evening of March 28, I made reference to the subpoena issued for the Attorney General by the Senate for the production of the Bureau's loyalty files. U

I told Mr. Ford that I hoped the Department would hold tight in its position of refusing to produce its files and not weaken at the last minute. He stated that the Department was going to hold tight; that he, Ford, was going to contact and coordinate with the Civil Service Commission and the State Department in order that they followed the position of the President; that he is going to try and get by with a letter saying that the matter has been referred to the White House; that if this does not work that he, Ford, may have to personally appear for the Attorney General and refuse to produce the records and be held in contempt in order that this test case may be taken to Court. U

DML:dad

*\*Subpoena Issued For the Production of Bureau's Loyalty Files*

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

*V. 10-1*

*Dept. of Justice*

*121-23278-84*  
*11103 5*

RECORDED

INDEXED

140  
65 APR 11 1950

*Handwritten signature*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 29 1950

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

NSA211

NSA 692 PD \* MOBILE ALA 29 332P-

✓ EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION-

WASH DC

*Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR FIRM STAND FEEL SURE THAT THE PUBLIC IS IN FULL

AGREEMENT WITH YOUR THINKING-

EX-125

F E BUSBY GEN MGR WKRG CBS

RECORDED - 44

INDEXED - 44

121-23278-85  
102-7172-233

APR 12 1950  
25

cc: Mr. Nichols

*Hand ack 4-3-50  
fyg*

April 3, 1950

Mr. F. E. Busby  
General Manager  
Radio Station WKRG  
Mobile, Alabama

EX-125

RECORDED - 44

Dear Mr. Busby:

~~121-23273-33~~  
121-23273-85

Thank you so much for your telegram of  
March 29, 1950.

Your expression of approval is appreciated  
and I thought you might like to read my statement  
before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on  
Foreign Relations, March 27, 1950.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

Director's Statement before the Subcommittee  
of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations  
March 27, 1950

FRY:mms

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
APR 3 7 15  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 4 9 50 AM '50  
MAILED  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
APR 4 1950  
RECEIVED

Handwritten initials

, 1950

TO:  Director

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Q. Tamm  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Miss Gandy  
 Mr. Nease

Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Laughlin  
 Mr. Henrich  
 M \_\_\_\_\_  
 M' \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Pennington  
 Mr. Winterrowd  
 Mr. J. A. Carlson  
 Mr. Hargett

Mrs. Henley  
 Miss Jess

Mrs. Davidson

Chief Clerk's Off.  
 Records Section  
 Personnel Files  
 Mechanical Sec.  
 Ident. Division  
 Technical Lab.  
 Reading Room

Mr. Baumgardner  
 Mr. Key  
 Mr. Stanley  
 Mr. Whitson  
 M \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ferris  
 Foreign Service Desk  
 Mr. Callan

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

See Me  
 Call Me  
 Appropriate action  
 Note & return  
 Send file  
 Bring up-to-date  
 Correct  
 Re-date  
 Please initial & return  
 Place on record & return  
 Place on record  
 Per conversation  
 Advise status

Communists State Department

March 29, 1950

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Attention: Mr. Ladd

Re: Congressional Reaction Relative To The Position of the FBI In The Present Controversy Over The Charge of Communism In The State Dept.

Yesterday an acquaintance of mine, John L. Smith, a business man from Massachusetts stopped to see me enroute home from a vacation in Florida and asked me to have lunch with him. The luncheon took place at the Capitol and present were Congressman Philip J. Philbin and Harold Donohue, both Democrats from Massachusetts. By chance Congress-woman Edith Nourse Rogers joined the group. As you know, she is a Republican from Massachusetts.

On being introduced to me by Congressman Philbin she immediately posed the question: "What is going on in the State Department?" and "What has the FBI to say to clear up the matter?" I replied that Mr. Hoover had spoken for the Bureau and I had nothing to add. She went on rapidly, somewhat loosely and incoherently to infer that what had been said was not wholly satisfying, hinting that possibly Communist activities in the State Department were not being brought out into the open as they deserved to be. She then turned quickly and said to me (I was sitting beside her on the right) "The FBI is doing a splendid job." I thanked her for this "gracious" comment and added that the Director's position in this and other matters was sound. Congressman Philbin briskly injected the statement at this point that "His position and conduct are always sound and commendable and he has the full support and confidence of the people." Congressman Donohue nodded his assent and said something about the need for keeping Communists out of the government service. This quick, spontaneous exchange of comments occupied only a minute or so following which I changed the subject and nothing further was said about it during the remainder of the luncheon.

After the luncheon was over Congressman Philbin, whom I know very well, called me aside and said: "I believe you may want to know that a number of Congressmen seem to be getting the impression that there may be some truth to the charges directed against the State Department but that the Administration is putting strong pressure on Mr. Hoover to 'white wash' the charges against the State Department and that the FBI is being forced to comply in this matter." Congressman Philbin (who incidentally has been anti-New Deal Democrat) went on to say that he did not share this impression; that he realized that the FBI could not disclose its files and would not take political sides in the controversy."

This is for your information.

121-23278-85X  
Respectfully,  
Wm. C. Sullivan  
Wm. C. Sullivan

RECORDED - 134  
INDEXED - 134

56 JUL 6 1950

APR 4 1950

Wm. C. Sullivan  
Wm. C. Sullivan  
Wm. C. Sullivan  
Wm. C. Sullivan

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT *Joseph*

SUBJECT: REMARKS OF SENATOR MC CARTHY  
ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE  
MARCH 30, 1950

DATE: March 30, 1950

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-18-79 BY SP-5 RJS/blw

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

At 5:15 pm Special Agent R. A. Collier advised that he had confidentially obtained a copy of Senator McCarthy's manuscript from which he is speaking today. This was made available to you. At 6:00 pm SA Collier reported that at 5:00 McCarthy resumed the floor and immediately started reading into the record the writings of Lattimore. He then took considerable time identifying Frederick V. Fields, Service, Jaffe, Bisson, and others in the Amerasia case. He then elaborated on Fields' connection and said Fields has identified himself as the most important Communist in this country. He produced photostatic copies of two checks made by Fields to the Institute of Pacific Relations. One of these checks was in the amount of \$1,000.

McCarthy then went into a discussion on Dr. Jessup and said he thinks Jessup is a dupe, but a dupe and tool in the hands of Communists. Jessup has a propensity for joining organizations and all the organizations are subversive and many are Communist Party fronts. He said Jessup over night became an expert on Far Eastern Affairs and associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations personnel. He referred to a letter which Jessup wrote requesting that no investigation be conducted into the subversive nature of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

At 6:20 pm SA Collier advised that McCarthy is now tracing Acheson's foreign policy speeches and is pointing out that in his opinion Lattimore put the ideas in Acheson's mind which he has expressed in these speeches. He then referred to a secret State Department document dated March 17, 1950, which he advised was written by loyal State Department employees and pointed out that their ideas are not in conformity with that of Acheson's.

CEH:jdt

RECORDED - 59  
INDEXED - 59

121-23278-87  
121-39749-1509

ADDENDUM: Approximately 6:30 pm Senator McCarthy concluded his address to the Senate, during the last portion of which he had continued his criticisms of Acheson's use of Lattimore, Jessup, et al in the formation of American Foreign policy. He then concluded reading his written text and made remarks regarding his service in the Pacific as a marine and the fact that he had written letters to the wives of men who had lost their lives in the last World War. Other Senate business was thereafter taken up.

*Communists in the State Department*

*100-24626-*

*IM*

*etc.*

TO: Director

- |                          |                                |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| _____ Mr. Tolson         | _____ Mr. Belmont              |
| _____ Mr. Clegg          | _____ Mr. Laughlin             |
| _____ Mr. Glavin         | _____ Mr. Hennrich             |
| _____ Mr. Harbo          | _____ M                        |
| _____ Mr. Nichols        | _____ M                        |
| _____ Mr. Rosen          | _____ Mr. Baumgardner          |
| _____ Mr. Tracy          | _____ Mr. Keay                 |
| _____ Mr. Q. Tamm        | _____ Mr. Stanley              |
| _____ Mr. Mohr           | _____ Mr. Whitson              |
| _____ Miss Gandy         | _____ M                        |
| _____ Mr. Nease          | _____ Mr. Ferris               |
| _____ Mr. Pennington     | _____ Foreign Service Desk     |
| _____ Mr. Winterrowd     | _____ Mr. Callan               |
| _____ Mr. J. A. Carlson  | _____ See Me                   |
| _____ Mr. Hargett        | _____ Call Me                  |
| _____ Mrs. Henley        | _____ Appropriate action       |
| _____ Miss Jess          | _____ Note & return            |
| _____ Mrs. Davidson      | _____ Send file                |
| _____ Chief Clerk's Off. | _____ Bring up-to-date         |
| _____ Records Section    | _____ Correct                  |
| _____ Personnel Files    | _____ Re-date                  |
| _____ Mechanical Sec.    | _____ Please initial & return  |
| _____ Ident. Division    | _____ Place on record & return |
| _____ Technical Lab.     | _____ Place on record          |
| _____ Reading Room       | _____ Per conversation         |
|                          | _____ Advise status            |

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: March 30, 1950

FROM : MR. L. L. LAUGHLIN

① Communists 2.

SUBJECT: LIST OF 81 INDIVIDUALS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT NAMED BY SENATOR McCARTHY

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

7  
2  
3  
#

On the evening of March 29, 1950, Mr. James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, called and asked if the Bureau had a list of the 81 State Department employees against whom Senator McCarthy had made charges of subversiveness. He said that a copy had been made available to him and if the Bureau wanted it, he would make it available so copies could be made.

Stetley

I told Mr. McInerney that I did not know whether we had a list of these individuals. As a matter of fact, the Bureau does have such a list, having obtained it from the State Department on March 24, 1950.

After discussing this with Mr. Ladd, I called Mr. McInerney back and told him that we would appreciate it very much if we could obtain his list in order to make a copy for our files.

Mr. McInerney's secretary personally delivered this list to my office on the evening of March 29 and the attached copies were made. It is noted that in addition to the 81 alleged State Department employees, the list contains the following names also mentioned by Senator McCarthy in his speeches:

- Service, John Stewart
- Duran, Gustave (Gustavo)
- ~~Kenny~~ Kenny, Mary Jane
- Shapley, Dr. Harlow
- Lattimore, Owen J.
- Kenyon, Dorothy
- Hanson, Haldore
- Schuman, Dr. Frederick L.

The original list furnished by Mr. McInerney has been returned to him by hand, pursuant to his request.

5 ENCL

Attachment  
LLL:mer

RECORDED - 96  
INDEXED - 96

121-23278-88  
~~162-31149-1501~~  
MAY 24 1950  
15

G.I.R. 923

Deleted Copy Sent Leonard Horvitz  
by Letter 1113125  
Per FOIA Request mcl

15

AB  
g





25. GRONDAHL, Tegner Conrad
26. CLUCAS, Lowell M., Jr.
27. KATUSICH, Ivan
28. LANSBERG, Hans
29. GRAZE, Gerald
30. JOSEPHSON, Joseph
31. ROSS, Lewis
32. ROSS, Robert
33. SIEGEL, Herman
34. MONTAGUE, Ella M.
35. SHELL, Melville
36. SMITH, Frederick W.
37. OSNATCH, Olga F.
38. KAUFMAN, Arthur Milton
39. VOLIN, Max A.
40. GORDON, Stella
41. MARGOLIES, Daniel F.
42. MANN, Gottfried Thomas
43. FISHBACK, Sam
44. CARTER, William D.
45. NESS, Norman T.
46. STONE, William T.
47. BRUNAUER, Esther ~~Caukin~~

- 48.) }  
49.) } BARNETT, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Warren
50. SCHIMMEL, Sylvia
51. ROMMEL, Rowena
52. RAINE, Philip
53. POST, Richard
54. LORWIN, Val R.
55. CAMERON, Gertrude
56. LIFANTIEFF-LEE, Paul A.
57. NEAL, Fred Warner
58. CARLISLE, Lois
59. NEUMANN, Franz Leopold
60. DuBOIS, Cora
61. DEMERJIAN, Alice
62. PERKINS, Isham W.
63. WILCOX, Stanley
64. PETER, Hollis W.
65. HUNT, Victor
66. RANDOLPH, David (Rosenberg)
67. LINDSEY, John Richard
68. GROSS, Aaron Jack
69. MAGUIE, Sylvia
70. BERMAN, Harold
71. STOIANOFF, Stoian

72. No name given
73. HORWIN, Leonard
74. BANKOWSKI, Joseph T.
75. LEWIS, Mrs. Preston Keesling
76. FORD, James T.
77. Posniak, Edward G.
78. KAMARCK, Andrew W.
79. POLYZOIDES, T. Achilles
80. WASHBURN, John T.
81. PARSONS, Ruby A.

SERVICE, John Stewart

DURAN, Gustave (or Gustavo)

KENNY, Mary Jane

SHAPLEY, Dr. Harlow

LATTIMORE, Owen J.

KENYON, Dorothy

HANSON, Haldore

SCHUMAN, Dr. Frederick L.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No.

*Mr. [Handwritten]*  
4502

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

3-30-50

FBI WASH FIELD

30

5p

DIRECTOR

ROUTINE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PAREN ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH MC CARTHY  
DASH R WISC. END PAREN, LGE. RE BUREAU PHONE CALL TO WFO MARCH  
TWENTY NINE LAST INSTRUCTING THAT INVESTIGATION BE CONDUCTED TO  
DETERMINE IF FOLLOWING PERSONS ARE PRESENTLY EMPLOYED BY THE  
GOVERNMENT: JOSEPH T. FORNO; JAMES T. FORD; SAMUEL STEPHENSON  
SMITH; LEONARD HORWIN AKA HOROWITZ; HORVITZ; MELVIN SHELL AKA  
MELVILLE SHELL; JOSEPH JOSEPHSON; JEANNE H. TAYLOR; GOTTFRIED  
THOMAS MANN; EDYTHE J. LEMON, AKA MRS. EDYTHE BLUMENTHAL, MRS.  
IRWIN BLUMENTHAL; MARGERY SNOWDEN POSNER AKA MARJORIE SNOWDEN  
POSNER NEE SNOWDEN; GIZELLA ILLYEFALVI DASHVITZ. THIS IS TO  
ADVISE THAT THE RECORDS OF THE MAIL AND FILES, OFFICE SERVICES  
DIV. CSC WERE CHECKED ON ABOVE NAMES. NO RECORD COULD BE LOCATED  
FOR JAMES T. FORD; MARGERY SNOWDEN POSNER AKA; MELVIN SHELL AKA;  
NOR SAMUEL STEPHENSON SMITH; ALL OTHERS REFLECTED STATE DEPT.  
EMPLOYMENT NOW TERMINATED AND FAILED TO DISCLOSE ANY SUBSEQUENT  
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT. THE RECORDS OF STATE DEPT. PERSONNEL,  
FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL, AND FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION  
WERE ALSO CHECKED ON ABOVE PERSONS. NO RECORD COULD BE LOCATED  
FOR JAMES T. FORD. THE RECORD FOR SAMUEL STEPHENSON SMITH REFLECTED  
AN APPLICATION BUT NO STATE DEPT. EMPLOYMENT, NOR SUBSEQUENT

*Lead Wash  
Letter 11-3-75  
FOIA Request mcl*

*40-28439-4  
100-557263-2  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN*

Special Agent in Charge

RECORDED

121-29278-888  
JUN 13 1950  
Per [Handwritten]

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

-----

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT. RECORDS WERE LOCATED FOR ALL OTHERS REFLECTING PREVIOUS STATE DEPT. EMPLOYMENT NOW TERMINATED AND FAILED TO REFLECT ANY SUBSEQUENT GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT. NO FURTHER ACTION BEING TAKEN ULESS ADVISED TO CONTRARY BY THE BUREAU. RUC.

HOTTEL

PMR:hk  
121-13947

-2-

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

DO-5

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Jones  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Tele. Room  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

Date March 30 1950 Time 8:05PM

Mr. Peyton Ford called  
thru secretary

Phone No. \_\_\_\_\_

REMARKS

When advised of the Director's and Mr. Tolson's absence Mr. Ford consented to speak to the Acting Director, after checking he was referred to Mr. Ladd.

Mr. Ladd Advises <sup>Senator Joseph</sup> that Mr. Ford wanted to know if we had gone over the McCarthy material as yet. Mr. Ladd told him the material was being photostated at the present time and it has not been analyzed yet.

tch.

We are not going to release material we receive from McCarthy until analyzed. Trust is in our out. If we do it will surely lead out to state to the Hill & to columnists.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

RECORDED  
INDEXED

121-23278-89

APR 3 1950

APR 3 1950

12

FBI

MAY 1950



March 30, 1950

Mr. Frank Waldrop  
The Times-Herald  
1317 H Street, Northwest  
Washington, D. C.

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
Dear Frank:

I wanted you to know that I appreciate very much the comments upon my position with regard to maintaining the confidential nature of FBI files which appear today in The Times-Herald editorial, "It's There, Find It."

As my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations made clear, I feel that the entire structure that the FBI has laboriously created for obtaining information vital to the internal security of our country would be endangered should this Bureau be required to disclose the data recorded in its files.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

RECORDED - 126

INDEXED - 126

MAILED 9  
MAR 31 1950  
COMM - FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
MAR 30 7 38 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
B-1  
21-2317-90  
9172

W

April 7, 1950

Mrs. C. A. Sevell  
1014 River  
Canon City, Colorado

RECORDED - 19

INDEXED - 19

51

Dear Mrs. Sevell:

~~121-23571-91~~  
121-23571-91

Your letter dated March 30, 1950, has been received and I appreciate your writing to me concerning your views on the subject you mentioned.

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

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

Director's Statement of March 27, 1950.

FRY:alp

alp

RECEIVED  
F B I  
U S DEPT OF JUSTICE

APR 10 1950  
COMM - 51

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

146

APR 15 1950

*[Handwritten signature]*

1950

Canon City Colo

Mar. 30 - 50

Mr. Edgar Hoover

Which do you think  
would be best to protect our  
Country, bringing to justice  
a Red spy in our government  
or putting a man on trial  
who is not guilty, which  
as you know the American  
people would not condemn  
but would understand  
we can take that chance  
better let the ~~60-111-232-91~~  
those files <sup>EX-51</sup> for you know  
there have been just recently  
some men convicted of  
Red spying in our Govt -

Apr 4/31/50  
FRY

Mrs. Ed. Jewell  
1014 River Canon City Colo

March 30, 1950

Honorable Thomas J. O'Connor  
Judge  
Court of Common Pleas  
Lucas County  
Toledo, Ohio

My dear Judge:

It was indeed thoughtful of you to write as you did on March 25th to furnish your views on the confidential nature of the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is very comforting to me to know that clear-thinking citizens are of the opinion the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation should remain confidential in every sense.

I thought you might be interested in the attached duplicate of my comments as expressed before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

Your comments concerning the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the motives which caused you to write are highly appreciated.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

121-23278-92  
J. Edgar Hoover

Attachment

RECORDED - 49

INDEXED - 49

APR 4 1950  
80

RECEIVED  
MAR 31 10 58 AM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED MAR 30 5 56 PM '50  
RECEIVED READING ROOM  
MAR 30 6 40 PM '50

AHB:tlc, um j

MAILED 2  
MAR 30 1950  
COMM - FBI

- Tolson
- E. A. Tamm
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Tracy
- Egan
- Gurnea
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Quinn Tamm
- Nease
- Gandy

March 24, 1950

12:35 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Peyton Ford called me with reference to the meeting of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held this morning in the Attorney General's Office, at which meeting Senator Tydings, McMahon, Green and Lodge were Present. I commented that I certainly could not agree with Senator Lodge's attitude about issuing a statement and Mr. Ford agreed and stated that he had gotten a final agreement that if there was one leak about the meeting or anything connected with it then a statement would be issued promptly. I commented I certainly felt the Attorney General was entitled to that consideration. Mr. Ford then read to me a rough draft of a proposed statement to be used in the event of a leak and asked for my opinion. The statement is as follows:

"Senator Millard D. Tydings and members of the Subcommittee investigation charges of subversive in the State Department met with the Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, Department of Justice, this morning on the invitation of the Attorney General for the purpose of giving to the Subcommittee such information as the Attorney General felt he could give to them consistent to the best interests of the United States. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, prepared for the Attorney General complete analysis of the FBI files with respect to the one name on which the Committee sought the cooperation of the Department. The Attorney General read this complete summation to the Committee and both he and Director Hoover gave to the Committee a very complete statement on the file in this particular case and also a statement with respect to making available to Congressional Committee FBI files. The Attorney General pointed out to the Committee that the contents of this file must be kept in complete confidence, and the fact that such a file was in existence was not to be construed as any reflection on the person involved as it is standard procedure to investigate all allegations made. Attending the conference, et cetera \*\*\*\*\* The President of the United States is fully advised by the Attorney General in this matter."

I stated that I thought this statement was all right because I felt there was bound to be a leak someplace. I stated I wish a public hearing could have been

*3-24-50 - Mr. Tolson - Mr. Ladd - Mr. Nichols - Mr. Ford - Mr. Tydings - Mr. McMahon - Mr. Green - Mr. Lodge*

*ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-2-25-91*

100-2-25-91  
MAR 27 1950

145

52 JUN 28 1950

held this afternoon because we could have gotten a statement up in time for my appearance there that could have nailed it then. As it is I stated that because of Senator Lodge's position in the matter it will have to go over under Monday which is likely to cause a lot of speculations and charges being made up and down the country as to what the mystery is all about.

I told Mr. Ford the thing that concerned me, and which I did not care to mention at the meeting this morning, was that Senator Hickenlooper was not present and I was wondering if the agreements were binding as far as he was concerned because I certainly did not feel that the summary which was read at the meeting should be made public at any hearing. Mr. Ford stated that Senator Hickenlooper was bound by them and that he, Ford, would see that the summary was not introduced. Mr. Ford stated that if any other questions were asked of me the Attorney General and he would object to them, and upon my query as to whether the Attorney General would be back from New York in time for the hearing, Mr. Ford replied that he would be back in time.

Very truly yours

John Edgar Hoover

Director

cc - Mr. Nease

JEH:eh

March 24, 1950

10:03 AM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Rayton Ford called and said there was to be a meeting in the Attorney General's Office at 10:30 which was to be attended by Senators Tydings, McMahon, Green and Lodge and he wanted me to be present to answer two questions: namely "If this is a summary of your files - yes" and to ask for any views I have on the production of reports. Mr. Ford stated they were not going to discuss anything else. I told him I would be there.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc - Mr. Nease

JEH:EH

42-2332-  
NOT RECORDED  
82 JUN 27 1950

145  
52 JUN 28 1950

April 7, 1950

RECORDED - 17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
12-12-11-93

Mr. Clayton A. Vidéen  
Apartment 305  
1111 Pine Street  
San Francisco 9, California

Dear Mr. Vidéen:

Your letter dated March 30, 1950,  
has been received and I did want to thank you  
for your approval of the position I have taken  
with regard to the disclosure of information  
contained in FBI files.

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

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

*Re*  
Enclosure

Dir. statement of March 27, 1950.

FRY:atp

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
APR 6 9 40 AM '50

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED BY  
APR 7 5 00 PM '50  
*[Handwritten initials]*

APR 10 1950

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



1111 Pine - Apt. 305  
San Francisco 9, Calif.  
March 30, 1950

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am sure millions of Americans are with me when I congratulate you for refusing to surrender FBI files to be used as political bait. As you say, many innocent people would suffer, because many reports have been unchecked. In addition, valuable sources of information would dry up. The percentage of convictions brought about by the efforts of your department is evidence that your agents are thorough in gathering testimony and that guilt is pretty well established before trials are begun.

We can maintain our freedom only by sifting the truth from the lies - and by eliminating half-truths and innuendo. During the depression days many people now in prominent places were, perhaps, associated with organizations which were later infiltrated by Communists. During the last war, Russia was an ally, so it is quite possible that there were organizations, thoroughly loyal, that had a friendly attitude towards Russia.

Because we live in a free country, we tolerate open debate, which is just as it should be. However, it is one thing to debate openly and another to smear without sufficient ground. There are many liberals in the country who are forward looking, but who would willingly lay down their lives in defense of our democracy against any foreign ideology, whether it be Communism or Fascism.

I will echo Voltaire - "I may disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." I believe the late President Roosevelt said it once too. Free speech is the cornerstone of our form of government.

But sometimes it is carried beyond the limits of good taste, as in the present fracas. I hope that Senator McCarthy will not find a way to get into your files. In these days, loyalty checks are necessary and it would be a detriment to us all if your department were crippled in its operations. I believe that the accused should have a right to face their accusers and should also have a right to trial by jury, but that is outside your province.

Very truly yours,

*Clayton A. Vidler*  
Clayton A. Vidler

RECORDED - 17  
INDEXED - 17

121-23277-93

65-7225

0 - ... to 2 ...

1111-1

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Vim*

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: *Communitas, State Dept*

DATE: March 31, 1950

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

For record purposes, I advised both Fred Mullen of the United Press and Martha Kearney of INS, in response to specific inquiries, that we had received the material from Senator McCarthy. In response to further question as to whether we had forwarded it to the Department, I advised them we had forwarded the material to the Department.

LBN:hmc

cc: Mr. Ladd

RECORDED - 72

INDEXED - 72

EX-35

*121-23278-94*

~~102-5771-151~~

APR 6 1950

31

*Vim*

CRIME DIV.

*M*

51 APR 24 1950

U

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR  
FROM : D. M. Ladd  
SUBJECT: SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY

DATE: March 31, 1950

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

I took a call from Peyton Ford at 8 p.m. last night, by reference from your office.

He asked me what McCarthy's material looked like. I asked him what material he was referring to. He stated Dean Sheller had furnished to the Bureau a mimeographed copy of McCarthy's speech. I told him I had not looked it over as yet, that it was down being photostated, and I could not, therefore, make any comment on it.

DML:CSH

① Senate Foreign Relations Committee

198  
53 APR 17 1950

121-23278-95  
~~167-9923-7~~  
APR 3 1950

RECORDED 12

Pub  
JRE

4  
Horse

# Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM : D. M. Ladd *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY'S ALLEGATIONS

DATE: March 31, 1950

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Roan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Tom Donegan called me from New York and stated he had talked to Peyton Ford yesterday, at which time Ford suggested that it might be necessary to have McCarthy go before a Grand Jury, but that he, Ford, thought it would look bad to do this at the present time. Donegan states that apparently Ford is going to follow through on this at a later date.

DML:dad

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

121-23278-96  
~~62-91723-8~~

RECORDED - 72

~~INDEXED - 72~~

58 APR 27 1950

EX-35

*[Handwritten initials]*  
 62-91723-26-50

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson  
FROM : L. B. Nichols

DATE: March 31, 1950

SUBJECT: Senate Foreign Relations Committee

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

I am attaching hereto a photostat containing the changes that were made in the Director's testimony before the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations. I wanted to return this to the Chief of Staff of the Committee, Mr. Francis O. Wilcox; however, he was on the Senate floor all day yesterday. We promised to return the testimony at 6:00 last night. Accordingly, I had Mr. Wick return it and talk to Wilcox's assistant and ask that he have Wilcox call me.

LBN:mcq

RECORDED - 45

121-23278-9711-1  
~~62-91723-42~~  
 MAY 17 1950  
 37

EX-124

3 ENCL  
 ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE  
 45

388  
 51 MAY 24 1950

I referred to Wilcox  
 5/13  
 100

April 7, 1950

*J*

Mr. R. G. Zeigler  
Chief of Police  
Gainesville, Florida

121-43913-98

My dear Chief:

G.I.R. 1

RECORDED - 81  
INDEXED - 81

I have received your letter of March 31, 1950, and I appreciate very much indeed the expressions of your approval of my position with regard to the disclosure of information contained in FBI files.

It is my sincere belief that if the FBI were required to depart from its established policy in this connection all law enforcement would suffer from the resulting loss of confidence on the part of the public.

It is most encouraging to know that you concur with my views.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

cc: Mobile, with copy of incoming.

ERY:mb:at

*[Handwritten initials]*  
APR 7 1950  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 7 1950  
COMM-FBI

*[Large handwritten signature]*

RECEIVED  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
APR 7 2 19 PM '50

CITY OF GAINESVILLE

*The University City*

FLORIDA

OFFICE OF  
RUPERT G. ZEIGLER  
CHIEF OF POLICE



March 31, 1950

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have received from Mr. John K. Mumford, Special Agent in Charge, FBI, Mobile, Alabama, a transcript of your statement before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations March 27, 1950.

After carefully reading your statement I want to offer my endorsement of your views as embodied in this statement.

I most emphatically subscribe to the recognized procedure of all duly constituted law enforcement agencies in that if an investigative body divulges the source of its information of a confidential nature, our entire system of investigation of crimes and apprehension of criminals will collapse. I believe that the bedrock of our National security rests on the citizens of our Nation who will aid us in the enforcement of their laws. If we are forced by legislative action to break confidences placed in us by these citizens, it will be a serious deterrent to enforcement of the laws by not only the FBI, but all law enforcement agencies.

Again expressing my approbation for your stand in this matter, and wishing you success in defending it, I am,

Very truly yours,

*R.G. Zeigler*  
R. G. Zeigler  
Chief of Police

*0 Committee 2 State  
" Department*

*one  
ack 4/6/50  
7/1/50*

RGZ: gb

CC: Mr. John K. Mumford

RECORDED - 81

*121-23278-98*

~~66-7225~~

APR 14 1950

5

*[Handwritten signature/initials]*

FROM

DO-7

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 \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

- See Me \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- For Your Recommendation ( )
- What are the facts? ( )

Remarks:

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ahb*

FROM : Mr. C. H. Stanley *CHS*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
 (Names furnished to Tydings Committee by  
 Senator McCarthy.)  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: March 31, 1950

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

To advise you that the ten individuals on whom the Bureau has conducted no investigation, who were formerly employed by the State Department and appear on Senator McCarthy's list, are not presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government according to the records of the Civil Service Commission. *Stanley*

BACKGROUND:

You will recall by memorandum of March 28, 1950 the Director was furnished an analysis of the Bureau's files on the 81 cases furnished to the Tydings Committee by Senator McCarthy. It was pointed out that in ten of the cases the Bureau had conducted no investigation but that the individuals involved were no longer employed by the State Department and there was no indication in Bureau files that they were employed elsewhere in the Government. On March 29, 1950 WFO was telephonically instructed to make a check with the Civil Service Commission to verify that these ten individuals are not employed in the Federal Government at the present time. *E. F. [unclear]*

Supervisor Grapp of the WFO telephonically advised me on March 30, 1950 that, according to the records of the Civil Service Commission, none of these ten individuals are presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Government. The ten individuals in question are listed as follows, together with the case number by which they have been described by Senator McCarthy:

- Case No. 4 - Gizella ~~X~~illyefalvi ~~X~~Vitez
- Case No. 10 - Margery S. ~~X~~Posner
- Case No. 17 - Jeanne H. ~~X~~Taylor (Jeanne E. ~~X~~Taylor)
- Case No. 18 - Edythe J. ~~X~~Lemon
- Case No. 20 - Samuel Stephenson ~~X~~Smith
- Case No. 30 - Joseph ~~X~~Josephson
- Case No. 35 - Melvin ~~X~~Shell (Melville ~~X~~Shell)
- Case No. 42 - Gottfried Thomas ~~X~~Wann
- Case No. 73 - Leonard ~~X~~Forwin
- Case No. 76 - James T. ~~X~~Ford (Joseph T. ~~X~~Forno).

Concerning Posner, Shell, Smith and the name James T. Ford, the Civil Service records contain no information, not even a record of any previous employment of these persons by the Department of State. As to the other names, the records of

Deleted Copy Sent Leonard Howlin  
 by Letter 11-3-52  
 Per FOIA Request mel

CHS:NRJ:hmm

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INDEXED

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 JUN 13 1950

53 JUL 5 1950

38

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 [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

the Civil Service Commission reflect previous employment of these individuals at the Department of State. However, in each case, the records show termination from the State Department and no information of subsequent employment in the Executive Branch of the Government.

In addition to the above checks at the Civil Service Commission, the Washington Field Office has also checked the records of the State Department in order to ascertain whether its records reflect a transfer of any of these individuals to another Government agency. As to the name James T. Ford, the State Department records fail to reveal any person by that name ever being employed. Regarding Samuel Stephenson Smith, the records indicate this person was an applicant for a position in the State Department but was never actually employed. The records at the State Department on the remainder of these individuals reflect only their employment at the State Department and do not indicate any transfer of either the individual or the individual's file to any other Government agency subsequent to their termination at the State Department.

ACTION:

None. This is for your information. An addition was made to the memorandum to the Director dated March 28, 1950 to reflect that CSC records do not show the ten individuals in question to be presently employed in the Government.

Copy letter 2

Grath

29 d

Washington DC

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
APR 5 - 1950

Dear Senator L. L. DAVIS

In making my presentation to the Senate many times as a member of the Committee with the Health Privileges for a period of 100 days...

FEDERAL BU. OF INV.  
APR 5 1950  
DIVISION OF FEDERAL BU. OF INV.

RECORDED

now, I wish to direct your attention to Mr. McCarthy, whom the state of Missouri has in the Senate.

I find it interesting with a number of people in Oregon at least this morning... that there is something wrong with... First, it is thought that Missouri is paying for... in connection with the Commission.

W. J. [Signature]

and the things he has done and said... more information... assistance than ten... Gent. Charles R. [Name]

INDEXED - 27

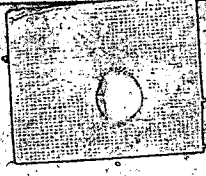
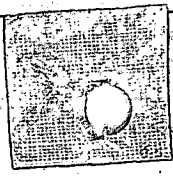
RECORDED - 27

APR 18 1950

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APR 20 1950

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copies or agents and if he was to find how  
and since assuming then his efforts would  
have been found and really worked on  
along lines of the 713's.

I think such information as this should  
be made known to the whole world, I think  
too, the Dept of Justice and the FBI should  
be copying on this manuscript. He is  
a good man to watch. His every  
move to my mind that he is just  
to be in a position to do his country  
harm as he is doing. I also, think  
his record published by Drew Pearson  
last week.

You are at liberty to  
show him or any one else the letter  
if you so desire.

Yours for America  
R. L. ...

April 7, 1950

Mr. Gene I. Granich  
5223 Almaden Drive  
Los Angeles 42, California

RECORDED - 23

Dear Mr. Granich:

*121-2378-101*  
Your letter dated April 2, 1950, has been received.

The interest which prompted your communication is very much appreciated, and I am grateful for your action in setting forth the views which you outlined.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ARA:cs

*cs*

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
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RECEIVED READING ROOM  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

APR 10 1950

*121-2378-101*

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

5223 Almaden Dr.  
Los Angeles 42, Calif.  
April 2, 1950

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

Dear Sir:

Because of a deep concern over the investigations being made of the State Department by several members of the Senate. I am asking the liberty of writing this letter setting forth a few ideas which I offer for your consideration. Anyone reading recently of Senator McCarthy's charges against the State Department is of necessity forced to do some pretty deep thinking over the motivations involved in those charges. I should like to say at once that I personally do not feel that those charges are motivated by a Republican effort to discredit the present administration, since this is the most obvious explanation. The actual motivations are probably concealed to an extent I cannot imagine, but I should like to make a few guesses:

1. Taking into consideration the long term view that the Communist Party has always held in making its plans for the future, it would seem perfectly possible that the information being used could be from a Communist source. There are a great many nations in the world who are at the present time wavering between alliance with the Western powers and the Soviet State. Nothing could be more fortuitous to Russia than for the assurances given by our State Department to these waverers to appear to be without any weight at all, even if it meant the raising of a "red menace" in this country. I know it seems odd that information being used by Republican members of the Senate could be of Communist sources, but what could be more useful to the Communists than a person apparently above suspicion. Because of the complete absence of any suspicion of Communist influence in the Republican Party, I should say that this would be a most fertile ground for an adroit agent of Russia, especially when he would be associating with people who are very eager to charge that Communism influences the administration. Such an agent could by furnishing information, true or untrue, create just the sort of crisis which exists now, thereby alienating our allies, encouraging wavering nations to enter the Soviet sphere, and embarrassing our Government both at home and abroad.

2. At the same time, one must never forget that under the guise of a great crusade against one evil it

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RECORDED - 23

APR 13 1950

15

INDEXED - 23

Communist in State Department

4-9-50

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is very easy for another evil to slip in. It would be a simple matter indeed for a Fascist group to use the present hue and cry against Communism as a means of getting people who are like minded into public office by making charges of Communism against people who oppose them. It could even be that such people would use a "front man" supplied with half-truths in an effort to discredit their opposition. Such a group, however, would have to be in a position to influence the people who would make the appointment of replacements were they successful in having the "opposition" removed from office.

3. The most alarming part of the entire investigation to my mind are the charges of homosexuality against members of the State Department. Similar technique in recent history has always been the forerunner of efforts of a minority group to seize power or positions of power in the Government. The charge of homosexuality itself, being so repugnant to the American mind and being such an indefensible position for the accused appears to be the result of careful planning rather than the exploiting of a perhaps existant fact. The technique has so often been used by both Communists and Facists that both possibilities should be very carefully considered.

4. Summarizing these guesses, it would seem <sup>Joseph</sup> to my mind that there should be certain courses of action. First, that the sources of information used by Senator McCarthy be very carefully checked for Communistic or Facistic leanings or are in fact an agent of the Soviet Government; secondly, whether Senator McCarthy is making these charges and pushing this investigation under any form of duress; and third, whether the sources of information have any connection, however remote, with the people who can influence the appointment of public officers in the Government.

I hope these thoughts can be of assistance to you, although you have, undoubtedly, already given them your attention.

Sincerely yours,

*Gene I. Granich*  
Gene I. ~~X~~Granich

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 4, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*

*Communists in the*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN, STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALTY BOARD  
BEFORE TYDINGS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
E. A. Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

\* Attached is a copy of a statement which is to be made by Mr. ~~Boyer~~ Snow, Chairman of the Loyalty Board of the Department of State, before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Tydings Committee) tomorrow morning (April 5, 1950).

This statement was furnished to Mr. Roach of the Bureau confidentially by Mr. Samuel D. Boyking, Director, Office of Consular Affairs, Department of State, who suggested that Mr. Roach review it and if anything in the statement was objectionable from the Bureau's standpoint, he, Boykin, would do everything in his power to have appropriate deletions and/or corrections made. Mr. Boykin told Mr. Roach that it was necessary for him to have the attachment returned to him as soon as the Bureau had an opportunity to review it. Copies have been made for the Bureau's records and they are attached for your information.

Generally, the statement of Mr. Snow relates to the organization and responsibilities of the State Department's Loyalty Security Board, setting forth its authority for considering cases under both Executive Order 9835 and the summary power of dismissal vested in the State Department by the so-called McCarran Rider. In the latter part of this statement Mr. Snow discusses the eighty-one cases mentioned by McCarthy. He mentions no names but does quote some figures which are inconsistent with the analysis of these same cases by the Bureau.

Specific comments of Mr. Snow in the attached statement which do bear upon the Bureau and which might possibly create an erroneous impression as to the Bureau's operations are discussed separately hereafter.

Mr. Snow States:

On page 7 in commenting on the Bureau's full field investigations, Mr. Snow states that "everything they say is put down - whether it bears on loyalty, security, morality or even fitness for employment."

Comment:

Investigations conducted under the Loyalty Program are confined to the issue of loyalty unless information relating to morals is volunteered by witnesses interviewed during the investigation. No comment is ever made in a loyalty investigation as to a man's fitness for employment. A distinction should be drawn here in that the Bureau, in addition to conducting loyalty investigations for the State Department, does also conduct investigations under Public Law 402, 80th Congress, which do include comments concerning character and fitness for employment. However, Mr. Snow makes no distinction here and the implication is that loyalty investigations include in every instance material relating to morality and fitness for employment.

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INDEXED RECORDED - 22

121-23278-102  
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APR 14 1950

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*State will delete*

*State will delete*



Mr. Snow States:

On page 11, paragraph 1, Mr. Snow states, "If there are any Communists in the State Department, the FBI have not discovered them and the Loyalty Security Board is uninformed of their existence."

*State will delete*

Comments:

No distinction is drawn between persons presently affiliated with the Communist Party and those where information has been developed of past affiliation with the Communist Party. <sup>the</sup> Statement of Mr. Snow appears to place the responsibility of the failure by the State Department to dismiss any undesirable employees on the FBI.

Mr. Snow States:

Page 11, paragraph 2, Mr. Snow here is discussing the 81 cases named by Senator McCarthy. He states, "I do not know how many of those 81 were ever employees of the Department, but only 38 of them ever came before the Loyalty Security Board. If the other 45 cases were employees of the Department, no derogatory information regarding them has yet come into the possession of the FBI so as to occasion a full field investigation, unless such investigations are pending or incomplete. I mean by this that the FBI have not passed to the Department any reports on these 45 cases."

*State will delete*

Comments

Obviously Mr. Snow as a representative of the State Department does know how many of the 81 individuals named by McCarthy are still employed by the State Department. By not showing specific figures as to those employed by State and those not employed by State, Mr. Snow leaves the impression that the Bureau has been derelict in its duty with respect to the "other 45 cases."

*State will delete*

It is suggested that Mr. Snow's comments be clarified to show how many of the 81 cases are still employed in the State Department and that he clarify these figures in order to show a true picture. It is noted in this connection that in 14 cases of the 81, we have conducted Voice of America investigations which apparently are not included in Mr. Snow's comments.

ACTION

It is recommended that Liaison point out the possible misleading comments mentioned above since the State Department may desire to clarify them.

*U*

*yes, by all means I agree*

*Mr Boykin informed of Bureau's comments and he has assured Mr Roach they will be deleted from the Statement. 4/4/50*

*Roach*

Mr. Chairman:

The Loyalty Security Board of the Department of State of which I am chairman is the organ of the Department to which are referred all reports from the FBI of full field investigations of Department employees, for determination as to loyalty and security risk. Its decisions are post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board, of which Mr. Seth W. Richardson is Chairman, and to that Review Board go appeals from adverse decisions of the Loyalty Security Board. Both Boards are part of the President's Loyalty Program, initiated on March 21, 1947, by Executive Order 9835.

The purpose of Executive Order 9835, was stated to be: to assure (a) that persons employed in the Federal service are of complete and unswerving loyalty to the United States; (b) that the United States afford maximum protection against infiltration of disloyal persons into the ranks of its employees; and, at the same time, that (c) there be given equal protection to the loyal employees of the United States from unfounded accusations of disloyalty.

The Executive Order itself stated the standard for the removal from employment of an employee on grounds relating to loyalty, which must be applied by both Boards. It is "that, on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States." The Executive Order sets forth various activities

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and associations, which, if present, may be considered in connection with the determination of disloyalty. They are:

(a) Sabotage or espionage, — or knowingly associating with spies or saboteurs;

(b) Treason or sedition, — or advocacy thereof;

(c) Advocacy of revolution, or of force or violence to alter the constitutional form of Government of the United States;

(d) Intentional unauthorized disclosure of documents or information of a confidential or non-public character obtained as a result of employment by the Government of the United States;

(e) Performance of duties, or otherwise acting, so as to serve the interests of another Government in preference to the interests of the United States;

(f) Membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with, any organization or group of persons, which has been designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving violence, either to deny to other persons their rights under the Constitution, or to seek to alter the form of Government of the United States.

Some

Some of these activities, were we to find them, would be their very definition necessarily involve disloyalty to the United States, -- as to this, espionage, treason, sedition, revolution. Some of the associations, on the other hand, are only evidence on the issue of disloyalty. The President, for instance, in a statement to the Press of November 14, 1947, said with reference to the Attorney General's List: "Membership in an organization is simply one piece of evidence which may or may not be helpful in arriving at a conclusion as to the action which is to be taken in a particular case." This was reaffirmed by the Attorney General, who added that "guilt by association has never been one of the principles of American jurisprudence."

Thus the President said, however, and what the Attorney General said, is not applicable to membership in the Communist Party. Under the Hatch Act, Section 9A of August 2, 1939, it is unlawful for any Federal employee to have membership in any organization advocating the overthrow of the Constitutional Form of Government of the United States. On February 5, 1943, under Executive Order 9830, -- four years before Executive Order 9835, the Department of Justice disseminated among Government agencies a List of organizations which were subversive under the terms of the Hatch Act. This List included the Communist Party of the U.S.A. This was reaffirmed by the Attorney General on May 27, 1948, accordingly, were the Loyalty-Security Board to find in the Department of State a member of the Communist Party, his membership would not be

-4-

not be merely evidence of disloyalty; the dismissal of that employee would be mandatory.

Acting under Executive Order 9835, after appropriate investigation, the Attorney General, on November 24, 1947, transmitted to the Loyalty Review Board, a list of organizations which was disseminated to the Department on December 4, 1947. An additional list was disseminated on May 23, 1948; and on September 21, 1948, the Attorney General furnished a consolidated list which contained the names of all the organizations previously designated, and segregated into categories as totalitarian, fascist, communist, subversive, advocating force or violence to deny others their constitutional rights, or seeking to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means. These lists include all the so-called "front organizations", generally designed to trap the unwary liberal-minded individual, and not all by any means either infiltrated or controlled by communists from the outset of their existence. I mention this particularly because in considering membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with such organizations, the Boards have to take judicial notice of the fact that the characterization of these organizations by the Attorney General was first publicized to the employees of the Department, in some cases on November 24, 1947, in other cases on May 23, 1948. Membership or other association with these organizations in the late 30's and early 40's has therefore to be considered with some circumspection as evidence of disloyalty or of security risk.

The

The problem of the State Department in implementing the President's Loyalty Program was complicated by the fact that the Secretary of State has been granted by Congress, in the so-called McCarran Rider of the 79th Congress, and repeatedly in subsequent appropriation Acts, the power in his absolute discretion to terminate employment whenever he shall deem such termination necessary or advisable in the interest of the United States. This power of summary dismissal is the basis of the right of the Secretary to dismiss on account of security risk, without having to resort to a determination, that on all the evidence reasonable grounds exist for belief that the employee is disloyal.

Acting in accordance with this power of summary dismissal, and five months before the organization of the Loyalty Review Board, the Secretary of State, General Marshall, on July 9, 1947, appointed a Personnel Security Board, of which I was appointed Chairman, and Maynard Barnes and Barrall St. Clair members. Both of the latter two have since left the Department, but only after a considerable service on the Board. The Secretary also designated four categories of employees as security risks: to wit

(a) A person engaging in, supporting or advocating treason, subversion or sedition, or who is a member of, affiliated with or in sympathetic association with the Communist, Nazi or Fascist Party, or of any party which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means, -- or a person who consistently believes in or supports the ideologies and policies of such a party.

(b)

(b) A person who is engaged in espionage, or who is acting directly or indirectly under the instructions of a foreign government, or who deliberately performs his duties or otherwise acts to serve the interest of another government in preference to the interests of the United States.

(c) A person who has knowingly divulged classified information without authority and with the knowledge or belief that it will be transmitted to agents of a foreign government, or who is so consistently irresponsible in the handling of classified information as to compel the conclusion of extreme lack of care or judgment.

(d) A person who has habitual or close association with persons known or believed to be in categories (a) or (b) to an extent which would justify the conclusion that he might, through such association, divulge such classified information without authority.

Under these security principles of the Department of State, adopted in 1947, it will be seen that the Personnel Security Board had to apply a standard much stricter than those prescribed for the Loyalty Program. Not only Communists were proscribed as security risks, or persons affiliated with, or in sympathetic association with the Communist party, or who consistently believed in or supported the ideologies and policies of the Communist Party, but even persons who had habitual or close association with such persons, so as to justify the conclusion that they might voluntarily or involuntarily divulge classified information without authority.

The President's Loyalty Program was put into effect on December 17, 1947, by the issuance by the Loyalty Review Board, under Seth W. Richardson as Chairman, of five directives, one requiring the establishment of Departmental Loyalty Boards, and four regulating the initial consideration of loyalty cases by such Boards, the manner of conducting hearings, and the determinations by the Boards and the matter of appeals from their decisions. The State Department promptly followed suit, by adopting the Loyalty Standards of Executive Order 9835, and transforming the Personnel Security Board, with the same membership, into the Loyalty Security Board, with the functions of applying both the Loyalty Standards of the Executive Order and the Security Principles of the Department of State.

The Loyalty Security Board is not an investigatory body. It performs a judicial function, and the basis for action on its part is always a report from the FBI. The FBI, in its name check of all the employees of the State Department, has found itself in possession of certain derogatory information regarding an employee, and has consequently conducted a full field investigation and submitted its report to the Department. The report is exceedingly complete in most cases, — it covers the life history of the employee, from his college days and in some cases high school days to the present. Every one who remembers the employee, and many who don't, has been contacted, — neighbors, teachers, friends, enemies, and associates. Everything they say is put down, — whether it bears on loyalty, security, morality or even fitness for employment. Most of the  
information



information is imparted to the FBI agent in confidence, and the greater part of the witnesses refuse to sign statements or to appear before a loyalty board. Many of the witnesses are anonymous to the Board, and are designated in the report simply by letters and numbers, with some suggestion either that their reliability is unknown, or has hitherto been found to be reliable. The good is reported as fully as the bad. The report, of course, particularly in the field of association with other persons, contains derogatory information regarding these other persons, with supporting testimony. The reports are completely objective, — they make no attempt to evaluate the information, derogatory or otherwise, and draw no conclusions on the evidence.

These FBI reports are submitted to the Loyalty Security Board in triplicate, and are at once passed to a panel of 3 out of the nine members of the Board. Each member of the panel reads the report by himself, and makes up his own mind as to the action indicated. Then a meeting of the panel is held, and, under the Regulations of the Loyalty Review Board, the Board may come to any one of four conclusions:

(a) It may conclude that in some respect the FBI report is incomplete, and refer the report back to the FBI for farther investigation;

(b) It may direct a written interrogatory to the Employee, but may not question him otherwise;

(c) It may make a finding clearly favorable to the employee. Because of the full nature of the FBI reports this is possible in a large proportion of the cases;

(d) It may

(d) It may propose removal action, which is done by a notice to the employee in writing stating the charges in factual detail. ~~These written charges are generally amplified orally by the legal office of the Board, so as to enable the employee to prepare his defense.~~ The employee, either in writing or orally, is informed of the names of all organizations with which he is accused of having been connected, and of all persons with whom he is charged with associating.

In case the panel decides to make charges of disloyalty or of security risk the employee is entitled either to reply in writing or to have an administrative hearing, at which he may appear personally, be represented by counsel of his own choosing and present evidence. If a hearing is required, no one is present beside the Board, its legal officer -- Mr. Allen B. Moreland -- the stenographer, the employee, his counsel, and the witness who is testifying. A complete transcript is made of the hearing, and is added to the file in the case. The Board presents no evidence on behalf of the charges, since the FBI file is considered part of the case, even though it cannot be shown to the employee or his counsel. Any adverse witnesses who have stated willingness to appear before a Loyalty Board are invited to attend and testify, but they rarely do, and the Board has no power to summon or no money to pay expenses of witnesses. The Board is required and makes every effort, to conduct the hearing with fairness, impartiality and cooperativeness. It is an <sup>active hearing</sup> investigation, not a prosecution.

After

After the hearing, the panel meets in Executive session, with-its-legal officer, to decide the case. The regulations require that in its determination it shall state merely the action taken, which may be either to clear the employee or that on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person is disloyal, or to recommend dismissal as a security risk. If the decision is adverse, the employee has an appeal to the Secretary of State or to a person designated by him. The Board has never been reversed on appeal.

Every loyalty determination by a panel of the Board goes up to the Loyalty Review Board for post-audit. The Review Board permits itself any one of four actions:

- (a) It may affirm the determination of the Loyalty Security Board.
- (b) In case the Loyalty Security Board has decided the case without preferring charges it may remand the case for charges and a hearing.
- (c) In case the Loyalty Security Board has decided the case without interrogation it may remand the case for an interrogatory.
- (d) It may hold a hearing itself, and either affirm or reverse the decision of the Loyalty Security Board.

Since 1947 the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department has determined 245 loyalty cases; 31 per cent of the cases have been post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board. Out of the 199 cases post-audited, three cases have been remanded for an interrogatory, two cases have been remanded for a hearing, and no cases have been reversed. The Board has held 36 hearings. It has found three employees to be security risks; seven have resigned rather than face hearing.

I have

I have served continuously as Chairman of the Board, and have participated as a member of the panel in 85 per cent of the cases. I have sat on most of the hearings. I have tried to give every case my most careful and judicial consideration, I am sure that the other members of the Board have done likewise. If there are any communists in the State Department, the FBI have not discovered them and the Loyalty Security Board is uninformed of their existence.

I come now, Mr. Chairman, to the 81 cases named by Senator McCarthy. I do not know how many of those 81 were ever employees of the Department, but only 38 of them ever came before the Loyalty Security Board. If the other 45 cases were employees of the Department, no derogatory information regarding them has yet come into the possession of the FBI so as to occasion a full field investigation, unless such investigations are pending or incomplete. I mean by this that the FBI have not passed to the Department any reports on these 45 cases.

Of the 38 cases on which the Board did receive reports from the FBI, 27 were cleared by the Loyalty Security Board, 10 after charges and hearing, and 17 without charges or hearing. This means that in 17 of the 27 cases the files taken as a whole did not contain, in the opinion of the deciding panel, sufficient derogatory information to merit charges, and that in 10 of the 27 cases the derogatory information was, in the opinion of the hearing panel, fully and satisfactorily explained on hearing. Of these 27 cases, 24 were loyalty cases, and all but 2 of the 24 decisions have been post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board. In every case the post-audit sustained the Loyalty Security Board, except that one case was remanded for an  
interrogatory.

interrogatory, and subsequently, after interrogatory, favorably post-audited. One of the 2 cases not yet finally post-audited was remanded to the Loyalty Security Board for a rationale of the reasons for the decision, because the vote of the panel to clear had been 2-1. The rationale was duly furnished, but the case has not yet been finally passed by the Review Board.

This leaves 11 of the 38 cases decided by the Loyalty Security Board. One of these was found to be a security risk, and was allowed to resign. Four resigned after charges preferred, rather than face hearing. Five, although cleared by the Loyalty Security Board, have since resigned or been terminated. One case is pending. This is the case of John Service, remanded by the Loyalty Review Board to the Loyalty Security Board for a hearing on charges.

In other words, to summarize our trusteeship of the 38 cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy which have been made the subject of FBI investigations and have been before the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department, — 27 have been cleared by the Board (10 after hearing) — 10 are no longer with the Department, and one case is pending. Only 3 of the 25 cases post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board have been remanded; — one for a rationale, one for interrogatory, and one for hearing. The Loyalty Security Board is proud of the fact that its decisions have been so uniformly sustained by the Review Board, and is not at all embarrassed by the fact that it now has one case to hear that it had previously cleared without hearing.

It would

It would not be appropriate for me to discuss the individual cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy, in view of the fact that the President has committed the entire list to the Loyalty Review Board for a re-review. Any discussion by me or by my Board would presume on this function of the Loyalty Review Board.

The Attorney General

April 5, 1950

Director, FBI

7-21-23478-103  
PROPOSED STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN, STATE DEPARTMENT  
LOYALTY SECURITY BOARD, BEFORE TYDINGS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY

2909

ON

4-11-78 DPB/DLC

RECORDED - 23

I thought you would be interested in the attached copy of a proposed statement which Mr. Conrad E. Snow, Chairman, Loyalty Security Board, Department of State, was to use in an appearance before the Tydings Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today. A copy of this proposed statement was furnished to the Bureau by the State Department last night with a suggestion that we review it and offer comments as to anything contained therein objectionable from the Bureau's standpoint. It was indicated that on the basis of such comments appropriate revisions of the statement would be made.

You will note the statement generally relates to the operations of the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department and the principles and standards upon which it decides cases submitted to the Board for review.

On page seven of the statement reference is made to investigative reports of the FBI. A comment is made in the last paragraph on this page, relating generally to interviews with witnesses, to the effect that "Everything they say is put down,--whether it bears on loyalty, security, morality or even fitness for employment." Investigations conducted by the Bureau under the President's Loyalty Order are confined to questions of loyalty unless witnesses interviewed volunteer, on their own initiative, comments relating to the character and morals of the individual under investigation, in which case such voluntary comments are reported. In no instance do we inquire into the individual's "fitness for employment" during a loyalty investigation. We do, of course, also conduct investigations for the Department of State under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America) and during investigations conducted under this authority we do inquire into the individual's character, reputation, fitness for employment, (as distinguished from qualifications for employment), as well as his loyalty. The proposed statement, however, deals generally with loyalty and the implication in the above-quoted comment is that the FBI reports in question are reports of loyalty investigations conducted under the provisions of the President's Loyalty Order. With this in mind the comment, as contained in the proposed statement, was misleading and was therefore pointed out as such to the State Department.

In paragraph one, page eleven, of the proposed statement, after a discussion of the action taken by the Board in the cases it has reviewed, there appears a statement to the effect that "If there are any Communists in the State Department, the FBI has not uncovered them and the Loyalty Security Board is uninformed of their existence."

Attachment

NRJ:js

MAILED 3  
APR 6 - 1950  
COMM - FBI

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)  
DATE 4-26-78

APR 6 9 12 AM '50

As you know, the word "Communist" covers a broad field and there are many fine distinctions to be drawn therefrom in the interests of accuracy, such as past or present membership in the Communist Party. The above-quoted comment in the proposed statement could leave the impression that the State Department was placing the responsibility for its failure to dismiss various categories of undesirable employees on the FBI and therefore this comment was brought to the attention of the State Department.

On page eleven there also begins a discussion of the 81 cases cited by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and in paragraph two on this page there appears the comment, "I do not know how many of those 81 cases were ever employees of the Department, but only 36 of them ever came before the Loyalty Security Board. If the other 45 cases were employees of the Department, no derogatory information regarding them has yet come into the possession of the FBI so as to occasion a full field investigation, unless such investigations are pending or incomplete. I mean by this that the FBI have not passed to the Department any reports on these 45 cases." The figures quoted above are inaccurate on their face, since only 81 cases are involved. The Bureau, of course, does not know how many of our investigations in these cases have actually been considered by the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department but it might be noted in this connection that several of the individuals involved were subjects of investigation under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America), in addition to those who have been investigated under the President's Loyalty Order. Furthermore, the State Department obviously knows how many of the 81 individuals have been or are presently employed by the State Department. The above-quoted comment, as it appears in the proposed statement, without specific reference as to how many of the cases involved individuals who are or have been employed in the State Department or elsewhere in the Executive Branch of the government since the issuance of Executive Order 9835, leaves the impression that the FBI has been derelict in its duties with respect to "the other 45 cases" and the State Department was so informed.

For your further information, the State Department representative with whom the above three comments were discussed has assured the Bureau that in each instance the material commented on by the Bureau will be deleted from the statement when given to the Senate Subcommittee by Chairman Snow of the State Department Loyalty Security Board.

I am providing the foregoing for your information so that you will be fully informed in the event Chairman Snow's statement to the Tydings Committee receives publicity in the local press.



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 5, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: PROPOSED STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN, STATE DEPARTMENT  
LOYALTY BOARD BEFORE TYDINGS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

*Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations*

Concerning the attached comments on the State Department's proposed statement, Mr. Roach discussed these comments with Mr. Samuel D. Boykin and pointed out to him that some of the statements were not factual; that others gave an improper inference as related to the Bureau's work. *U*

*Belmont*  
*Laughlin*

Mr. Boykin stated he would delete from the prepared statement all of the items we had commented upon, that they would not be in the statement when it was given by Mr. Snow to the Committee. *U*

A copy of the attached proposed State Department statement will be made for our records before it is returned to the State Department. *U*

*Stanley*

RRR:dad

Attachment

*Advise A. G. by memo*

*U.*

INDEXED - 22  
RECORDED - 22

121-23278-103  
~~62-39719-1~~  
APR 11 1950

*5-7*

*Comments on State Department*

*attached to memo dated 4-4-50*

*memo to A.S. 4-6-50*

APR 20 1950

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744

4-10

, 1950

TO:

- Director
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carlson
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy
- Personnel Files Section
- Records Section
- Mrs. Skillman

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

See Me

For Appropriate Action

Send File

Note and Return

APR 10 9 35 AM '50

Clyde Tolson

April 12, 1950

RECORDED - 68

INDEXED - 68

121-23078-104

Miss Helen O'Donnell  
468 - 41st Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Miss O'Donnell:

Your postal card of April 5, 1950, has been received. I am taking the liberty of acknowledging it in the absence of Mr. Hoover from Washington.

I am pleased to enclose a copy of the Director's statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950, which may clarify any misconceptions you might have with reference to the need for maintaining the files of the FBI inviolate.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

Enclosure

NJC:cs

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_

APR 12 1950

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
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APR 22 1950

Comments - the State Department

April 5 (MA) 1950

Dear Sir: I have been a great admirer of you for a long time, I always felt that as long as you were the head F.B.I. man, we had little to worry about as far as Commies were concerned. But I am not so sure about that now. I know deep in your heart you want to permit Sen. McCaughy to do all he wants to do, to clean up the State Dept. Be yourself, push politics away and work with him, the good people of our country need you to work together, to save what is left of the State Dept.

Sincerely yours, Helen O'Donnell - 468-41st - Bldg  
 NML 4-12-50

*Out  
up*

*AL*

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~~62-39744-152~~  
 APR 14 1950  
 12

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ABZ*

DATE: April 5, 1950

FROM : MR. L. L. LAUGHLIN *L*

SUBJECT: *X* TESTIMONY OF STATE DEPARTMENT REPRESENTATIVES  
BEFORE THE TYDINGS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

*State Foreign Relations Committee*

Supervisor Oberndorf of the WFO called at 12:15 P.M. today and advised that the first witness from the State Department before the Tydings Committee this morning was Donald Nicholson, Chief of the Division of Security, Office of Controls. Nicholson identified himself as formerly Chief of the Investigative Division of the State Department. He testified regarding investigative procedures utilized by the Department of State.

At the completion of his testimony Nicholson was asked the following question by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy: "Are there 205 card carrying Communists in the State Department?" Nicholson emphatically denied that there were any Communists employed in the Department of State. No other questions were directed to him and at the time of the call Mr. Snow, the Chairman of the Loyalty Hearing Board of the State Department, was on the witness stand. Mr. Seth Richardson was scheduled to take the stand after Mr. Snow.

The WFO was instructed to keep the Bureau advised of any pertinent comments made by these witnesses before this Committee.

LLL:mer

*ABZ*

*U*

*C*

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APR 14 1950

EX - 8

56 APR 22 1950

*JS*

*ABZ*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *AB*

DATE: April 5, 1950

FROM : MR. C. E. HENRICH

SUBJECT: \* TESTIMONY BEFORE THE TYDINGS COMMITTEE

IGC

*Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

At 3:35 P.M. Supervisor Oberndorf of the WFO called and referred to his previous call at 12:15 P.M. today, which was reported to you in a memorandum from Mr. Laughlin.

Conrad Snow, Chairman of the State Department Loyalty Board, testified that he reviewed derogatory FBI reports and, if justified, made requests for full field investigations. Policy matters referred to him were generally not answered, and he referred the Committee to Seth Richardson.

Seth Richardson next testified and he outlined the method of handling loyalty cases by the Loyalty Board. Richardson was favorable to the Bureau in his comments but stated that in spite of the efficiency and excellent investigations conducted by the Bureau, not one case of espionage had been developed in connection with the loyalty investigations. Senator Lodge brought up the Coplon case but Richardson said that that case never came before the Loyalty Board. Another Senator mentioned the Hiss case and Richardson pointed out that the information developed in the Hiss case occurred before the Loyalty program was begun. Richardson stressed the high caliber of the men in the Loyalty Review Board. He said that he thought the Program was being handled as well as could be expected.

During the testimony of Richardson, which completed the testimony before the Subcommittee today, Senator Hickenlooper made much of the fact that the Loyalty Review Board and the Regional Boards had access to confidential FBI reports whereas the Senate Subcommittee did not.

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Belmont
- Nease
- Gandy

*Stanley Richardson*

CEH:mer

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MR. JONES

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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
 WASHINGTON

April 5, 1950

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*jm*

Senate FOREIGN RELATIONS  
 COMMITTEE

Dear Edgar:

Thank you for your memorandum of March 30, enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to you by Judge Thomas J. O'Connor, of the Court of Common Pleas, Lucas County, Ohio, expressing his views concerning the confidential nature of the FBI files.

I appreciate very much having the benefit of Judge O'Connor's opinion on this point, as it grows out of sound experience and judgment.

Sincerely,

*Howard*  
 Attorney General

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Department of Justice  
 Washington, D. C.

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58 MAY 5 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: April 5, 1950

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBJECT: ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY REGARDING THE STATE DEPARTMENT

63986

The Sub-Committee hearing of the Foreign Relations Committee was called to order at 10:30 a.m. this date by its chairman, Senator MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Maryland. The hearing was in Senate Office Building Caucus Room No. 318. The chairman, Senator TYDINGS, stated that the purpose of the Committee hearing was to acquaint the Committee and the public with the procedure in effect at the State Department concerning the "passing on" of the loyalty of employees in the Department. He stated that it was desired that these hearings would tend to make more effective the procedural handling of such matters in the State Department.

The chairman, Senator TYDINGS called the first witness, MR. DONALD L. NICHOLSON, Chief of the Division of Security, Department of State. MR. NICHOLSON so identified himself and in stating to the Committee his background, mentioned that he had formerly been a Special Agent in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He mentioned that he had been with the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a period of four years from 1931 through 1935. Upon making that remark, the chairman, Senator TYDINGS, interrupted and stated, "I feel that your experience in the Federal Bureau of Investigation and your other experiences qualify you well for your present position in the State Department."

MR. NICHOLSON generally outlined the program of investigations by the State Department. He mentioned in particular that his division was in charge of applicant investigations in the State Department. He said that these investigations were made and that generally the applicant under consideration received an appointment of employment with the State Department prior to the determination on the part of the State Department as to whether or not the particular applicant had any derogatory record with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Senator BOURKE HICKENLOOPER of Iowa, interrupted MR. NICHOLSON at this point and stated that he was of the opinion that it would be more feasible on the part of the State Department

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SEARCHED - 74  
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EX - 62

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Letter to Director

if they would submit the names of their applicants to the Federal Bureau of Investigation prior to any investigation that the State Department would make on the applicant. MR. NICHOLSON then remarked that the suggested procedure by the Senator had not been found practical because the State Department did not always have fingerprints of their applicants until after an appointment of employment was made. There was considerable discussion between the Senator and MR. NICHOLSON over this point, the Senator maintaining that he felt that it would be an advisable practice for State to submit the names of their applicants to the Federal Bureau of Investigation prior to considering them for a position in the Department. This remark prompted MR. NICHOLSON to state that he wanted the Committee to understand that the Federal Bureau of Investigation later got all information in the State Department files on any employees who would be further screened in case there was any question of a security risk on the part of the applicant involved.

MR. NICHOLSON declined to answer questions concerning the procedural handling of loyalty cases at the State Department and advised that the next witness, General CONRAD E. SNOW, the Chairman of the Loyalty Board at the State Department, would be better qualified to answer questions regarding the Loyalty Program it has at the State Department.

Senator BRIEN McMAHON of Connecticut asked MR. NICHOLSON if, to his knowledge, there were 205 card-carrying members of the Communist Party employed at the State Department. MR. NICHOLSON responded emphatically that there were none to his knowledge. Senator McMAHON said that there would be no further questions. Then MR. NICHOLSON remarked that 202 employees had separated themselves from the State Department's employ subsequent to the initiation of the Loyalty Program. He stated that their separation was either by personal choice or by action on the part of the Department of State. MR. NICHOLSON mentioned that there are approximately 5,000 investigations conducted annually on applicants at the State Department. Of this number, he stated that approximately one-half received appointments of employment.

The second witness, General CONRAD E. SNOW, was sworn in at 11:40 a.m. He identified himself and stated that he was a retired Colonel in the Department of the Army. He mentioned that

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100-13947

Letter to Director

he had served in World War I and World War II. He further advised that he was Chairman of the Loyalty Board at the Department of State. He said that he was appointed Chairman at the time the Loyalty Board was set up. General SNOW advised that he had been employed with the Department of State since 1946. He stated that his duty as Chairman of the Loyalty Board at the Department of State was to pass upon the cases who were referred to the Board after the Federal Bureau of Investigation had conducted full field investigations upon subjects in the Department.

General SNOW was particular in his description of the manner in which cases are investigated and also very detailed concerning the distinction between loyalty cases and security cases which were considered by his Board in the Department of State.

Many questions were asked General SNOW by Senator HICKENLOOPER and they chiefly concerned the practice that prevailed in screening of foreign service personnel. He indicated particular interest in the procedural method of the State Department in handling cases abroad.

The third witness, MR. SETH RICHARDSON, was sworn in at 12:25 p.m. He identified himself and stated that he was Chairman of the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board. He mentioned in his introductory remarks that he was former Assistant Attorney General throughout the HOOVER Administration and advised too that he had served for a time in the Roosevelt Administration under Attorney General HOMER CUMMINGS. MR. RICHARDSON, in response to a question by the Chairman, Senator TYDINGS, advised that he was a Republican.

The Chairman, Senator TYDINGS, emphatically brought this to the attention of the Committee as he had previously when eliciting from General SNOW the fact that he, too, had always been a Republican. Senator TYDINGS then remarked that he felt that it was a credit to the Loyalty Program that men of such caliber as MR. RICHARDSON and General SNOW could serve with distinction on the program.

MR. RICHARDSON remarked that the Loyalty Program was instituted by Executive Order 9835 in March 1947, and that the Board, of which he is Chairman, was set up in November 1947. MR. RICHARDSON indicated that his Board received, for the purpose of

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Letter to Director

review, cases which had been considered previously by the various Department Loyalty Boards throughout the Government. MR. RICHARDSON emphasized considerably the fact that the Loyalty Boards were not aware of the confidential sources that the Federal Bureau of Investigation used in connection with the Federal Bureau of Investigation full field investigations that were conducted on the parties involved.

MR. RICHARDSON described the functional aspects of the Loyalty Board, of which he is Chairman, and also explained the opportunities that were afforded the parties who were directly involved from an investigative standpoint in the Loyalty Program.

Senator HICKENLOOPER inquired of MR. RICHARDSON as to the political composition of the Loyalty Board and MR. RICHARDSON remarked that he felt that politically the Board was evenly divided. He mentioned in this remark he knew of one Board member who asked to be excused in order that he might run for a judgeship in his particular district on the Republican Party ticket. MR. RICHARDSON also remarked that a brother of Senator GLASS was also serving on the Loyalty Review Board and he added, "I presume that he is a Democrat."

MR. RICHARDSON stated that there were 160 Loyalty Boards throughout the United States and he stated that the membership of the various Boards was not a fixed number; that the composition of each Board was left to the discretion of the Department head.

MR. RICHARDSON emphasized that a person was not dismissed from Government service unless on the basis of all the evidence, there were reasonable grounds to believe that the party's continued service in the Government would be a security risk to the Government. He added that of the 3,000,000 cases considered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and of the 10,000 full field investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, there was not one case of espionage involved. He stated that the majority of the full field investigations were the result on the part of the employee concerned with association and affiliation with subversive groups. He said that he noted, however, that during the early stages of the Loyalty Program that there was an immense increase in resignations from the various Government departments

RWM:MFL  
100-13947

Letter to Director

and he added that perhaps there were many of these who feared an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He said that perhaps there were many others who declined to apply for Federal positions because of fear of an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into their background.

MR. RICHARDSON pointed out that contrary to the circulated rumor at the time the Loyalty Program was put into effect, that the morale of Government service had not suffered and he added, as a matter of fact, the morale in Government service has tended to improve since the initiation of the Loyalty Program.

MR. RICHARDSON then remarked that he felt that the caliber of the members of the Loyalty Board was very good and that he felt that the Program was most constructive and beneficial to the Government.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then announced to the Chairman, Senator TYDINGS, that he felt it most unusual that conservatively speaking the 600 members of the Loyalty Review Boards could have access to confidential reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that the Sub-Committee which was inquiring into the various cases were not afforded the same opportunities. Senator HICKENLOOPER pointed out that the total number of Loyalty Review Board personnel exceeded the total number of Congressmen and Senators and that in his opinion the same opportunities were not afforded the Committees of the Legislative Branch of our Government as were afforded those who came under the Executive Branch of our Government. U

The Committee had no further questions to direct to MR. RICHARDSON and when he stepped down at 1:10 p.m., the Committee hearing was adjourned until April 6, 1950, at 10:30 a.m. The Chairman, Senator TYDINGS, announced that MR. OWEN LATTIMORE would be the first witness in tomorrow's hearing.

RWM:MFL  
100-13947



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation: 11/1  
7, B. I. 9th + Penn. Aves., N. W., Washington

Dear Mr. Hoover:

We appreciate your stand on turning over the secret files to this Tydings Comm: but at least, you can say whether or not there are grounds for McCurtain's stand. In face of the inexcusable and incredible obstructionist tactics imposed upon Mundt & Nixon, (in spite of which Hiss was convicted beyond the shadow of a doubt) we feel that the reason this case was not given to the House un-American Committee was because they did such a magnificent job, and Truman & Acheson don't want those results this time.

When a loyal American tries to safeguard this country he is immediately set upon by the government. The spies & traitors are coddled and shown every kind of consideration. What good are your findings at all if they cannot clear the matter of who is & who is not loyal to this government? The way we are being sold out by white traitors gives a government packed with communists & jews calls for drastic action at once. We want the truth about Acheson, Truman, Eleanor, Berne Davis, Jessup, Patterson and the rest. The American people will not be put off this time. We have no

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APR 6 1950  
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State Department

Confidence in Acheson or Truman  
any more.

When we know they began using  
the Social Security money under  
Roosevelt & have continued to spend  
it, and now we read that "Washington  
has taken a lot of gold out of Fort  
Knox for foreign countries" - This is  
the last straw.

Senator Bridges and Rep. Cox and  
Senator George and Mc Carthy have  
expressed the views we can trust.

Please say if there is or is  
not grounds for investigation of  
the State Dept. If they throttle you  
we have no recourse but to act as  
a people against those who are  
enemies within our government.

Our courts except for Goldsborough  
and Medina and a few such heroes have  
become a farce, packed with jews.

It is not McCarthy who has put a  
cloud on our foreign policy but those who  
have framed the treason that goes under  
the name of foreign policy. Don't you  
let us down too. We depend on you.

Sincerely  
31 Waverly Drive, Zulu, Fla. Mrs. H.K. Hibber

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 6, 1950

FROM : MR. D. M. LADD *mk*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY - R.-Wisc.)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Gandy	_____

*Belmont*  
*S. Laughlin*

*Handwritten notes on left margin*

PURPOSE:

To recommend a course of action in responding to the request received today from the Honorable Seth W. Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, for information from the Bureau regarding the cases identified by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy before the Tydings Subcommittee.

BACKGROUND:

Mr. Richardson, by letter dated April 5, 1950, pointed out that the President has requested the Loyalty Review Board to review such cases as have been identified before the Tydings Subcommittee. Mr. Richardson states he has been endeavoring to secure an authentic list of such cases and encloses a list that he has been able to make up. He points out that the President called for the inclusion, within the record for review, of all material available to the FBI. He observes some of the persons on the list have gone through the Loyalty Program and that a pertinent FBI report has been made concerning them; that with reference to such individuals he would like to have any additional or supplemental material which the Bureau may have regarding them.

Mr. Richardson further observes that with reference to the other names on the list he would like to have anything by way of material relevant to questions of loyalty which the Bureau can furnish him. You noted on Mr. Richardson's letter "handle immediately."

Earlier today you were furnished with a numerical tabulation of our investigative position on all the cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy. Attached is a copy of my memorandum dated April 6, 1950, furnishing you with this tabulation.

With respect to the (39) completed full field investigations, it is suggested Mr. Richardson be advised of the date on which reports in these cases were sent to the Civil Service Commission and the caption under which they were sent, since in some instances the investigations were conducted for agencies other than the State Department. We will also advise Mr. Richardson that we are checking our files and will furnish him as soon as possible with any additional pertinent information the Bureau has received since the completion of these investigations.

ENCL.

Attachment  
CHS:NRJ:mer

RECORDED *mlw*

INDEXED *mlw*

121-23278-111  
JUN 13 1950

JUL 10 1950

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-3-1

4

*Handwritten signatures and initials*



In connection with the two full field investigations which were initiated and then discontinued when it was ascertained that the employees involved had terminated their positions with the Government, it is suggested that we refer Mr. Richardson to the Bureau's letter to the Civil Service Commission advising them of the termination and the fact that the investigation had been discontinued. We will also point out to Mr. Richardson that a recent check of the records of the Civil Service Commission fails to reflect that either of these two individuals is presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government.

In so far as the two cases are concerned where we have presently pending full field loyalty investigations, we will advise Mr. Richardson that this is the case and that he will be furnished the reports reflecting the results of these investigations in the immediate future.

As set forth in the attached tabulation, 14 of the cases have been investigated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America Program). We will point out this fact to Mr. Richardson, advise him of those instances where the Commission already has copies of the investigative reports and further advise him that in the other cases, copies of the investigative reports under the Voice of America Program are being sent to him immediately under separate cover. It will be pointed out to Mr. Richardson that copies of the reports in all of these Voice of America cases have been previously furnished to the State Department.

You will note that one of the cases has been investigated under the European Recovery Program. However, copies of the reports reflecting the results of this investigation were sent to the Civil Service Commission for consideration under the Loyalty Program and, in fact, we have a disposition from the Loyalty Review Board showing that the case was considered under the Loyalty Program and that the individual involved was retained. Mr. Richardson will be referred to the Bureau's letter furnishing copies of the reports in this case to the Civil Service Commission for consideration under the Loyalty Program.

In the case involving T. Achilles Polyzoides, who has recently been investigated under the Atomic Energy Act, reports have been sent to the Atomic Energy Commission and to the Civil Service Commission. Mr. Richardson will be so advised.

In the five cases where we have conducted preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigations, we will point out to Mr. Richardson that three of these were discontinued when it was ascertained the individuals involved were no longer employed in the Government; that a recent check of the Civil Service Commission records reflects that they are not presently employed in the Executive Branch. With respect to the one preliminary inquiry discontinued because no disloyal data was developed, we will refer Mr. Richardson to the loyalty form returned to the Commission on May 19, 1948, stamped "No disloyal data." It is noted no allegations of disloyalty were made in this case by Senator McCarthy. The

remaining one preliminary inquiry involves John Carter Vincent and in this case we will advise Mr. Richardson that the information in our files was referred to the Attorney General for a decision regarding investigation and in turn referred by him to the State Department which advised that virtually all the information regarding Vincent was in possession of the State Department at the time of his appointment; that a review of Vincent's full record convinced the State Department of his loyalty to the United States. Mr. Richardson will be referred to the Loyalty Form returned to the Civil Service Commission bearing a notation that all information in the possession of the Bureau was in the possession of the State Department and no investigation would be conducted in the absence of a specific request.

We have one pending preliminary inquiry type Loyalty investigation which was converted today to a full field investigation when identity was established. Mr. Richardson will be advised that a full field investigation is being conducted in this case and that he will be furnished with reports in the immediate future.

In the five cases where we have conducted security or applicant type investigations in the past, none of the individual's involved are presently employed by the State Department and a recent check made with the Civil Service Commission reveals that they are not presently employed elsewhere in the Government. It is suggested in this category we advise Mr. Richardson of the date these individuals resigned from the State Department, according to their records, and further advise him that the Civil Service Commission records fail to indicate that they are employed in the Government.

The remaining eleven cases have not been investigated by the Bureau. In ten of them the individuals are no longer employed in the State Department and the Civil Service Commission records fail to reflect that they are employed elsewhere in the Government. We will advise Mr. Richardson of this fact and since no investigations have been conducted by the Bureau, we will not furnish him with unverified information in the Bureau files. The remaining one individual is presently employed in the State Department and a summary of information in the Bureau files will be furnished to Mr. Richardson.

With respect to the additional individuals mentioned by McCarthy but not included in his list of 81 cases, we will refer Mr. Richardson's attention to our full field loyalty investigations where such have been conducted and in those cases where we have espionage and internal security type investigations, we will point out to him that these individuals are not employed in the Executive Branch of the Government. You will recall Stephen Brunauer, presently employed by the Navy, was mentioned incidentally by Senator McCarthy in connection with the case of his wife, Dr. Esther C. Brunauer. Although Stephen Brunauer was mentioned in the press, his name does not appear on the list furnished to the Bureau by Mr. Richardson. Consequently, it is suggested we make no comment with respect to him in our reply to Mr. Richardson since, as you know, the investigation of Stephen Brunauer was conducted primarily by ONI. It is noted Mr. Richardson's list includes Mary Jane Keeney, presently employed by the United Nations and not a Government employee, who is the subject of a pending espionage investigation. We will simply point out to Mr. Richardson with respect to her that she is not employed in the Executive Branch of the Government. It should be noted that the name, Mary Jane Keeney, has not been on any previous lists furnished to the Bureau

but, you will recall, McCarthy mentioned her name in one of his early speeches. In all other respects, the list furnished by Mr. Richardson ~~is~~ identical with lists previously in the Bureau's possession.

COMMENTS:

For your information we have been advised that the President in his letter to Senator Tydings on this subject, among other things, stated:

"I have, therefore, asked Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, to have the Board arrange for a complete and detailed review as soon as possible of all cases in which charges of disloyalty have been made before your Subcommittee (including a re-examination of such cases heretofore reviewed by the Board), and have asked him to give me a full and complete report in each case after review. This review will include all reports of Loyalty investigations made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and files of the State Department and the Civil Service Commission relating to these cases, as well as all other evidence of disloyalty made available to the Loyalty Review Board, including, of course, any evidence produced before your Subcommittee."

RECOMMENDATION:

Fully considering this statement of the President, it is recommended that we furnish to Mr. Richardson reports and/or information only on those individuals on whom the Bureau has conducted investigation under the Loyalty Program or Public Laws mentioned above such as, AEA, ERP and VOA, as indicated in the body of this memorandum. It is felt that Mr. Richardson should not be furnished with information regarding those persons who were not investigated under the Loyalty Program or the mentioned Public Laws and who are not, according to the records of the Civil Service Commission and the State Department, presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Government. For your information this group would include such persons as Dr. Harlow Shapley, Owen J. Lattimore, Mary Jane Keeney and Robert T. Miller, III, and others, on whom the Bureau is conducting or has conducted espionage or security type investigations.

Recapitulating for your information, there are a total of 89 cases involved (81 on the list and eight additional mentioned). Of these, if you concur, we can furnish Mr. Richardson reports, where not already done, and/or advice regarding the action taken by the Bureau in 69 cases. Of the remaining 20 cases, we will inform Mr. Richardson ~~that since~~ these individuals, according to the records of the State Department and the Civil Service Commission, are not employed in the Executive Branch of the Government, ~~we cannot make available to him any information since to do so might interfere with other investigations which the Bureau may be conducting.~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 6, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Names Furnished to Tydings Committee  
by Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

PURPOSE: To furnish you, pursuant to Mr. Tolson's instructions, with a tabulation of the Bureau's investigative position with respect to the 81 cases identified by Senator McCarthy to the Tydings Committee.

BACKGROUND:  
There is set forth below a numerical tabulation of the Bureau's investigative position on the 81 cases furnished to the Tydings Committee by Senator McCarthy:

<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Bureau's Investigative Position</u>
39	Full field loyalty investigations completed and reports disseminated.
2	Full Field loyalty investigations discontinued on termination of employment. CSC advised of termination.
2	Pending full field loyalty investigations. (Estelle Gordon, one lead outstanding, will be completed today. Aaron Jack Gross, two offices outstanding and these have been telephonically instructed to expedite completion of investigation.)
14	Completed investigations under Public Law 402, 88th Congress (Voice of America).
1	Completed investigation under European Recovery Program. Reports sent to CSC for consideration under Loyalty Program.
1	Investigation under Atomic Energy Act (T. Achilles Polyzoides - report sent to Atomic Energy Commission and being sent today to CSC.)
5	Preliminary Inquiry type investigations.
3	Discontinued on determination no longer employed;
1	Discontinued when no disloyal data developed and form returned to CSC 5/19/48 stamped "No disloyal data." • No allegations this case made by Senator McCarthy involving question of loyalty.
1	John Vincent Carter - Facts presented to Attorney General for decision re advisability of conducting full field investigation. No investigation conducted pursuant advice from Justice Department and State Department.

*expedite 4-6 ✓*

*Stapler Johnson*

RECORDED - INDEXED JUN 13 1950  
EX-121-23278-111

*5-11-50 CHS. [Signature] aBz*

Number of Cases

Bureau's Investigative Position

1	1	Pending preliminary inquiry type investigation. (Involves Franz Leopold <del>X</del> Neumann whose name not known to Bureau until given to Tydings Committee. Preliminary inquiry immediately initiated to establish identity with information in Bureau files. Identity established and case converted to full field loyalty investigation.)
	5	Other security or applicant type investigations conducted in past. None of individuals involved presently employed State Department or elsewhere so far as Bureau or CSC files reflect.
	11	No investigations conducted by Bureau.
	10	No longer employed State Department or elsewhere in Executive Branch of Government according to CSC records.
	1	Presently employed State Department but not sufficient basis for loyalty investigation per Bureau files.
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: 0;"/>		
81	Total	

*Expedite  
4-6*

In addition to the 81 cases tabulated above, the press has publicized 10 cases mentioned by the Senator in his early appearances before the Tydings Committee. Two of these 10 cases (Esther C. Brunauer, Philip ~~C~~ Jessup) are included in the tabulation of 81 set forth above. Both have been subjects of completed loyalty investigations and both are presently employed in the State Department. A tabulation is set forth on the remaining 8 individuals:

Number of Cases

Bureau's Investigative Position

3	1	Completed full field loyalty investigations. (Dorothy <del>X</del> Kenyon) Not employed State Department.
	2	(Haldore <del>X</del> Hanson; John Stewart <del>X</del> Service) Presently employed State Department.
2		Pending Espionage Investigations. Not employed in Federal Government. (Gustavo <del>X</del> Duran; Owen J. Lattimore)
2		Internal Security type investigations. (Harlow <del>X</del> Shapley, pending; Frederick E. <del>X</del> Schumann, closed.) Not employed.
1		Atomic Energy Act investigation recently reopened. (Stephen Brunauer) Not investigated under loyalty program by Bureau since was being actively investigated by ONI when Executive Order issued and subsequent thereto and CSC so advised. Presently employed Navy Department.

---

8 Total

ACTION: None. This is for your information.

*V*

April 3, 1950

Mrs. H. K. Hibbard  
231 Waverly Drive  
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Hibbard:

121-23278-110  
Your letter postmarked March 28, 1950, has been received and I appreciate your letting me have your thoughts regarding the subject you mention.

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 Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

FRY:cjh

APR 3 1950  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Handwritten signature and initials, including "aw" and "1321".

RECEIVED

RECORDED - 99  
INDEXED

April 17, 1950

121-23278-112  
~~62-39749-1525~~

Miss Elizabeth F. Carney  
100 Upland Road  
Winthrop 52, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Carney:

Your letter dated April 7, 1950, has been received, and I am grateful for the confidence which you expressed with regard to the activities of the FBI.

In response to your inquiry, it is a pleasure to enclose a copy of my statement given March 27, 1950, before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, setting forth my views as to the necessity for maintaining the confidential nature of information in the files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

ARA:mus

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F B I  
APR 18 1950

cc [handwritten initials]

aw

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 18 1950  
COMM-FBI

55 APR 28 1950

April 7, 1950

J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C. Communist in the

Dear Sir: State Department

I have been following with much interest the recent charges made concerning the State Dept. and on the news broadcast this morning, it was stated that Senator Tydings gave Owen Lattimore a "clean bill of health" after F. B. I. Files were reviewed.

People like myself, of course, have only the newspapers, radio, etc., to go by. About a week ago I believed you testified before the Tydings Committee and said you would not submit your files. - Now I can understand your statement relative to the fact that such disclosures may injure innocent people and may also be detrimental to your source of information and activity, such as Mr. Philbrick, who testified at the Communist's Trial in N. Y. C., which I think was a great piece of work.

Mr. Hoover I do not understand how Senator Tydings could quote from F. B. I. Files when they were unobtainable from your Dept. <sup>121-23278-112</sup>

RECORDED - 59  
APR 22 1950  
I think he is stating more truthfully than Lattimore, Quisenberry, Jernig and the rest are being just the opposite, - considering the turn of events in the past few years such as the Duggan suicide, Hells break-down, Dixie conviction, Glick's escape, etc. So many of our government officials seem to be mixed up in subversive activities, America, etc.

now ack 4-17-50 ara

APR 12 9 13 AM '50  
FBI  
REC'D  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

APR 12 9 13 AM '50  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE



Of all the Files they are keeping in  
Washington, and I wonder why they have <sup>to have</sup> so many,  
I think I would consider the F. B. I. Files  
the most accurate.

I sure find it difficult to understand the  
Sydenp's statement concerning the F. B. I. Files on Lattimore.  
Would you please write to me explaining this  
incident? Would it be possible for you to  
submit your files to the new Lodge Commission,  
if it is approved?

Thank you.

Very truly yours,  
(Miss) Elizabeth P. Carney

100 Eglond Road  
Winthrop 52, Mass

File  
Done

14, 1950

Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

100-13275 ✓

Attached are copies of a letter dated April 13, 1950, addressed to this Bureau by Mr. Seth W. Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board.

As you will note from the attachment, Mr. Richardson indicates that since the President has asked the Loyalty Review Board to make a complete and detailed review of the cases in which charges of disloyalty have been made before the Tydings Committee, Mr. Richardson is of the opinion that this instruction of the President does not confine the Loyalty Review Board to the limitations of the Loyalty Program under Executive Order No. 9835.

Accordingly, Mr. Richardson is requesting copies of FBI reports on cases involving persons who are no longer employees of the Government as well as available investigative reports regardless of whether the investigations were conducted under the Loyalty Program or under any other authority.

Mr. Richardson's letter has been acknowledged and he has been advised that this matter is being referred to you for consideration and reply inasmuch as the questions raised in his communication involve matters of policy to be decided upon by the Department. Appended for your information is a copy of our acknowledgment to Mr. Richardson.

Enclosure

LLL:mer

COPY/HB

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/11/78 DPG/DLC

ORIGINAL FILED IN

53 JUN 17 1950

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 13, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -  
PY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have your letter of April 10 in reply to my letter of April 5 with respect to loyalty investigations and reports concerning persons identified before the Tydings Committee.

I note your suggestion with respect to a considerable number of the persons thus listed, that investigations commenced have been discontinued because the particular employee had left the Government service. I also note an additional number of name of employees reported as not presently employed. Furthermore, you suggest that some five individuals whose names are included in the list, have apparently been investigated by the FBI but the investigation was not conducted under Executive Order 9835 or under the loyalty program.

As you are aware, on March 28, the President asked the Loyalty Review Board to make a complete and detailed review of the cases in which charges of disloyalty have been made before the Tydings Committee. Since the President is the the authority for the loyalty program, his letter of March 28 would seem to be a direction to the Loyalty Review Board, as an Executive Board operating under his authority, to consider all of the cases identified before the Tydings Committee, regardless of whether any of the persons thus mentioned are presently employees of the Government.

Obviously, it will be impossible to adequately consider cases where we do not have the advantage of an FBI report, and as you will observe, our activities under the President's letter are not confined to the limitations of the so-called loyalty program instituted under Executive Order 9835. Consequently, I am wondering whether we will not have FBI reports prepared on cases involving persons who are no

*Declassified per instructions  
Mr. [unclear] OPM 1-24-79*

1121-23278  
RECORDED  
JUN 16 1950

longer employees of the Government. Moreover, it would seem to me that it would also be necessary for us to have any investigative reports which you have available, regardless of whether the investigations relating thereto were made under Executive Order 9835, under the loyalty program, or under any other authority.

The only alternative I would have, in the light of your letter of April 10, would be to advise the President (a) that FBI reports on persons not presently employees will not be available from the FBI presently or hereafter; and (b) that reports which are available but which were not made under Executive Order 9835 and the loyalty program or any other authority, will not be furnished to this Board in furtherance of the purposes indicated in the President's letter.

The list of names in question represents, in effect, charges made before the Tydings Committee with reference to the history of subversive repressions on the part of the Government, and for other reasons and particularly with respect to the State Department. It seems obvious that the full purpose of the President's request cannot be effectuated unless the loyalty Review Board has available, the pertinent FBI report relating to all the persons named, regardless of whether they are presently employed or not.

Since the matter is one of importance in point of time, I would be very much obliged if you would give this matter immediate attention.

Very truly yours,

Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board

DIRECTOR'S NOTATION "Give immediate attention and let Department decide. H."

~~NOT RECORDED~~  
82 JUN 16 1950

April 17, 1950

Mr. Joseph ~~X~~ Gilman  
Hotel Milner  
New York, New York

RECORDED - 5  
INDEXED - 3

~~62 39749 1526~~

Dear Mr. Gilman:

EX - 62 121-23278-113

Your letter dated April 17, 1950, has been received, and I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of my statement given before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950, in which my views are set forth in greater detail.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

ARA:mjp:hc

APR 18 11 01 AM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
V. DIRECTOR

MAILED 3  
APR 18 1950  
FBI

Room

1032  
20

JOSEPH GILMAN  
HOTEL MILNER  
NEW YORK CITY

April 27<sup>th</sup> 50

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover -

Dear Sir I thank you  
very much for your courteous  
American letter which that

you have asked the Tuganin  
Committee in white, unobtainable  
the state kept up to some

I have the greatest admiration  
and respect for your work

Mrs. F. B. ...  
121-23278-113  
RECORDED - 65

you have done a great deal  
political pressure  
best  
Yours  
J. Edgar Hoover

and  
ok  
cc



OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

April 7th, 1950

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. J Edgar Hoover-

Dear Sir:

I think I am only one of many countless Americans who feel that you have aided the Tydings Committee in white washing the State Dept. Up to now I have had the greatest admiration and respect for you and the FBI but I am afraid you have fallen for the political pressure that has been put upon you by McGrath and the Truman New Dealers. Of course I think you are right in not making public your files but your every action at this time confirms the impression most deep thinking Americans learn, that you are playing right into the hands of the leftists and fellow travelers. Why can't a full disclosure of the rotten conditions in the State Dept. be made? Nothing less will satisfy the public.

Very truly yours,

Joseph Gilman /s/

COPY mpd

*[Handwritten signature]*  
*[Handwritten initials]*  
 11 02 50



April 17, 1950

RECORDED - 17  
INDEXED - 17

EX-20

~~62-39777-1128~~  
121-23278-114

Mr. Clyde Looper, Jr.  
Number 1 Logan, Veterans Village  
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Looper:

Your letter of April 7, 1950, has been received and I want to thank you for making available to me your observations with reference to Communism.

For your information, however, report you referred to with reference to having stated that I would like to question an individual named by a Member of Congress as a pro-Communist is not accurate. I did not make the statement to which you referred.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
APR 17 1950  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 3  
APR 18 1950  
COMM - FBI

*Handwritten initials and signatures*  
J. Edgar Hoover  
APR 17 1950  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

APR 17 4 29 11 PM '50

Stillwater, Okla.  
April 27, 1950

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Director of the F.B.I.,  
Dear Sirs,

~~Communist in the  
State Department~~

W-11  
W

I understand from news reports that you said that one of the men named by Senator McCarthy is a pro-communist, and that you would like to ask this man certain questions.

I believe that a thorough investigation of people in Washington in government is a good thing, if it leads to conviction or their being fired from jobs; but this slipshod manner of naming men at random from the State Department, and not being able to prove anything is not only terrifying at home, but it destroys the character of innocent people and a divided voice from the State Department weakens our position overseas.

Now, in order to have an honest investigation, I would like to see you and Judge Medina and sit outstanding democrats and sit outstanding Republicans conduct the investigation behind closed doors, and not condemn a man, as has been done, until he is proven guilty. The names of those under investigation should not be repeated outside of the closed doors until he has been found guilty, and is ready to be tried or removed from his job. This method would not be repeated a partition affair, and would not permit the office of the State Department to be used as a political football.

Another thing that I would like to see brought to light is what programs are necessary to prevent the spread of communism overseas, and what programs are designed to form a socialistic state of the United States. Many voices put together form a picture in my mind that we are facing three evils:

121-23278-114

W-11 ✓

1. Communism and its imperialistic tendencies.
2. Economic bankruptcy.
3. An attempt to form a socialistic state for excessive spending.

RECORDED - 17

APR 25 1950

Now, what is the truth, and what do we do to do the right course to follow?  
One more thing; I hear over the news that the Soviets are accusing us of going to attack them this month. In the light of the fact that they always accuse of doing the very thing that they are going to do, we should be on the alert. We know that we can't attack them first.

Yours for the welfare of the nation  
Clyde Cooper Jr.

W-11  
W

April 7, 1950

11:35

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. NICHOLS  
MR. LADD

Mr. Peyton Ford called me this morning and advised that the Attorney General wanted Ford and myself to come around to his office, that Senator Hickenlooper was on his way over. I told Mr. Ford I was leaving in ten minutes for New York but would stay if the Attorney General thought it necessary. Mr. Ford called the Attorney General and he stated he would tell Senator Hickenlooper I had gone to New York and if Hickenlooper wanted to see anyone else it would be OK. I informed Mr. Ford I did not think it was necessary to see anyone else; that Mr. Ladd was sick with the flu and he was the only one here familiar with the details; that all in all, it probably is a good idea for nobody from the Bureau to actually be there. Ford stated Hickenlooper might insist on it. I stated if he did I would be back in town on Monday. I told Mr. Ford I still felt as I did originally; that it was foolish to give this Committee anything; that this will go on until next November. I stated I thought Tydings and McMahon were both using bad judgment and it is one of those things I think is going to lead to more and more trouble. I told him if anything should turn up that he should want to see me about, I could be reached through the New York Office.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

121-23-178-115  
~~167-9182-9~~  
APR 11 1950

RECORDED - 25

EX-136

RM  
4-7-50  
HWD

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy  
H:mpd

RECEIVED  
COMMITTEE

April 17, 1950

121-23274-116

RECORDED - 43 ~~37749-1534~~

INDEXED - 43

Mr. F. A. Boog  
3214 West Eighth Street  
Cincinnati 5, Ohio

EX-9

Dear Mr. Boog:

Your letter dated April 8, 1950, has been received, and I am grateful for the confidence which you expressed with regard to the manner in which this Bureau is discharging its responsibilities.

The thoughts which prompted your communication are very much appreciated, as are the sentiments which you conveyed.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ARA:mvs

*mvs*

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
APR 18 9 50 AM '50

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
APR 17 5 16 PM '50

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 3  
APR 18 1950  
COMM - FBI

*See 253*  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

4/8/50  
nc

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Dear Sir Senator Joseph McCarthy

Senator McCarthy's outburst against infiltration of communists in our government personnel, acts of Kremlin inspiration

Call-1

He has accomplished with the aid of our free press, in a few days what the comparatively few communists would be unable to, in years of effort. He has planted the seed of confusion and distrust in our form of government and personnel in the mind of the average citizen, always the first step to communistic domination.

The American people have confidence in the ability of the F.B.I. to cover their employees in Washington including Mr. McCarthy.

RECORDED - 43 121-23278-116  
INDEXED - 43 62-29749-1534

An investigation of Mr. McCarthy's conversation, by the F.B.I. might disclose some very interesting facts.

John W. Tully  
F. A. Borg  
3214 West 85th.  
Cincinnati 5, Ohio

Communist State Department

nmk  
ack 4-17-50  
ara

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH MC CARTHY,  
R - WISCONSIN)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: April 10, 1950

*Examination*

ReBulet April 5, 1950.

State Department Personnel, Foreign Service Personnel & Foreign Economic Administration files were checked and personnel files on following individuals were reviewed: JAY ROBINSON, aka J. ROBINOWITZ; ROBERT T. MILLER III; WILLIAM DRAPER CARTER; FRED WALTER HEAL; ISHAM W. PERKINS; DAVID RANDOLPH (ROSENBERG); JOHN RICHARD LINDSEY; STOIAN STOIANOFF; JOSEPH T. JANKOWSKI; and Mrs. PRESTON KEESLING LEWIS, aka MARY KEESLING LEWIS.

In every instance the individuals' employment was terminated on the date shown in reference Bureau letter. The files reflected no subsequent Government employment.

The main personnel file of HELENE YUHAS was transferred to Division of Personnel Operations, Department of Commerce, on February 17, 1948. A skeleton personnel file of Miss YUHAS' maintained at Department of State reflected she resigned there September 5, 1947. Miss YUHAS' main personnel file was reviewed at Department of Commerce and reflected following: She resigned from State Department September 5, 1947. She was given a temporary appointment not to exceed June 30, 1948 as Clerk-Stenographer, Office of Publication, Office of the Director, Department of Commerce on February 11, 1948. Miss YUHAS resigned March 12, 1948 to accept a position in New York City. The file did not reflect any subsequent government employment.

The records of Mail & Files, Office Services Division, Civil Service Commission were checked and following information was obtained: CSC has files on all 11 persons mentioned above. In every instance, with the exception of STOIAN STOIANOFF and HELENE YUHAS, CSC files reflect that the individuals resigned from State Department on same date as that shown in referenced Bureau letter. In the case of STOIANOFF, CSC files show he returned from military leave to Office of War Information on December 11, 1945. CSC files do not reflect the date his State Department employment was terminated. In this connection STOIANOFF'S personnel file reflects that he was transferred from Office of War Information to State Department January 1, 1946.

In the case of HELENE YUHAS, CSC files reflect her employment at State Department was terminated September 5, 1947. CSC files reflect no subsequent government employment for Miss YUHAS or STOIANOFF. On the other 9 persons mentioned in this letter CSC files contain no subsequent government employment to that shown. RUC.

FMG:bra  
121-13947

RECORDED  
121-23278-116X

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

DATE: April 10, 1950

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. Clegg ✓
- Mr. Glavin ✓
- Mr. Ladd ✓
- Mr. Nichols ✓
- Mr. Rosen ✓
- Mr. Tracy ✓
- Mr. Egan ✓
- Mr. Gurnea ✓
- Mr. Harbo ✓
- Mr. Mohr ✓
- Mr. Pennington ✓
- Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
- Mr. Nease ✓
- Miss Holmes ✓
- Miss Gandy ✓

0 Com. minutes in the State Department

In connection with the Seth Richardson letter of April 5, requesting information pertaining to the individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy before the Tydings Subcommittee, the Director has instructed that we send everything we have to Mr. Richardson on individuals now in the Government's service. Obviously if copies of the material have already been furnished we need not send additional copies. However, the Director instructed that each case be reviewed; that we be certain that everything was sent; that this would include confidential information with, of course, appropriate editing to protect confidential sources of information.

The Director wanted it clearly understood that everything was to go and that he wanted no misunderstandings about this. The Director also concurred that on those individuals not now in the Government, that we would present the matter to the Department for ruling.

I took the matter up with Mr. Peyton Ford who stated that the material furnished Richardson would include all those cases covered by the Loyalty Program, all those cases investigated by the Bureau as applicants; that anybody not now in the Government who is on the list or who are under security or espionage case investigations but who was not covered by the Presidential directive need not be sent to Mr. Richardson. As a specific illustration Ford mentioned that material on Owen J. Lattimore, Dr. Harlow Shapley, and Gustavo Duran need not be sent to Richardson.

Mr. Ford stated he has talked to Mr. Richardson and that all Richardson wanted was information on cases on whom the Bureau has made loyalty investigations, applicant investigations, or whose service terminated by the completion of loyalty investigations.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-

103-11  
 CC - Mr. Ladd  
 CC - Mr. Belmont  
 RECEIVED - FBI  
 LBN:mrh

RECORDED

121-23278-117  
 JUN 13 1950

12

5/17

53 JUL 5 1950

copy:raf

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: April 27, 1950

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

With reference to the Director's notation on my memorandum of April 25 "What is LaRoe talking about?" you are advised that Tony Smith, the reporter who related to me the LaRoe statement, stated that a discussion had occurred before the President's Loyalty Review Board and in the course of the discussion it had been pointed out to the Loyalty Review Board by some members that the FBI had said there were 286 cases of State Department investigations who warranted a full field investigation.

We, of course, have made no such statement but what they probably had in mind was that we had opened up this number of full field investigations, and the fact that there had been 286 full field investigations without a single vestige of disloyalty caused LaRoe to feel that possibly the Board was opening itself to criticism.

For your information, we have conducted a total of 302 investigations of State Department personnel in connection with the loyalty program. We have closed 297 of these investigations.

LEN:1H

100-23228-  
JUN 27

145

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-23228-259



OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: April 1, 1950

FROM : MR. L. L. LAUGHLIN

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. L. J. Williams of the Research Section of the Library of Congress (extension 704) called Supervisor J. T. Hilsbos, who was on duty in your office, today and inquired whether the Bureau has a copy of the statement made by Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, on the charges made by Senator McCarthy of the State Department. Mr. Williams told Supervisor Hilsbos that some Senator was very much interested in obtaining a copy of this statement and he wanted to know if the Bureau could help in this matter.

I called Mr. Williams and told him that the Bureau did not have a copy of Mr. Richardson's statement. I suggested that he might call the Loyalty Review Board directly and talk either to Mr. Richardson or to Mr. L. B. Melloy, Executive Secretary. Mr. Williams said he hesitated to do this because they might ask what Senator was interested in obtaining this statement and the reason for the Senator's interest. Mr. Williams said that he called the Bureau because he thought we might have some kind of a clipping service.

I told him we did not have such a service, and suggested that he might check the local newspapers which have been giving this entire matter a great deal of publicity. He said that he already was doing this and had just finished checking the New York Times without success and he was looking for a "quick short cut."

LLL:sark

100-23378-1  
APR 1 1950  
100-23378-1

State Dept. J. Edgar Hoover

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-23378-1

29  
145  
APR 1 1950

April 26, 1950

MR. TOLSON

D. M. LADD

*b*  
LOYALTY PROGRAM  
(Letter from Seth Richardson)

While talking with Mr. Ford on other matters today I advised him that a memorandum was being sent back to him with reference to Seth Richardson's letter on the Loyalty program; that it was not felt Richardson's letter was entirely clear or in line with the instructions he, Mr. Ford, had given Mr. Nichols and myself previously, and that the Bureau was preparing a reply to him, outlining the instructions we had received from Mr. Ford.

Mr. Ford stated when this was received he would prepare a memorandum, over his own signature, to Seth Richardson, endeavoring to clarify the matter.

DME:csh

*145*  
52 JUN 28 1950

12-22-18-  
27

12-22-18-7

*State*  
*Mr. Tolson*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: April 10, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *sh*

SUBJECT: COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Request by Seth W. Richardson for information re names furnished to Tydings Committee by Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Rm.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

PURPOSE

To recommend that the attached letter be transmitted to *Mr. Belmont* Seth W. Richardson in response to his letter to the Bureau dated April 5, 1950.

BACKGROUND

You will recall that by letter dated April 5, 1950, *Mr. Stanley* Mr. Seth W. Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, requested information concerning the individuals whose names were referred to the Tydings Committee by Senator McCarthy. Mr. Richardson later furnished a list of the individuals in whom he was interested.

The list furnished by Mr. Richardson includes Senator McCarthy's 81 cases plus the names of 8 additional individuals who have also been mentioned by the Senator. It is noted that in the list of 81, case number 72 is not identified, since the name involved in this case was not given by the Senator to the Tydings Committee; thus, there are a total of 88 individuals involved on the list as furnished by Mr. Richardson.

You will note that in response to Mr. Richardson's letter, we have advised him of the cases where the Bureau has conducted full field loyalty investigations or preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigations, investigations under the provisions of public laws, such as Voice of America, Atomic Energy Act and European Recovery Programs, and in those instances where the Civil Service Commission is not already in possession of our reports reflecting investigations under the above public laws, photostatic copies of the reports are being furnished as enclosures to our letter. With regard to those cases where we have conducted preliminary inquiry type loyalty investigations, the individuals involved are no longer employed in the Executive Branch, according to Civil Service Commission records, with the exception of John Carter Vincent, and Mr. Richardson is being so advised. We intend to furnish Mr. Richardson with a summary of information in our files concerning John Carter Vincent whose case you will recall was discussed between the Justice and State Departments as to the desirability of conducting a loyalty investigation concerning him.

Attachment

CHS:man

121-23278-118  
JUN 13 1950

RECORDED - 11  
INDEXED - 11

57 JUL 7

*Handwritten initials and signatures*

121-23278-118

In those instances where the Bureau has not conducted any investigation or we have conducted some Special Inquiry type or Security type investigation in past years, we have simply advised Mr. Richardson of the date these individuals terminated their employment with the State Department and the fact that the Civil Service Commission records do not reflect that these individuals are presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. There is one exception to this general statement in that we have advised Mr. Richardson that we will furnish him a summary of information regarding case number 56, Paul A. Lifantieff, who is presently employed by the State Department and concerning whom the Bureau has conducted no investigation.

You will note we are also advising Mr. Richardson that in those instances where we have conducted full field loyalty investigations or full field investigations under one of the public laws mentioned above, the files of the Bureau are presently being checked for any additional information contained therein which will be made available to him.

RECOMMENDATION

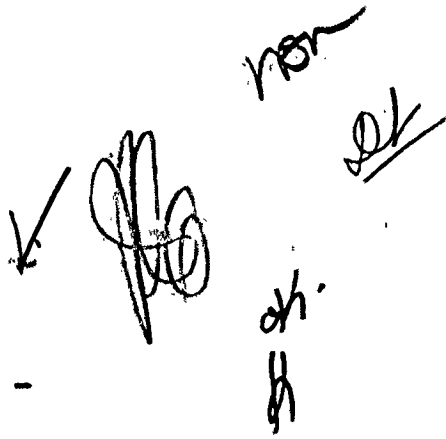
If you approve of the above course of action, it is recommended that the attached letter be transmitted to the Honorable Seth W. Richardson.

ADDENDUM, LBN:FML, 4/10/50:

With reference to the first paragraph above, we should furnish information in our files only if the investigation pertains to an employee who left the Government's service after the loyalty program became effective.

This is in accordance with Mr. Peyton Ford's observations and interpretation of Richardson's letter.

non  
ok  
sh.  
H

A collection of handwritten marks including a checkmark, a large signature, and several initials or abbreviations.

April 3, 1950

RECORDED - 11

INDEXED - 11

Mrs. J. J. A. van Kaathoven  
3104 P Street, Northwest  
Washington, D. C.

121-23278-119  
Dear Mrs. van Kaathoven:

Your letter postmarked March 28, 1950, has been received, and I want to thank you for your comments relative to the matter you discuss.

It is a pleasure to enclose a copy of my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which I thought you might like to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

Dir's Statement before Committee on Foreign Relations on 3-27-50.

NOTE: Phone book reveals a "Mrs. J. J. A. van Kaathoven" resides at 3104 P Street, Northwest.

FRY:mrh

- Olson \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 3 4 53 PM '50

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
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U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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APR 3 1950  
COMM. FBI

APR 3 4 18 PM '50  
RECEIVED READING ROOM  
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U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

APR 25 1950

Monday  
night

3104 P STREET, N. W.

Dear Mr Hoover -

Just a little voice from  
the wilderness - !

I quite agree with all  
you said today -

It is so evident to all  
who have any sense

you can't turn over  
the files

RECORDED - 11

APR 12 1950

(4) [Signature]

Keep it up!

Yours faithfully -

Giac van Baathoven

Don't you bother to

4-3-50

Knowledge in  
in are much too  
busy ——— A.V.K.

4  
3-28  
1-1

SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
MAR 31 5 05 PM '51  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

April 3, 1950

Mr. John Hume  
1865 Poe Street  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hume:

Your letter postmarked March 28, 1950, with  
has been received and I appreciate your letting  
me have your thoughts on the subject you mentioned.

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

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

Director's Statement Before Subcommittee

FRY:jms

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 4 1950

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86 - INDEXED  
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RECORDED - 99

101-23111-119X

7-



Mr J. Edgar Hoover  
I think it would be  
a good thing to look  
record of Sir. one Parity

John H. ...  
1865 Pol St  
Chicago  
k J.L.

ENCL

47  
m...  
ack 4-3-56

121-23278-119X  
RECORDED - 99  
APR 13 1950  
37  
32/16

sk

# Joseph Alsop

## McCarthy Past and Present

WASHINGTON

SEN. JOSEPH MCCARTHY'S STANDARDS for service in the Department of State are most exacting. One can almost hear the roars of righteous rage the senator would emit if he could prove that the department had willfully employed a man officially described by a high judicial body as guilty of an infraction of the moral code, and guilty also of violation of his oath of office.



McCarthy

McCarthy has not been able to prove anything of the sort. So far in his attempt to support his assertion that there are "57 card-carrying Communists" in the State Department, he has failed to produce solid evidence of anything but his own political ambition. Yet if McCarthy really wants to find in the American government the man identified above, he need not look far. He will find him in the Senate, in the person of Joseph McCarthy.

The official records of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, McCarthy's state, make fascinating reading. There already have been reports of certain rather unlovely aspects of McCarthy's career in Wisconsin. But stories of the senator's peculiar attitude to the income tax and the odd circumstances surrounding contributions to his campaign, are less convincing than the cold black and white of the official record.

The Wisconsin Supreme Court has twice reviewed the ambitious senator's activities. The first time was 1941, when McCarthy was a circuit judge. At that time, he decided a certain case in favor of the plaintiff, and against the state. When he gave his decision, he dictated certain remarks from the bench to the court stenographer. These remarks must have been to put it mildly, unwise.

At any rate, when the case was appealed, McCarthy had this part of the court record destroyed. The state supreme court, according to the official record, angrily ruled this action "highly improper" and "an abuse of judicial power."

UNDER ORDINARY circumstances, McCarthy's destruction of the record might have been written off as the hasty action of a young man. But what makes the case interesting now is simply the fact that McCarthy, with a great show of righteousness, has repeatedly intimated that "higher-ups" were preparing to destroy the records which would substantiate his accusation that the State Department is riddled with potential traitors.

In view of the high moral tone which the senator habitually assumes, the record of McCarthy's second brush with the Wisconsin Supreme Court, which came to a head last year, is even more interesting.

When McCarthy ran against Sen. Robert La Follette in 1944, he remained on the Wisconsin bench during the campaign, taking his pay and trying cases.

He thus doubled in brass as a judicial officer and an active candidate for political office. For obvious reasons, the Wisconsin Supreme Court was asked to disbar him. "No valid excuse or justification," the court ruled when the case finally reached it last year, "can be offered for the defendant's violation of the oath which he took as a circuit judge."

McCarthy's act, the court said, was "a clear violation of the provisions of the Constitution," and it proved that "the defendant is guilty of an infraction of the moral code."

In the end, after long consideration, the court decided that "the failure of the defendant to keep his solemn promise to support the Constitution,"



La Follette

infraction of the moral code though it was nevertheless did not "disclose such a degree of moral turpitude as to disbar him from the practice of law."

McCarthy can still legally operate as an attorney in Wisconsin. But it is not difficult to guess what McCarthy would have to say if he could discover a State Department employe on whose conduct a state supreme court had made a similar ruling.

When this record is taken into account, the atmosphere of moral equalor and downright nastiness which surrounds the current goings-on on Capitol Hill is not surprising.

The issue of internal security in these times is a desperately serious one, as the Alger Hiss and Klaus Fuchs cases have clearly shown. There could be no more serious allegations than those McCarthy has made.

AS OF THIS WRITING, instead of proving his charges, McCarthy has produced, as weary, stale, flat and unprofitable a performance as Congress has witnessed for a very long time. It has the familiar trimmings—guilt-by-association, occasional fussy-mindedness, labeled disloyalty to the country, and reputations ruined by unsupported charges hurled from behind the comfortable protection of congressional immunity.

No doubt, in view of McCarthy's personal standards, as recorded by the Wisconsin Supreme Court, nothing more could have been expected.

Yet the McCarthy matter has a certain ominous significance. For the tendency is growing, like some nasty fungus, to substitute the cheap pleasures of this kind of political hate-fest for the hard and painful effort which must be made if the free world is to survive.

121-23278-119X  
94 37708-17

April 20, 1950

RECORDED - 126  
INDEXED - 126

121-23275-120  
~~62-39749-153~~

Mrs. C. A. Avant  
Route 5, Box 405  
Orlando, Florida

Dear Mrs. Avant:

Your letter dated April 13, 1950, has been received.

I deeply appreciate the complimentary remarks which you have made. For your information the FBI is strictly an investigative agency. It draws no conclusions from its investigations nor does it make any recommendations concerning the employment of governmental employees. I also wish to point out that the files of the FBI are confidential in character and information contained therein cannot be divulged to unauthorized persons.

For your interest I am enclosing a statement which I made on March 27, 1950, before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

APR 21 11 34 AM '50

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Enclosure

Statement before the Subcommittee of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

ROK:cjh

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 21 1950  
COMM - FBI

*ee*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

7-372

April 13, 1959

Dear Mr. Hoover:

*Communists in the State Department*

I realize that you are much too busy to be bothered with strange correspondents, but I wonder if you would mind answering a question which is bothering the people of this part of the country greatly. I have talked with many from Alabama, Georgia and Florida and find it always the same--they are practically petrified over the stories emanating from Washington about spies and traitors in the State department itself. We find most people shocked beyond words at the implications.

Mr. Hoover, is it not true that if Dean Acheson, or any other member of his staff in authority, knew there were spies in the department they would be weeded out? And is it not true that you yourself have the authority if you found Owen Lattimore to be the "top Russian agent in the United States" to yank him out of his job and into jail?

In other words, what people here are asking (and not specifically about the man I named) is this--does the government actually ignore dangers pointed out to them by the FBI or is the whole thing a mare's nest.

I believe the only man in the United States (and I except nobody) many people now believe in in yourself. But a lot of them are scared that you are being hog tied by a bunch of politicians. I would certainly appreciate a note to the contrary.

*21-23278-120*

RECORDED - 126  
Your sincere admirer

~~62-57747-1525~~  
APR 22 1959  
*Fred [unclear]*

*mp ask 4-11-50 ROK*  
Mrs. C. A. Avant

Route 5, Box 405

Orlando, Fla.

*name ask 4-11-50 ROK*

RECORDED - 34

April 20, 1950

INDEXED - 34

Miss Bernadette Carollo  
652 West Garfield Boulevard  
Chicago 9, Illinois

121-53278-121  
Dear Miss Carollo:

Your letter dated April 13, 1950, has been received.

The thoughts which prompted your communication are appreciated and I am grateful for the confidence which you expressed with regard to the manner in which the FBI is discharging its responsibilities. I hope that our efforts will always be deserving of such expressions of approval.

Sincerely yours,

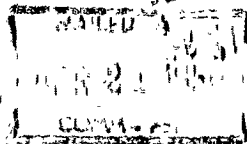
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

ARA:mrh

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
FBI  
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APR 21 1 13 PM '50

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy



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Handwritten signature or initials.

Handwritten initials.

Vertical handwritten text on the left margin: "Miss Bernadette Carollo" and "Chicago 9, Illinois".

Vertical handwritten mark on the right margin: "41".

2.  
Would you please stay  
on the job and see what  
you can do about it?

Sincerely yours,  
Bernadette Carroll  
652 W. Garfield Blvd.  
Chicago 9, Illinois

2/11/70

1.  
April 13, 1950

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

You hold a very important position as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and have been doing very much for our country.

If possible, I think that if the files on the different men accused of having Communist tendencies or of being Communists, were brought out, the men accused either be cleared or convicted.

and  
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aw

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121-232778-121  
13

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 14, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Comm. to State Dept. end*

Mr. Nichols and I conferred with Peyton Ford on the evening of April 13. We showed him a copy of a letter from Seth Richardson dated April 13, 1950, wherein he requests copies of all reports on individuals named by Senator McCarthy rather than merely the reports in loyalty cases. Mr. Ford, on reading this letter, stated Mr. Richardson was way out of line; that prior to the President's issuing his letter to Senator Tydings and to Seth Richardson, he, Peyton Ford, had discussed the matter with Mr. Murphy of the White House and it was clearly understood by the White House that the espionage cases, such as on Owen Lattimore, were not to be referred to Seth Richardson's Board. He also stated that he had conferred with Seth Richardson and Mr. Richardson was also of the strong opinion that only the loyalty cases on Government employees should be and would be considered by Richardson's Board. Mr. Ford pointed out that the Loyalty Review Board would have no jurisdiction to go into the question of loyalty of private citizens or to look into espionage and similar investigations.

*Laughlin*  
*Stall*  
*Jahm*  
*Perrin*  
*Wheeler*

He requested that the letter from Mr. Richardson be left with him in order that he might take the matter up with the Attorney General, who in turn might mention the matter at the Cabinet meeting on April 14.

Mr. Ford stated he would confer with the White House and that it might be necessary for him to confer with Seth Richardson concerning this matter, but that reports in those cases falling within the category of Owen Lattimore should not be made available to the Loyalty Review Board and he stated he would see that an appropriate decision was reached in connection with this matter and the Bureau would be advised.

I talked to Peyton Ford on the morning of the 14th and told him that the Bureau was going to send a short reply to Mr. Richardson in response to his letter advising that inasmuch as the questions raised involved a matter of policy that his, Mr. Richardson's letter was being referred to the Department of Justice for consideration and reply. Mr. Ford said this would be all right.

As he requested, a copy of Seth Richardson's letter was made available to Mr. Ford.

RECORDED

DML:DAD 38 *Follow up & see what Dept does.*

58 JUL 5 1950

*21-2378-122*  
JUN 12



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

SUBJECT: MATERIAL FURNISHED BY SENATOR MC CARTHY'S OFFICE, MARCH 30, 1950, RELATIVE TO COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STATE DEPARTMENT

DATE: April 17, 1950

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/25/85 BY 9145 rj/ew

Ref. to 7/15/50 Esp. R.  
 circum. fact. PURPOSE

To advise you that George O. Hackett, the correspondent in a letter to Senator McCarthy, was interviewed and advised that Ben Kizer, an attorney, Spokane, Washington, was a follower and spoke in favor of the CP line. Hackett alleges that Kizer is an advisor to the State Department.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Bush Gardner  
 W. J. ...  
 re IPR  
 Spill

DETAILS

The enclosed letter is identified on page 5 of the memorandum from Mr. Ladd to the Director, dated April 4, 1950, entitled, "Owen Lattimore; Espionage - R." This memorandum summarizes all of the material received from Senator McCarthy's Office on March 30, 1950. The letter from George O. Hackett was referred to the Internal Security Section for review as a of the above memorandum.

This letter from Hackett to Senator McCarthy dated March 24, 1950, advised that the correspondent and his wife were active in Republican circles at Spokane, Washington, and in this connection having heard Ben Kizer, speak on occasions, rated him a follower of the CP line. Kizer was reported by Mr. Hackett as having recently returned from Washington, D. C., where he had conferred with the State Department in forming the "Chinese Policy." Hackett alleges that Kizer's speeches were favorable to the Chinese Communists whom he considered to be agrarian reformers.

As a result of this letter, a teletype was directed to the Detroit Office on April 10, 1950, requesting an interview with Hackett relative to the allegations. The Detroit Office advised by teletype dated April 13, 1950, that Hackett, upon interview, continued with the same allegations against Kizer as above set out and, in addition, suggested contact with a Mr. Al E. Canwell, Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee in the State of Washington, who has a complete file on Kizer.

C. C. ... G. I. P. ... the State ...  
 G. I. P. ... 9 ...

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Enclosure  
 MNK:wma:mce

INDEXED - 83  
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121-23278-123  
~~62-37747-156~~

58 MAY 25 1950

*Handwritten:* 573 - ...  
 CES ...  
 Prof. C & S

*Handwritten:* 5-108  
 mb

Bureau files indicate that a Benjamin H. Kizer of Spokane, Washington, was on the Editorial Board of the publication "Amerasia" in 1943. He is a past member of the Lawyers Guild and the Russian War Relief Committee. He has been active in the Institute of Pacific Relations and in this connection, as a representative of IPR, attended a conference of Indian and American intellectuals at New Delhi, India, in December, 1949. Kizer departed from New York on the same plane with Owen Lattimore, December 4, 1949, for this conference. (Lattimore brief, file 100-24628-152 p 26 & 27) U

RECOMMENDATION

In view of the above allegations and as a result of the Bureau's file references, it is recommended that a security case be opened on Kizer. U

*I agree -  
Find out just  
what Kizer's relations  
are with State Dept.  
Have Am will interview  
Pumbody to secure his  
info on Kizer* R

121-23273-123

~~62-39749-1561~~

1841 Dacosta Road,  
Dearborn, Michigan  
March 21, 1950.

MAR 24 1950

Hon. Jos. McCarthy,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator McCarthy:

By way of introduction, let me identify myself as a naval reserve officer on inactive duty (Commander, USNR: File 131814), now recently returned to my pre-war home, Detroit after living in Spokane, Washington from 1945 until last summer. My wife and I were active in Republican circles in the west, which I believe Congressman Walt Horan and Senator Harry Cain will substantiate.

Your "Operation Pinko", I hope, will shake out the left wingers and party liners from the government and its circle of immediate influence. One name, which you may already have, bears investigating: Ben Kizer, Spokane attorney, former head of UNRRA in China and reportedly a man of influence and advice to the state department.

Many people in the Pacific Northwest consider Mr. Kizer to be considerably left of center in his thinking and speaking. I have heard him speak several times, and believe that he makes it easy for people to rate him as a follower of the party line. He is reported to have recently returned from Washington, D. C. where he conferred with state department officials in shaping up China policy. Certainly, his public speakings up to the Chinese Red victory was favorable to the Chinese Communists, whom he considered to be agrarian reformers.

Mr. A. E. Canwell, chairman of the former state un-American Activities Committee, and who is seeking the Republican nomination for the United States Senate, can speak about Mr. Kizer in greater detail.

If Mr. Kizer is not a left-winger, then I hope somebody, some day will clear him of the suspicions which his words and actions have aimed his way.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

  
George O. Hackett

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 17, 1950

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: MATERIAL FURNISHED BY SENATOR MC. CARTHY'S OFFICE MARCH 30, 1950, RELATIVE TO COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*mem*  
*3*

*Three nights - One week  
Three nights*

**PURPOSE:**

To advise you of the status of the above material furnished to the Internal Security Section for review. *u*

**DETAILS:**

The material originally furnished to the Internal Security Section in this matter is identified on page 5 of the memorandum from Mr. Ladd to the Director dated April 4, 1950, entitled "Owen Lattimore, Espionage - R." This material, designated for the Internal Security Section, consists of four letters addressed to Senator McCarthy. The following is the status of each: *u*

1. Letter dated March 21, 1950, from George O. Hackett, Dearborn, Michigan, in the nature of a complaint on one Ben Kizer, Spokane, Washington. *u*

The Detroit Office interviewed Mr. Hackett and as a result of this interview a security case is being opened on Kizer. Kizer is identified as an attorney in Spokane, Washington. He is alleged to be in sympathy with the Communist action in China and was reportedly an advisor to the State Department in the shaping of the "China policy." *u*

2. Letter dated March 9, 1950, from John Saxton, Oxford, Ohio, in the nature of a complaint on Alexander Johnpoll, Assistant U. S. Ambassador, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. *u*

Mr. Saxton was interviewed by the Cincinnati Office on April 7, 1950, and in a signed statement advised that Johnpoll stated in 1936 that "The only war I'd ever fight in would be for Communism in this country." *u*

As a result of Johnpoll's present employment, this matter was referred by memorandum dated April 11, 1950, to the Loyalty Section for consideration. *u*

*Communist in the  
State Department*

*W. Hennrich*  
*S. Alley*  
*Baumgardner*  
*Phelps*  
*K. ...*

*121-23278-124*

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*mb*

3. Letter dated March 15, 1950, from L. A. Berry, Austin, Texas, in the nature of a complaint on Fred L. Schuman.

At the direction of the Bureau, Berry was interviewed by the San Antonio Office on April 12, 1950, and advised that his opinion that Schuman is pro-Communist is entirely a subjective evaluation as a result of Berry's review of Schuman's book on international politics published in 1948. Berry is a graduate student at the University of Texas and advises that he reviewed Schuman's book in line with his research for a thesis he was preparing. He has had no personal contact with Schuman. He identified Schuman as Frederick L. Schuman.

The Bureau conducted a Hatch Act investigation of Frederick L. Schuman. Copies of the investigative reports in this matter were furnished to the Department on March 12, 1943. Schuman at that time was a principal Political Analyst, Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission. A Security Matter - C investigation was conducted on Frederick L. Schuman and it is presently in a closed status as a result of the report from Boston dated September 17, 1948. Schuman is presently employed as a Professor at Williams College, Massachusetts. A review of the security case fails to reflect that any of the investigative reports were submitted to the Department.

The book above identified by Mr. Berry has been identified as "The Western State System - International Politics" published in 1948 by McGraw-Hill. This is the fourth edition on a series of international politics which Schuman began in 1933. At present efforts are being directed to obtain a copy of this book for the purpose of reviewing it at the Bureau to determine the extent of the allegations by the correspondent Berry.

4. A four page letter in the nature of a complaint dated February 26, 1950, from Donald Day, American Zone, Germany.

Day alleges that prior to the war he discovered dangerous Communist agents whom Moscow had assigned to various activities in the United States and who had been refused visas by our American Legation in Riga, Latvia, and were allowed to travel on to Berlin from where they had no trouble whatsoever in immediately procuring the necessary visas to enter the United States through the American Consulate in Berlin.

The Bureau files reflect a pending Treason case on Donald Day. The Department has been following the Bureau's investigation closely in connection with this Treason matter.

In view of the above allegations, this matter was referred to the Liaison Section by memorandum dated April 10, 1950, for the purpose of requesting the Army to interview Day in Germany relative to the identity of the individuals alleged to be Communist agents.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

4

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 17, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT:

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Peyton Ford called me on Saturday, April 15, and stated that he had talked to Donald Dawson of the White House concerning Seth Richardson's letter; that Dawson's reaction was "The s.o.b. I called him and read both letters before I mailed them to Richardson and he had a clear understanding of the limitations". *u*

Mr. Ford stated he would give Dawson a copy of the Richardson letter and he would follow the matter with him further.

On April 17 Peyton Ford called and advised that Dawson had been in touch with Richardson and Richardson now agreed that (1) he did not want the security cases such as Lattimore, etc. (2) Richardson agrees that the FBI need not investigate those employees who have already resigned but should merely furnish the information available concerning them (3) that where names of the individuals on the list are presently employed by the Government all loyalty data should be furnished to Richardson, but if information is available which does not deal with the loyalty, Mr. Ford stated it should not be given to Richardson. *u*

I advised Mr. Ford that I would advise you of this matter. He stated that he would follow the matter further with Mr. Dawson. *u*

DML:dad

*Effort aimed by  
 Dir. Program & not news  
 in report. Don't furnish.*

*DL*

RECORDED - *mlw*

121-232-78-125  
 JUN 13 1950

8 JUL 1 0 1950

*State  
 Department*

*Belmont  
 Tamm  
 St. P. Kelly  
 Johnson*

*121-232-78-125*



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

DATE: April 18, 1950

SUBJECT: (C) SUB-COMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
 (C) ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Attention: Inspector CARL E. HEINRICH

The next hearing before the captioned Committee is to be held on April 20, 1950. This hearing will be covered by agents of the Washington Field Office, in accordance with previous Bureau instructions, unless advised to the contrary.

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 121-0

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121-23278-126  
~~162-91723-27~~  
 APR 24 1950

53 APR 26 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. BEEMONT *CB*

DATE: April 18, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____

With further reference to the letter from Seth Richardson in connection with the Loyalty cases and particularly my memorandum of April 17, 1950, I talked to Peyton Ford further concerning this matter. U

He stated that Dawson was having further conferences with Seth Richardson; that he was going to insist that Richardson submit a memorandum as to the exact understanding in order that there would be no lengthy exchange of correspondence with Richardson in the future. U

He stated as he understands the matter at the present moment if any of the names on Richardson's list had not been covered by the Loyalty Program and were not now in the Government, it was not necessary to furnish any information to Richardson. U

This clarifies point two in my memorandum of April 17. U

DML:dad

*1766-3*

*Laughlin*  
*H. H. [unclear]*  
*Johnson*

*5-11*

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*CB*

RECORDED *mb*

121-23278-127

JUN 13 1950

12

53 JUL 5

35 Parkwood Lane  
Rensselaer N.Y.  
19 April 1950  
247-1

Dear Sir,

Joseph R. McCarthy

This letter is about  
the unfair treatment being  
given to Senator McCarthy  
in his investigation of  
subversive activities in  
the State Department.

Why can't these  
alleged Communists be  
investigated thoroughly?  
Why is Senator McCarthy  
ridiculed? Why should  
a Democracy shield an  
Communist? They are  
trying to betray this  
yet they all stand  
their Constitutional rights  
when it comes to a  
show down. No one is  
permitted to know if

J.P. Sullivan

J.P. Sullivan  
APR 24 1950

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71-23278-26  
91-37701-20

APR 1 1950

they are guilty of being  
traitors. It is wise  
to shield the innocent.  
If these men are innocent  
why can't it be proclaimed?  
They shouldn't be made  
to suffer - yet if they  
are guilty they should  
be punished.

Sincerely yours  
Josephine O'Sullivan

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

F B I

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APR 21 2 54 PM '50

MR JONES

35 Thrush Lane  
Lerittown, L. I. N. Y.  
19 April 1950

Dear Sir,

This letter is about the unfair treatment being given to Senator McCarthy in his investigation of subversive activities in the State Department.

Why can't these alleged communists be investigated thoroughly? Why is Senator McCarthy ridiculed? Why should a Democracy shield Communists? They are trying to betray us but, yet they all stand on their constitutional rights when it comes to a showdown. No one is permitted to know if they are guilty of being traitors. It is wise to shield the innocent. If these men are innocent why can't it be proclaimed? They shouldn't be made to suffer - yet if they are guilty they should be punished.

Sincerely Yours  
Josephine O'Sullivan

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-30-79 BY SP5 RJG/RAH

DATE: April 20, 1950

TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : *HAK* GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBJECT: ① Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
② Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*Handwritten notes and signatures in the top right margin.*

The hearing was resumed at 2:35 P. M. with ABE FORTAS, attorney for LATTIMORE, attempting to get Brigadier General, still unknown, on the stand. Senator HICKENLOOPER objected and Senator LODGE supported Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. FORTAS got a two minute recess to talk to the General. Senators HICKENLOOPER and LODGE objected, so BUDENZ continued testifying. *u*

BUDENZ was told by Counsel MORGAN that a Soviet magazine called LATTIMORE, "Learned Lackey of Imperialism". BUDENZ was asked if he could explain this, how it related to his testimony that LATTIMORE was a Communist. BUDENZ said he had no comment and that he would have to examine the magazine.

*Handwritten notes: "with Walsh", "McCarthy", "4 Storkley", "no action", "now being", "interviewed", "out".*

Senator GREEN then started questioning, asked about Father CARNEY (phonetic), where did Father CARNEY get his information, who he is, what does BUDENZ know about him. BUDENZ said he has no information about CARNEY, does not know where CARNEY got his information. GREEN asked if CARNEY got his information from KOHLBERG. BUDENZ did not know. GREEN asked if BUDENZ knew KOHLBERG. BUDENZ said he has known KOHLBERG a couple of years. KOHLBERG came to ask BUDENZ at first meeting about Communists in IPR. BUDENZ does not always agree with KOHLBERG and he has spoken to KOHLBERG only as he has spoken to numerous others who have questioned him about his knowledge of Communist Party affairs. BUDENZ does not necessarily adopt KOHLBERG's views but his, BUDENZ', views on China coincide in the main with KOHLBERG's views in that KOHLBERG is opposed to a Communist China and that KOHLBERG thinks the loss of China by the United States would be a great blow. BUDENZ thinks the United States should not recognize Red China. *u*

In 1934, Communist Party delegations from the U. S., China, and the Philippines resolved to wipe American Imperialism out of the Pacific. A Red China should be established to keep the U. S. out of China. This was discussed with KOHLBERG by BUDENZ. BUDENZ also discussed the LATTIMORE case with KOHLBERG but not to "any extent". BUDENZ has not discussed the LATTIMORE case with KOHLBERG "recently". BUDENZ does not know GOODWIN, but has a vague idea who GOODWIN is. All of this above was in answer to Senator GREEN's questions.

Senator GREEN then asked has BUDENZ discussed LATTIMORE's case with anyone else. BUDENZ named Mr. MORGAN, LAWRENCE, F. B. I. Agents, MORRIS, and former Representative KERSTEN (phonetic). He never discussed with McCARTHY. BUDENZ recently received a letter from McCARTHY re LATTIMORE but did not get this letter as he wished to shun any public appearance. Soon after McCARTHY's

DDC:cl  
121-0

*Handwritten notes:*  
56 MAY 1950  
not sent to Dept  
in mail 1950  
4-24-50 suggested to Dept  
work to get the actual transcript  
of the testimony given before the  
Committee which was the best  
evidence as to what was said  
when

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APR 25 1950  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.  
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letter, BUDENZ received a telephone call from Dr. J. B. MATTHEWS. BUDENZ told MATTHEWS he would have to be subpoenaed before he would make any statement about LATTIMORE.

GREEN then asked about the list of the 400 Communists which BUDENZ was preparing and asked if there were any government employees on that list. BUDENZ said he did not think so but will give in two weeks to the Committee the names of all of the Communists in government whom he, BUDENZ, knows. The list of 400 includes a substantial and impressive showing of Communists in Hollywood, Communists in radio, Communists in other aspects of public opinion, and Communists in professional classes and the like. GREEN then chided BUDENZ about not preparing a list of Communists in government. BUDENZ replied his list of Communists was started long before the TYDINGS Committee was in existence. BUDENZ said he was going to be more careful about naming Communists in government because they have more protection, they are highly protected, and he wants to be absolutely certain. This list will be based on official communications made to BUDENZ when he was a Party member.

GREEN then asked a question about BUDENZ' statement to Mr. PARIS of Colliers Magazine and BUDENZ replied that he did not make an outright statement to PARIS because he did not wish to expose himself to a libel suit. GREEN then intimated that unless BUDENZ were under oath he would not tell the truth. BUDENZ advised that this was not correct. BUDENZ pointed out that a Communist would lie for the Party in a libel suit and BUDENZ will not become so involved. GREEN asked if Communists have to carry a Party card. BUDENZ said no, he does not but a Communist is always under Party discipline and cited HISS as an example. GREEN then remarked, "This is the second time that you have mentioned HISS. Do you know him?" BUDENZ replied he did not know HISS but he has seen him and used him because he was a good example. GREEN then remarked that BUDENZ had incorrectly testified before the HCUA that he had never met HISS and BUDENZ said that his one meeting with HISS had been forgotten by BUDENZ at the time he testified before the HCUA and that HISS at the time of this meeting was using an assumed name.

GREEN then said that if the Communist Party line twists and turns then that sometimes there must be within the Communist Party all of those people who agree with the Party line. When the line turns the other way, other people who agree with this new turn must be in the Party. BUDENZ, although he did not say so, intimated that this was preposterous and reminded GREEN that the Communist Party did have a big turn over and that as an example, during the Russo-German Pact, a lot of people joined the Communist Party who later fell away from it when the Pact was split. BUDENZ pointed out to GREEN that these kind of members are not the real Party leaders but the real Party leaders follow the line day-in and day-out. GREEN then asked if LATTIMORE consistently followed the Party line. BUDENZ replied he could not say whether he did not nor because he has not read all of LATTIMORE's books. GREEN asked how many he had read and BUDENZ said very

few, only "Situation in Asia", and that he is not drawing his deduction from LATTIMORE's writings but he is testifying as to what he knows as a former official Communist about LATTIMORE. BUDENZ said he will analyze LATTIMORE's writings and furnish this to the Committee.

GREEN then summed up BUDENZ' testimony and told BUDENZ what he knew about LATTIMORE was hearsay. BUDENZ ignored this and GREEN suggested that if Communist Party members lie, why wouldn't a Party member lie to BUDENZ. BUDENZ said a Communist Party member does not lie to his colleagues; that within these limits the truth must be told. GREEN then said that these onion skin documents might be lies because the Party knew or might have known that BUDENZ was going to break but BUDENZ pointed out that these onion skin documents were circularized to the whole National Committee (drawing a lot of laughter). GREEN then asked what form did Communist Party discipline take and BUDENZ replied that expulsion and slander were the usual forms. GREEN asked if one could resign from the Party and BUDENZ said no, one must be expelled, there is no resignation.

GREEN asked if anyone who favored recognition of the Communist Government in China were ipso facto a Communist. BUDENZ replied certainly not but that he himself did not favor recognition of the Communist Government in China. GREEN then quoted a statement and asked BUDENZ if BUDENZ agreed with that statement. BUDENZ said it was not a Communist statement and that many people agreed with this. GREEN then said it was a statement by DULLES. BUDENZ said that China is the key to Asia and that HARRY BRIDGES went to Hawaii to meet the Chinese Communists in the Pacific in order to drive out American Imperialism in the Pacific.

Senators McMAHON and LODGE said they would have questions to ask in Executive Session. Senator LODGE then said that since the Committee's primary interest is in Communists in the government why did not BUDENZ give the Committee his list of Communists in the government. BUDENZ promised to produce this list within two weeks. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked if BUDENZ at once took over a top spot in the Communist Party. BUDENZ said that he was made Labor Editor of the Daily Worker and a member of the National Committee within a year and said that the top man in the Communist Party is the international representative who is "run by STALIN, make no mistake about that".



April 25, 1950

TO : THE DIRECTOR

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT:

Peyton Ford asked me to come by his office this evening and at that time gave me a copy of a memorandum received from Seth Richardson, which is attached, clarifying his understanding of what reports would be made available to him.

This memorandum from Richardson appears to clear up the problem involved; that it indicates that where reports have been made with reference to any employee with reference to the loyalty of persons named by the Tydings' Committee, that the reports will be forwarded. This means loyalty reports on applicant investigations, AEC, etc.

He further pointed out that the Loyalty Review Board will confine their questions to loyalty and will not cover questions of so-called security and that where an investigative report has not been made, the Loyalty Review Board will confine their inquiry to existing files.

This, according to Mr. Ford, would eliminate the necessity for sending information to the Loyalty Review Board where the Bureau has not conducted a loyalty or applicant type investigation and thus eliminates the necessity for sending over espionage investigations, such as Lattimore, Harlow Shapley, etc.

Mr. Ford requested that he be advised of the Bureau's views concerning this matter by memorandum and such a memorandum will be prepared in line with the above.

DML:dad

Attachment.

DIRECTOR'S NOTATION " Analyze carefully and be certain there are no "jokers." We must protect our own interests-not one else will-certainly not Ford nor Richardson. H."

COPY/HB

121-232-78-4

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 24, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~BY SPECIAL MESSENGER~~

The Honorable

The Attorney General

Attention Honorable Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to  
The Attorney General

Sir:

As you know, the matter of my communication with the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning the delivery to the Loyalty Review Board of all FBI reports relevant to cases identified in connection with the activities of the Tydings Committee, has been the subject of discussion between representatives of the White House and yourself, as well as the Bureau.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the approved arrangement, may I state what I understand such arrangements to be;

(1) All FBI reports of investigation which are relevant to questions of employee loyalty with respect to persons identified in connection charges before the Tydings Committee, regardless of whether such FBI reports were prepared under, as a result of, or in connection with the so-called loyalty program and Executive Order 9835, will expeditiously be delivered to the Loyalty Review Board for use in connection with the report of the Board to the President under the request of March 28, 1950;

(2) With respect to employees identified before the Tydings Committee, where no FBI investigation and report has been made, the Loyalty Review Board will proceed to consider such cases wholly on the basis of the existing file, and no FBI investigation or report will be contemplated in such cases

(3) Obviously, if there are to be any future FBI reports in cases where no such report presently exists, care should be taken to forward such report when made, to the Board in connection with a review of the particular case.

*Declassified  
By SA [unclear]  
Date 1-24-79*

171-7327-2

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

It is clearly understood that the review and report by the Loyalty Review Board under the terms of the President's request above noted, is to be confined to questions of loyalty and is not intended to cover questions of so-called security other than loyalty.

If the foregoing correctly states the existing arrangement, I would be very much obliged if you would so advise me and at the same time see to it that all possible expedition is used in forwarding to the Board, the reports noted.

Very truly yours,

Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board

Copy to  
Donald S. Dawson  
Administrative Assistant to  
The President.

April 27, 1950

121-23775-128

Miss Josephine ~~Sullivan~~  
35 Thrush Lane  
Hicksville, New York

~~74-34428-30~~  
Dear Miss ~~Sullivan~~:

Your letter dated April 19, 1950,  
as been received and I am taking the liberty  
of acknowledging it in the absence of Mr.  
Hoover from Washington.

I am enclosing a copy of the Director's  
Statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate  
Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950,  
which contains Mr. Hoover's views with reference  
to the need for maintaining the files of the  
FBI inviolate.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

Enclosure

NJC:bjc

NOTE: Post Office Department advised that Leighton  
is a new town and does not have a post office

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

APR 28 1950

INDEXED - 63  
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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS *N*

DATE: April 20, 1950

FROM : M. A. Jones *M.A. Jones*

SUBJECT:

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Coffey	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Mumford	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Beahm	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

By reference from the Director's Office SA Carroll took a phone call from Mr. Millenson, secretary to Congressman Davits of New York. *u*

*JACOB J.*

Mr. Millenson quoted a statement attributed to the Director which appeared in the Reporter Magazine for April, 1950, as follows: "I would not want to be a party to any action which would 'smear' innocent individuals for the rest of their lives." Mr. Millenson stated that the Congressman was interested in determining where this statement appeared and the date. *u*

Mr. Millenson was called back and advised that the Director made this statement in his appearance before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on 3-27-50.

COMMITTEE *!!*

Millenson requested a copy of the statement and one was sent to him and he expressed his thanks for our cooperation. *u*

GLC:ulg

*274*  
27 APR 29 1950RECORDED - 59  
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EX-93

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

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TO : Director, FBI

FROM : *guy* GUY NOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

DATE: April 20, 1950

SUBJECT: <sup>Sen</sup> Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*Handwritten signature*

Pursuant to instructions received from the Bureau, agents of the Washington Field Office are attending hearings of the above Committee being held today, and the following has transpired thus far: U

BUDENZ was the first witness called. OWEN LATTIMORE was present, together with his wife, and his attorney, ABE FORTAS. BUDENZ said he would make a statement in three parts: (1) his own part in the Communist conspiracy; (2) evidence in connection with LATTIMORE; and (3) corroboration of this evidence in connection with LATTIMORE. U

BUDENZ said that from 1935 until December, 1945 he was a member of the Communist Party. He was brought out from under cover in 1935 by EARL BROWDER when BROWDER returned from Moscow. BUDENZ attended a number of meetings of the Politburo, now known as the National Board of the Communist Party, USA. He named as the international links between the Politburo and Moscow, ALEX BIDDLEMAN, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JACK STACHEL, and a man named TRAJMAN. He said the Politburo receives its instructions from international members who get their own orders from Moscow. BUDENZ received daily instructions from the liaison man between the Politburo and the Daily Worker. BUDENZ was then editor of the Daily Worker. BUDENZ was told to keep a list of 1000 names in his head. These names were prominent Communist Party members. He remembered these names and any shifts of affiliation of these 1000 persons. Four men who acted as liaison between BUDENZ and the Politburo were: BIDDLEMAN, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, EUGENE DENNIS, and JACK STACHEL. BUDENZ said he was not always supplied with the names of the small fry, but had the overall picture. U

In 1936, BUDENZ knew that a Communist cell was organized in the Institute of Pacific Relations. He said the IPR was not a Communist organization but was successfully infiltrated, influenced and controlled as early as 1936. One of the principal Communists in the IPR was FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD, whom BUDENZ knew first as Conrad SPENZER (phonetic). He was secretary of the American Council of the IPR and reported to the Politburo. Another Communist Party member in the IPR was PHILIP JAFFE, who was a surreptitious Communist in the IPR and had a loose affiliation with the IPR. He edited the publication called "China Today", under the name of PHILLIPS. BUDENZ said flatly that both FIELD and JAFFE were espionage agents for Soviet Russia.

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*Memorandum  
4/24/50  
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8 APR 21 1950  
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 EX-136

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*Handwritten initials and numbers*

BUDENZ said that in this same cell with JAFFE and FIELD was OWEN J. LATTIMORE. At a meeting of the Politburo in 1937, LATTIMORE was commended by FIELD and BROWDER for putting articles and Communist writers in "Pacific Affairs", which is another publication put out by IPR. LATTIMORE was not in attendance at this Politburo meeting. One of these writers was JAMES S. ALLEN, who wrote for "Pacific Affairs" when OWEN LATTIMORE edited this publication. One of the things on the agenda for this Politburo meeting was to clarify the Communist Party position on the Communist Situation in China. It was brought out that LATTIMORE was to be given instructions in organizing writers to represent Chinese Communists as agrarians.

At this point, Senator TYDINGS asked if LATTIMORE were there and BUDENZ said no. TYDINGS asked if BUDENZ knew LATTIMORE. BUDENZ said not but he didn't know ALGER HISS either.

The second allegation concerns a Politburo meeting in 1943, when EARL BROWDER was also present. Again LATTIMORE was mentioned. At this meeting, the Chinese question also came up. There was a shift at that time and the Communist Party no longer attacked KAI-SHEK but Nationalist China was to be characterized as feudal and Red China was to be called the New China. Instructions were asked for by the U. S. Politburo from Moscow by cable and they received an article written by T. A. BISSON. This article set out that the Nationalist China was feudal and the Red China was the New Modern China. Then one HARRIET L. MOORE of IPR said that there was a mistake in this new Party line and there was a great deal of confusion about it and right shortly thereafter, a Coalition Government approach was stressed and the Party found itself in a peculiar situation in that the ordinary men in the Communist Party were told one thing and the inner circle was told another thing.

The third allegation concerns events during year of 1944. In 1944, JACK STACHEL told BUDENZ that when LATTIMORE went to China with WALLACE that he, BUDENZ, should consider LATTIMORE as a Communist and treat his statements in connection with China as authoritative.

The fourth allegation takes place in 1945 in connection with the Merasia case. BUDENZ said that JAFFE stole documents from Washington. There was consternation on the ninth floor of the Communist Party headquarters where Politburo meetings were held and the first inclination was to label JAFFE as a Nazi Jap agent. BUDENZ then said that he will mention other names connected with theft of documents in an Executive Session in order to do justice to the F. B. I.

At this point, Senator TYDINGS conferred with the Committee and then said that BUDENZ could go ahead and name anybody he wanted to. Senator HICKENLOOPER disagreed with this idea and said he thought the public interest

should come first and that he thought the F. B. I. should have the first chance at these names. Then BUDENZ said he had already given the names to the F. B. I. Then he was asked if he has also given the F. B. I. all of the evidence available to him against all of these people who were still unnamed. BUDENZ said that he was not certain, that he has given more time to the F. B. I. than to any other person in the United States, but that there is a physical limitation on the time he could give the F. B. I. He mentioned the fact that he had a permanent part in the prosecution of the 11 Communist Party Leaders and admitted there were some general things that he has not given to the F. B. I. but that he would give the Committee any evidence he has not already given to the F. B. I. and that he would continue to give information to the F. B. I.

At this point, Senator LODGE said that he was against continuing the hearings publicly and then BUDENZ continued.

At the time the Amerasia case broke, STACHEL told BUDENZ that LATTIMORE had been in touch with Amerasia defendants and that they, the defendants, in touch with LATTIMORE and that he had given the defendants considerable help.

As corroborative evidence, he said that in 1940 and 1941 (these dates are not necessarily exclusive), the Politburo issued onion skin documents to the National Committee members and probably sent these same onion skin documents to Moscow. In the United States, they were sent through mail drops. These documents were designed to give National Committee members an insight on what went on in the Politburo and were more or less matters of the Politburo meetings. BUDENZ recalled that in Chicago, his copies were given to him by MORRIS (or MAURICE) CHILD (phonetic). These documents referred to Communist Party members by initials as a means of a security device.

In one, or more, of these documents in the Far Eastern Section of the documents, were the initials "L" or "XL". STACHEL told BUDENZ that these initials "L" and/or "XL" apparently were used by and both referred to LATTIMORE. These documents were so confidential that they could not be burned but had to be torn up into small pieces and disposed of by means of flushing down water pipes. A little later they were sent to a common center for destruction. BUDENZ repeated on these documents the initials "L" and "XL" referred to OWEN LATTIMORE and then he said that with due diligence, corroborative evidence against LATTIMORE can be obtained.

He recommended to the Committee that they subpoena four people: F. V. FIELD, PHILIP JATTE, EARL BROWDER, and principally, by all means, JACK STACHEL. BUDENZ then asked for two weeks to prepare documents which he said will corroborate his remarks against LATTIMORE. He does not have any of these onion skin documents and doubts if they are any way obtainable.



BUDENZ then presented three documents: (1) an article by Father JAMES CARNEY (phonetic), S.J., printed in the September, 1949 issue of the "Columbia", which is the official publication of the Knights of Columbus.

At this point, Senator GREEN wanted to know if the F. B. I. has seen these documents and BUDENZ said he didn't know. BUDENZ is not sure that he has shown the F. B. I. all of the documents which he wants to get ready in two weeks but he is perfectly willing to show them to the F. B. I. first before he gives them to the Committee.

As a second document, BUDENZ presented a copy of "New Masses" of October, 1937 and called attention to an article written by JAFFE which dealt with a trip into Red China made by LATTIMORE, JAFFE, and BISSON. An epilogue of this article was written by AGNES SMEDLEY. BUDENZ said that 30 (or 13 ?) years ago, AGNES SMEDLEY admitted to BUDENZ that she was a Soviet spy. This was when she was married to an individual whose first name was ROY.

The third document given by BUDENZ was the article written by T. A. BISSON which came up in the 1943 Politburo meeting. It deals with China's part in the Coalition Government and is the article which calls Nationalist China feudal and Red China the New and Democratic China.

BUDENZ concluded by saying he had no interest in this affair so far as LATTIMORE is concerned. He said he was not a partisan in this affair; that he advocated a strong Bi-Partisan policy against Communism which is the greatest threat in the U. S. history.

Senator GREEN at this time asked BUDENZ if he gave this information to Senator McCARTHY. BUDENZ said first of all, "As far as I know, McCARTHY does not know of this testimony up to this minute". Then he kind of admitted that McCARTHY had access to this information through BUDENZ' friends with whom he had discussed this affair but he at no time admitted giving it to McCARTHY. BUDENZ said that he always testified reluctantly, reminded the Committee that he was under subpoena, and again that he was non-partisan in this matter.

BUDENZ said that he came out into the open in the Communist Party on October 2, 1935 at the insistence of himself, of GERHARD EISLER, and of EARL BROWDER. He remained in the Party until October 11, 1945. He said he never heard of OWEN LATTIMORE in an official capacity until about October, 1937, which he, BUDENZ, places vaguely as the date of his first allegation.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO : Director, FBI *over letter from 5-10-50*

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBJECT: SENATE  
Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: April 20 1950

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Counsel for the Committee, Mr. MORGAN, began questioning the witness and stated he was primarily interested in the four periods that BUDENZ previously mentioned in the summarization of the testimony and that he would divide this into the dates, namely: the periods of 1937, 1943, 1944 and 1945. U

In connection with this, BUDENZ mentioned in going back over the period that he was in the Party, stated that he joined in August, 1935 because of the Peoples Front policy as stated by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party which said that the Party would cooperate with World Tendencies. BUDENZ stated that he was convinced at that time that the Communist Party was the standard bearer for the common people. He stated then that BROWDER, after returning from Moscow, urged him along with GERHART WEISLER, to go into the open Party. He stated that this was on October 2, 1935. He mentioned that he left the Party on October 11, 1945. U

Then referring to the period 1937, BUDENZ stated in answer to question that at that time he first learned of OWEN LATTIMORE. He stated that he believed this was about October, 1937, at a meeting which he had attended with BROWDER. He stated that LATTIMORE's name was discussed at the time and he felt for the purpose of familiarizing himself with men considered important in the Party before he, BUDENZ, left for Chicago. U

BUDENZ at that point stated he wished to remind the Committee that though he referred to the Communist Party as a Party, he actually knew it to be a conspiracy and not having the semblance of a party in any sense. U

BUDENZ then stated that through the Politburo, instructions had been given that the two chief assignments of the Communist Party were in the acquiescence of Red China and Red Poland; that these two assignments were the chief conquests in the world. A question was then asked of BUDENZ if OWEN LATTIMORE was in the conspiracy. BUDENZ stated he did not wish to indicate that LATTIMORE was present at any of the meetings. (BUDENZ was then asked how was LATTIMORE a part of the conspiracy and he replied FREDERICK FIELD, Secretary of the American Branch of Pacific Relations, stated that LATTIMORE was charged with the responsibility of placing the right people in the China field.) BUDENZ stated that based upon FIELD's report, he formed this opinion. U

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Counsel MORGAN then asked BUDENZ if he were aware of the many drafts which he prepared for his article which appeared in Colliers Magazine of March 19, 1949, and Mr. MORGAN referred to page 48 of the Colliers Magazine. There was then a discussion between Committee members about an examination of the article. BUDENZ was asked by Senator GREEN if he had given the information contained in this article to the F. B. I. and BUDENZ said that he assumed he had given the substance of it; that he had had many conferences with the F. B. I. and that he had always endeavored to provide them with the benefit of the information which he possessed. BUDENZ again mentioned that there was a great projected plan of action as far as the Communist Party was concerned and that he felt that OWEN LATTIMORE was associated in this plan; that FIELD so indicated this fact to him. He then stated that FIELD said that OWEN LATTIMORE was responsible for placing writers in the China field.

At this point, BUDENZ mentioned the name of JAMES S. ALLEN, the former Communist representative in the Philippines, as also being connected with the above described Communist plan. At this point, BUDENZ stated that he recalled that the meeting which he had attended, which had been called by BROWDER, had also been attended by the following persons: FRED BROWN, J. PETERS, HARRY GANZ, CARL BRISSON (all phonetic). BUDENZ explained that although BROWDER had called the meeting, that FIELD was the one who went forward with the discussion. He mentioned that it was at this discussion that he gathered his impression about LATTIMORE.

BUDENZ then mentioned that he was careful in his statements about the members who were formerly connected with the Communist Party and that he was prompted to be so because he recalled that ALEX TRACKENBERG (phonetic) had stated that anyone who was formerly in the Party and who was accused as being Communist should sue for libel his accuser. BUDENZ stated that knowing this to be the policy of the Party in the United States, he had to be particularly careful. He pointed out that this was a complete change from the former policy of the Party; that prior to the announcement of the policy by TRACKENBERG, no-one had ever been permitted to ever bring suit against any accuser who labeled them as a Communist.

At this point of the hearing, Counsel for LATTIMORE, Mr. FORTAS, asked the Chairman, Mr. TYDINGS, if he could pass to the Committee Counsel, Mr. MORGAN, questions which he wished to be asked of the witness. This request was granted by TYDINGS and MORGAN was handed a list of prepared questions to ask BUDENZ. MORGAN, upon examining the questions, asked BUDENZ if he could identify the 22 page draft of the article which appeared in the Colliers Magazine. At this point, Mr. FORTAS again asked the Chairman, Mr. TYDINGS, if he could have it understood that he did not receive this draft from the Colliers Magazine. He stated, "I owe this to the magazine".

BUDENZ then examining the 22 page draft of the article which appeared in Colliers Magazine, referred at the request of Counsel MORGAN to pages 13 and 14.

Before he could answer the Counsel's question about a particular section of the article appearing on these pages, Senator HICKENLOOPER requested that the Chairman grant the privilege to other members of the Committee to examine the document before it was read into the Record. Much discussion took place on this particular issue. After agreement was made that the article would be introduced into the record, BUDENZ then stated that the 22 page draft was one of several drafts which he had prepared on the article which he had submitted to Colliers. BUDENZ mentioned that he believed that this draft was one which he had prepared sometime in 1949. He stated that the preparation of the article "dragged along" unnecessarily. He identified the draft as the first draft which he had left with Colliers.

Mr. MORGAN then asked BUDENZ if he had had a conversation with LEONARD PARIS (phonetic) of Colliers relative to this article. He stated that he had. He was asked if it was a stenographic transcribed conversation. He stated that he was not certain.

Mr. MORGAN then read from a document which appeared to contain questions and answers that occurred during the conversation between BUDENZ and PARIS concerning the article which Colliers was to publish.

In brief, the questions which Mr. MORGAN read and asked BUDENZ to explain concerned the manner of expression relative to certain statements which appeared in the draft which BUDENZ had submitted to Colliers Magazine.

BUDENZ, in explaining the reasons for his believing that LATTIMORE was connected with the Party, stated that onion skin documents which were prepared at the instruction of the Politburo bore the initials "L" or "XL". These initials, BUDENZ stated, were said by Mr. FIELD to indicate that they were to be identified as LATTIMORE's. BUDENZ was asked how he knew this and he replied that JACK STACHEL had many times told him that the initial "L" meant LATTIMORE.

BUDENZ then referred to a meeting which was called by BROWDER, at which policy was discussed. He mentioned that this meeting was in 1943. He stated that in addition to BROWDER, the following attended: STACHEL, FIELD, BROWDER. He stated that PHILIP JAFFE might also have been present at that meeting but that if he were present, he was only passably active. At this meeting, BUDENZ stated that LATTIMORE's name was mentioned when FIELD discussed that there was a change of attitude as far as the Party was concerned towards CHIANG KAI-SHEK. BUDENZ stated that BROWDER did not seem surprised by FIELD's announcement. He stated that it was indicated at that time that an article should be written so reflecting the new position and he said that an article did appear in the magazine, "Pacific Affairs". He stated that the substance of this article reflected that Nationalist China was feudal China; that Red China was Democratic China.

BUDENZ then mentioned that it was felt that more confirmation should be obtained from Moscow relative to this charge and he stated that an article came from Moscow signed by one ~~ROGOF~~ (phonetic), in which CHIANG KAI-SHEK was condemned. BUDENZ then noted that this article created considerable disturbance in our press and that later it was stated by ROGOF that he had been misquoted. Thereafter, BUDENZ said that he, and he explained his position as managing editor of the Daily Worker, was told that the paper should indicate its favor of a Coalition Government and that through the Coalition Government they should endeavor to scuttle CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

BUDENZ then mentioned that there were many other names who figured prominently in the Party; that he could not recall all of them at the time. He asked the advice of the Chairman if he should name before such names were given to the F. B. I. Upon consultation, the Chairman advised that no names should be referred to outside of Executive Session and that the Committee did not wish to thwart the efforts of the F. B. I. in any investigation that it might have.

BUDENZ made the observation that members of the Party were never photographed and that because of this fact he was entitling a new book which he was writing, "Men Without Faces". He mentioned in connection with this book the name of ~~JOHN SERVICE~~ appears. He stated that SERVICE had been referred to in Communist discussions as LATTIMORE's pupil. BUDENZ said he mentioned this but that he did not have any other information concerning SERVICE.

Mr. MORGAN then asked BUDENZ about the first time that he had mentioned LATTIMORE's name to any agency of the government and BUDENZ stated that he had mentioned LATTIMORE's name to the F. B. I. a couple of days before the Committee had examined the F. B. I. report. He stated that this was sometime in March of this year. He pointed out at that time that he had been tied up chiefly with giving concentrated information to the F. B. I. about the 11 Communist Party leaders. He then explained that he had not previously given this information to the F. B. I. because his interviews with the F. B. I. had dealt principally with the 11 Communists.

He stated that in most of his interviews with the F. B. I., they concerned cases which were under prosecution. He then explained that the names which he had and which he knew to be Communist Party members had not yet been completed; that there were 400 names which he wished to be turned over to the F. B. I. He stated that he had about 200 names available at this time. He said he was deliberate in his handling of these names because of their importance. He stated that as soon as he had the list completed, he would first make it available to the F. B. I.

Mr. MORGAN then gave BUDENZ a photostatic copy of page 12 of the April 29, 1949 issue of the Daily Worker. On this page appeared a book review by DAVID CARPENTER of "Situation in Asia", a book written by DAVID LATTIMORE. BUDENZ knows

CARPENTER as a Communist Party member. CARPENTER said in this book review that LATTIMORE shows that the U. S. Government has done nothing but alienate the Far East and recommends that the U. S. Government should stop intervention in internal affairs in the Far East and let China set up its own government. The book review says that LATTIMORE admits that China is looking to the USSR and turning away from the United States but the book review says that LATTIMORE refuses to see that the reason that China is looking toward the USSR for help is because he, LATTIMORE, refuses to see that the USSR has overthrown Capitalism and that is the reason why China wants help from Russia. BUDENZ BUDENZ was asked if this book review criticized LATTIMORE's position. He said yes, it did in parts, and that it was customary to so review a book by a Communist in the Daily Worker and as to the author, "praise him with a faint damn".

BUDENZ pointed out that the emphasis of this article was on the criticism in the book of the U. S. Government and that the article objected to LATTIMORE's advocacy of a third course for China to follow, which third course was neither U. S. nor USSR, but a middle road. BUDENZ also said that the book review objected to LATTIMORE's implied advocacy of capitalism.

It was then brought out that LATTIMORE had testified that he participated in a fund raising project on behalf of the Finns who were fighting Russia. BUDENZ was asked if this would guarantee that LATTIMORE was not a Communist and he said that this fact was not indicative that LATTIMORE was not a Communist and that examples of this nature had been granted to people in delicate situations and that LATTIMORE was in a delicate situation.

BUDENZ was then asked if LATTIMORE's support of the Marshal Plan would seem to reflect that LATTIMORE was not a Communist. BUDENZ replied that he had left the Party before the Marshal Plan came into being but quoted from the New York World Telegram which said that "UNCLE JOE" could not have put the Communist line in China any better than LATTIMORE did. BUDENZ again said that LATTIMORE may have given an example so that he could back the Marshal Plan as a cover. BUDENZ said that the main line of support was the most important thing and that exceptions could always be made.

BUDENZ was then asked if he thought LATTIMORE was the top Soviet Agent as McCARTHY charged. BUDENZ said that this statement was technically not accurate; LATTIMORE was not the top Soviet Agent as far as he knew. BUDENZ was asked if LATTIMORE were subject to Communist discipline and if he, BUDENZ, had ever disciplined LATTIMORE. BUDENZ replied that he had never disciplined LATTIMORE and was in no position to do so but the Politburo did assign certain tasks to LATTIMORE through FIELD. FIELD and LATTIMORE did not always agree in the same way that HARRY BRIDGES did not always agree with the Politburo.

BUDENZ was then asked to give one instance of an order given by the Politburo to LATTIMORE. BUDENZ mentioned the orders given LATTIMORE on the China policy to be promulgated by LATTIMORE through his position in the IPR. BUDENZ was again asked if LATTIMORE were a Communist Party member and subject to Communist discipline, and did he know this of his own knowledge. BUDENZ said he knew it only by STACHEL's representation and that he did not ever see LATTIMORE at a Communist Party meeting and outside of what BUDENZ has been told by Communist Party leaders, he knows nothing of LATTIMORE's Communist Party affiliation. BUDENZ was asked what corroboration he could offer and replied that FIELD, STACHEL, JAFFE, should be subpoenaed along with FIELD's records. BUDENZ said he would give other names in executive session.

At this point, ABE FORTAS interrupted and wanted to put on a Brigadier General, U. S. Army (Ret.), who must leave town tonight. Senator LODGE objected and Senator TYDINGS could not get a vote of the Committee members. This General's name was not given but he was present. Senator HICKENLOPER wanted BUDENZ to finish and the hearing was recessed for noon until 2:30 P. M.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. BELMONT *[Signature]*

DATE: April 21, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *[Signature]*

SUBJECT:

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Seth Richardson called on April 21 and stated that with reference to the 90 some cases before the Tydings Committee, that there were about twenty in which no FBI Loyalty investigation had been conducted. He stated he had raised the question as to whether there should be one and that the White House had instructed that in only those cases where the subject had been investigated under the Loyalty Program should the Loyalty Review Board take any action. *[Handwritten: 4]*

I made no comment to Mr. Richardson with reference to this matter in view of the fact that Mr. Ford is handling this directly with Mr. Dawson of the White House and he has promised to get an official memorandum to the Bureau as to the results of the conference. *[Handwritten: 4]*

*[Handwritten signatures: "Stark" and "M. J. Hanson"]*

DML:dad

*[Handwritten: 5]*

1121-23278-133

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12

*[Handwritten: 38]*

JUL 5 1950



April 5, 1950

RECORDED - 74  
INDEXED  
EX - 62

121-12278-134  
~~66-7225-311~~

Mr. J. P. Garvey  
1194 Herschel Avenue  
Cincinnati 8, Ohio

Dear Mr. Garvey:

I wish to express my sincere appreciation for your letter in which you enclosed a copy of the editorial "Keep the FBI Files Secret" which appeared in the Cincinnati Post on March 28. It was also kind of you to bring to my attention a copy of the letter which you directed to the Honorable John W. Bricker and the Honorable Willard Tydings, United States Senate, under date of March 29, 1950.

You have my sincere appreciation for your friendly interest in my administration of the activities of the FBI and I am happy to know that you approve of the views which I expressed in my statement before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27.

My associates and I are greatly encouraged by such expressions of confidence and support as yours and we earnestly hope that our efforts will always be deserving of your unqualified approbation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ARA:mms

NOTE: A separate letter is being directed to Editor Carl D. Groat, the Cincinnati Post, regarding the letter in question.

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

FBI

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

APR 6 9 44 AM '50

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease

APR 6 1950  
COMM.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols ✓
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jones *[initials]*
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy *[initials]*

From the Desk of  
J. P. GARVEY

1194 Herschel Ave.  
Cincinnati 8, Ohio

Dear Mr. Hoover-

Am pleased to send you  
enclosed editorial from the  
Cincinnati Post of 3/28.

Also copy of my letter to Senators  
Tydings and Bricker.

Let's hope we can make these  
fellows listen to reason.

Sincerely,

J. P. Garvey /s/

Attachments

COPY mpd

*36 eeh*  
*hott*  
*[Signature]*

From the Desk of  
J. P. GARVEY

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Cincinnati 8, Ohio

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Also copy of my letter to  
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these fellows listen to reason.

Sincerely,  
J. P. Garvey

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

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74  
EX - 62

RECORDED - 74

EX - 62  
5

121-23278-134

~~66-7225-311~~

APR 22 1960

Cincinnati 8, Ohio

## Keep the FBI Files Secret

Sen. McCarthy, who is still trying to prove that the State department harbors some card-carrying Communists, insists the FBI files will back him up and demands that they be produced for examination.

FBI Director Hoover and Attorney-General McGrath testified Monday on the prudence of turning over these files to a congressional committee. As had been expected, they strongly opposed such action.

They gave excellent reasons for their stand. Mr. Hoover argued that the FBI's loyalty files were inconclusive, could be quoted out of context or used to thwart truth, distort half truths and misrepresent facts. Moreover, he insisted, making them public would endanger FBI sources of information and undermine effectiveness of the organization.

Mr. Hoover, in fact, hinted that he might resign if he were forced to spread FBI secrets before a congressional committee. As a matter of principle, he said, they should be withheld from all congressional committees.

Mr. McGrath, supporting Mr. Hoover, contended Congress had no constitutional right to order the FBI, as an agency of the executive branch, to make its reports available.

Regardless of the question's legal aspects, we think Mr. Hoover's stand is clearly correct. And Sen. McCarthy, in particular, is not an investigator who could be trusted to examine the FBI's files, being too much given to shooting off his mouth.

NO cd  
4/3/50  
hew

Carl D. Groat  
editor - already  
on Bureau mem  
4/3/50 hew

Let sent to Carl D Groat  
4-5-50 ara  
Let sent to J.P. Yarnley mem  
4-5-50 ara

121-23278-134

66-7225-311

1194 Herschel Avenue  
Cincinnati 8, Ohio  
March 29, 1950

Senator Millard Tydings  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

Am sorry you have seen fit to subpoena the FBI files after Mr. Hoover has given very real reasons why they should not be opened to Congress. And what Mr. Hoover says I subscribe to most heartily against any and every voice in Congress.

I think we have had far too many Congressional blow-hards who in the past have put our most closely guarded secrets in the lap of Moscow. I believe that we should finally become sufficiently adult and sensible to follow the advice of the one man in Washington who really and truly knows his job — J. Edgar Hoover.

Even though the mail is heavy for Senator McCarthy to ferret out the Reds, I am most doubtful of anything coming from his effort, with or without the FBI files. The Senator is not the man for the task in my estimation. Too much brag, bluster and froth, and full of inaccuracies.

As for the State department, do anything you want with it, if, in fact, we have any such department. I am in favor of establishing one.

Finally, for once ... just this once ... the President is right, I think, in backing up Mr. Hoover.

Cordially yours,

JPG/r

J. P. Garvey

cc Senator John W. Bricker

blind copy to J. Edgar Hoover

1194-23278-134

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. BELMONT

DATE: April 24, 1950

FROM : C. E. HENDRICH

SUBJECT: TYDINGS COMMITTEE HEARINGS

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

ASAC Whelan of the New York Office advised on the morning of April 24, 1950, that over the weekend Supervisor Granville was contacted by Robert Morris of the Tydings Committee. During the conversation, Morris indicated that the Committee during the present week will go into the following cases: John Carter Vincent, John S. Service, and Theodore Geiger. Also they will go into a general resume of the Amerasia Case.

It was indicated that Frank Belaski, formerly of OSS, will lead off as a witness. Morris indicated that the Committee generally was pleased with the testimony of Budenz. He also said that the Committee had found out about a conference which Lattimore attended at the State Department on October 2, 1949, and several of the persons at the conference were Communists.

This is for your information.

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-31-79 BY SP 5 RJG/RA/lew

G. I. R.

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
10-1  
H. J. Johnson  
L. J. Jones  
Requester  
UNRECORDED DEPARTMENT IN

CEH:eww:ark

INDEXED - 30  
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MAY 31 1950

EX-20

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

58 JUN 6 1950

107

107

# The Machinist

The official weekly newspaper of the  
International Association of Machinists  
Machinists Building  
Washington, D. C.

Phone: NATIONAL 4135

TO: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Thought you would be interested in the item marked in this issue of The Machinist.

*Gordon H. Cole*  
Gordon H. Cole  
Editor



*State Dept.*

EX-125

2 ENCL  
65

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

*Cole*  
Member of Capital City Forum  
in 1941 100-26255-1 P24  
Member of IMA - DC Guild  
PRES. OF D.C. Chapter in 1943  
100-24132C-1

EX-125

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INDEXED - 65

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APR 25 1950

*FA 25*

*Baird*

R443

MAY 4 1950

74

**J. Edgar Hoover Says**

# To Open F.B.I. Files Would Violate Right of Fair Play

For 26 years J. Edgar Hoover has been director of the F.B.I. In recent testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, he told why F.B.I. files must be kept confidential. Here are highlights from his testimony.

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 question of opening the files of the F.B.I. involves a grave matter of principle. These files contain complaints, allegations, facts, and statements of all persons interviewed. Depending upon the purpose of the investigation, particularly in security cases, they contain not only background data on the individual but details of his private life which bear upon the investigation.

There are other compelling reasons why the files of the F.B.I.

should remain inviolate. The files do not consist of proven information alone. 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.

F.B.I. reports set forth all details secured from a witness. If those details were disclosed, they could become subject to misrepresentation, they could be quoted out of context, or they could be used to thwart truth, distort half truths, and misrepresent facts.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*W. J. [unclear]*  
*W. J. [unclear]*  
*L. [unclear]*

THE MACHINIST  
Washington, D. C.  
April 6, 1950

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Page 8

# Montreal's Year-Round Toyland

SEE PAGES 4 AND 5

# The Machinist

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS



VOLUME V  
Entered as Second Class Matter  
 At the Post Office, Washington, D.C.  
 WASHINGTON, D. C. APRIL 6, 1950  
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 by The Machinist  
 NUMBER 2

# Unfinished Business Of the 81st Congress

THE 81st Congress will begin winding up its affairs soon after it reconvenes following the Easter recess. Its Calendar is loaded with bills that would make our country stronger. Despite a courageous fight by liberal Congressmen and Senators, every important piece of constructive legislation has been blocked so far in this session. Led by Taft of Ohio and Byrd of Virginia, the reactionaries of both parties control this Congress—with the help of a few timid souls who are afraid to follow their conscience. As citizens there are two things we can do. We can write letters to our Congressmen and Senators now, and we can register and vote. We can help elect a majority that will have the courage to support legislation designed to do the greatest good for the greatest number. Here, in part, is the record of unfinished business of this 81st Congress.

BILL	PLAN	OPPOSITION	WHERE IT IS
TAFT-HARTLEY REPEAL	Restores free collective bargaining under Wagner Act with amendments to protect national welfare	Taft Republicans and Byrd Democrats have a majority against repeal. Three more labor votes are needed in Senate. 14 more in House to pass repeal bill.	There has been no action on Taft-Hartley repeal since the Wood bill was sent back to Committee in the House last Summer.

...scheduled to open

Editorial

# McCarthy's Charges No Substitute for Legislation

YOUR Congressman will probably be at home next week. Congress is quitting for a week's recess over Easter. If he's at all concerned about re-election, your Congressman will use part of next week to take soundings in his home district. He wants to hear what you think about this Congress. Especially, he's going to want to know what you think about Senator McCarthy's attack on State Department employees.

If your Congressman is a reactionary, like the majority in this 81st Congress, he is going to hope that you are now so worried about Commies that you'll overlook or forgive the do-nothing record of this Congress. He may even hope that by now you will agree that Federal aid to education, increased social security benefits, repeal of Taft-Hartley, rent control, health insurance and every other con-

structive measure is nothing but socialism and should be defeated.

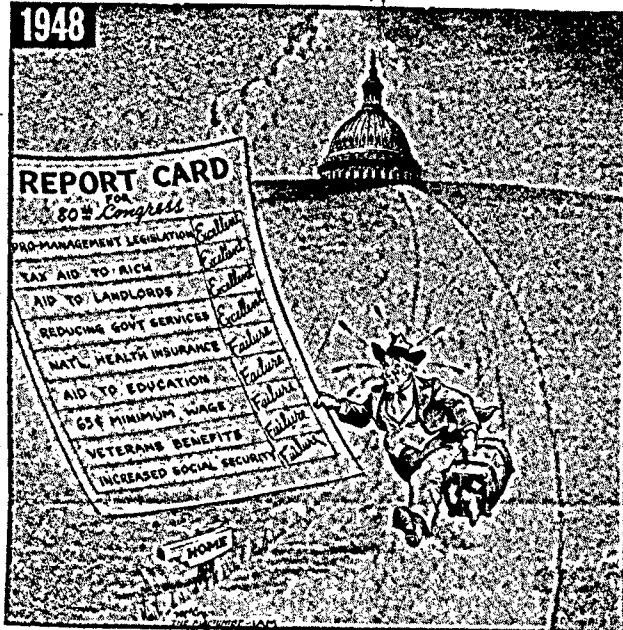
If your Congressman is a reactionary, he is doing some worrying himself. He knows that Senator McCarthy has failed so far to produce any evidence against a single State Department employee. But, he is hoping that you will have accepted Senator McCarthy's charges on faith and haven't been concerned by this lack of evidence.

If he is a reactionary, your Congressman hopes that you have forgotten that it was only last year that the New York Herald-Tribune, a Republican newspaper, published a long series attacking the State Department's loyalty review board and charging that the State Department was being too rough in its investigation of anyone with even vaguely liberal sympathies.

If he is a reactionary, your Congressman hopes

that you won't remember that it was the Communists, the Nazis and the Fascists who developed this tactic of public denunciation as a potent political weapon until it has become part of the stock in trade of the supporters of the police state everywhere.

If he is a reactionary, your Congressman knows that all these denunciations of Government employees—without evidence—is worrying many Americans more than the State Department which is now better organized to fight Communism than ever before in history. More and more thoughtful Americans are convinced that our country is in much greater danger of losing its liberties in the name of anti-Communism, anti-Socialism or anti-Unionism, than it has ever been from Communism or any other phony proletarian propaganda.



## Budget

By Joe Henry

### Your Car Costs More Than You May Think

If the family budget is as tight at your house as it is at ours, you'll be interested in some ideas we ran across the other day on how to cut the cost of owning and driving the family chariot. The Kiplinger Magazine, *Changing Times*, put a cost accountant firm to work on how much the average family actually spends on its car. The results startled us. You can read them in the magazine's April issue.

If your family is like most, you drive about 10,000 miles a year. That means you're spending approximately \$482 a year just to operate your car. That's \$40.15 cents a month. This may be the reason you find it so hard to balance the budget at home.

If you've any doubts, here's the way the accountants break down this cost: \$207 for gasoline, \$88 for maintenance, \$40 for tires, \$98 for insurance (fire, theft, property damage and liability), \$19 for license fees, \$50 for miscellaneous expenses including parking, polishing and minor body work. If you do your own repair work, you save \$83 a year—but that's all. On top of that, of course, you have to allow for part of the difference between what the car cost and what you'll get for it when you trade it in. The magazine estimates the normal life of a new post war car at 4 1/2 years. It is generally true that it costs more money to keep an old car running than it does to buy a new one.

A car is expensive in any family. It's as expensive as rent if these cost accountants are reasonably accurate. *Changing Times* suggests three ways that any family can save money in operating its car. Here are three simple rules:

"Drive slowly. On a 1,000-mile trip you can save \$12.22 by averaging 45 miles an hour instead of 55. You can save \$19.36 by driving 35 miles an hour instead of 55.

"Make repairs promptly. Don't try to skimp by postponing needed repairs or replacement parts. Faulty brakes, worn tires, defective steering may cost you plenty.

"Keep accurate records. The best way to check your car's performance is to keep a running record of all your expenses in one of the pocket-size record books printed for that purpose. You might find that it costs you more to keep your present car than it would to buy a new one."

We could add one more money-saving rule: Always have your repairs done by an I.A.M. mechanic.

## SHOP SHAVINGS

"My uncle can play the piano by ear."  
"That's nothing. My uncle fiddles with his whiskers."

A visitor to Mark Twain's home commented on his large collection of books, and the rather limited storage space for them.

"Yes," agreed the author wistfully, "but it's so hard to get friends to loan you shelves."

Girls, when they went out to swim,  
Once dressed like Mother Hubbard,  
Now they have a bolder whim;  
They dress more like her cupboard.

"If I cut a beefsteak in two," asked the teacher, "then cut the halves in two, what do I get?"

"Quarters," answered the boy.

"Good. And if I cut the quarters in half?"

"Eighths," "Correct. And once more?"

"Sixteenths," "Exactly. And again?"

"Thirty-seconds," "And once more?"

"Hamburger!" said the little boy.

This week's brain twister: Two clerks start work in the same office at the same salary—\$1,000 a year. One has his pay increased \$50 every six months; the salary of the other is raised \$200 every year. The salaries are paid each half year. Which clerk fares better? (Answer on page 2.)

Copies of this letter are going to the editor of a metropolitan newspaper, to Senator McCarthy and to President Truman.

410 Douglass St.  
Reading, Pa.  
April 25, 1950

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E.A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Belmont

To the Editor:

The Philadelphia Inquirer of April 25th reported that President Truman was "ready, willing and anxious" to have the Government loyalty files opened, but that J. Edgar Hoover was opposed to such a move. In other words, the President is safe in being "ready, willing and anxious" as long as J. Edgar Hoover is unwilling. Could this apparent lack of cooperation be nothing more than a scheme to shield the President?

What is the real purpose of the loyalty files, anyway? Are they just a gadget for the permanent storage of information, or, should this data be used when the occasion demands it? Has J. Edgar Hoover ever denied that these files contain the information Senator McCarthy claims they do? If he has not, we are justified in assuming that they are brimming with revelations. If there is anything in those files that will verify Senator McCarthy's charges, let's have it. Otherwise, what's the purpose of the files?

The FBI is, to all appearances, an agency that functions only after the horse is stolen. After the crime is committed, after our freedom is gone, the FBI will catch the culprit, and the files will spill what should have been disclosed in the public interest long ago.

In President Truman's radio speech on April 24th, he very generously invited every citizen who knows of the presence of a single Communist or other subversive person in any federal job to furnish the information to the Attorney General or the FBI. He promised that there would be a prompt and thorough investigation. If the President is sincere, why does he condemn Senator McCarthy who has followed the President's suggestion to the letter? Consistency, thou art a rare jewel in these days!

0 Comments in State Dept.

Memo Baumgardner to Cabinet  
5-5-50  
WVK

*A. Rachel Heisler*

A. Rachel Heisler

*A. Rachel Heisler*

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INDEXED - 101  
EX-136  
121-23278-137  
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MAY 9 1950  
34

353  
MAY 30 1950

5-6-50

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: April 26, 1950

*gllco*

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

Ⓞ Senate Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations

SUBJECT:

Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*W Belmont*

Attn: Inspector C. E. ~~FRY~~ RICH

This office has ascertained that an open hearing of the captioned Committee will be held on the morning of April 27, 1950, at which time EARL BROWDER is to be a witness. This office will cover this hearing in accordance with previous instructions issued by the Bureau.

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APR 28 1950

*S-VPK*

55 MAY 2 1950

Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General  
Director, FBI

April 26, 1950

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/11/78 DPB/DLC

Reference is made to the letter addressed to the Attorney General by the Honorable Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, under date of April 24, 1950, a copy of which you furnished to Assistant to the Director D. M. Ladd of the Bureau.

Mr. Richardson in his letter to the Attorney General outlines his understanding of the arrangements, entered into through discussion with White House representatives, under which the Bureau will furnish to the Loyalty Review Board data with respect to the cases identified before the Tydings Subcommittee.

A review of Mr. Richardson's letter reveals that it does not clearly set forth the restrictions on the Bureau furnishing data to the Loyalty Review Board which you have previously outlined to an official of the Bureau. There is set forth below our understanding of the instructions you have given to us in regard to this matter:

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP  
DATE 4-26-50

(1) That no data should be furnished to Mr. Richardson regarding the individuals, such as Owen Lattimore, who are or have been subjects of security type investigations by the Bureau but who have not been investigated by the Bureau under the Loyalty Order. (Memo Mr. Ladd to Director 4-17-50.)

(2) That if any of the individuals on Mr. Richardson's list had not been covered by the Loyalty Program and were not now in the Government, it was not necessary for the Bureau to furnish any information on individuals falling within this category to Mr. Richardson. (Memo Mr. Ladd to Mr. Belmont 4-18-50)

(3) That where individuals on Mr. Richardson's list are presently employed by the Government, all loyalty data should be furnished to him but if information is available which does not deal with loyalty, it should not be given to Mr. Richardson. (Memo Mr. Ladd to Director 4-17-50)

APR 26 4 35 PM '50

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APR 26 1950  
COMM - FBI

In addition, you will recall that on April 13, 1950, while discussing this matter with Bureau officials you indicated that you had conferred with Mr. Richardson and that he was of the opinion that only the loyalty cases on Government employees should be and could be considered by the Loyalty Review Board. You also pointed out that the Loyalty Review Board would have no jurisdiction to go into the question of loyalty of private citizens or to look into espionage or similar investigations. (Memo Mr. Ladd to Director 4-14-50)

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

NRJ:IHS

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It is, therefore, our understanding of your instructions that the Department desires the Bureau to furnish to the Loyalty Review Board copies of reports of investigation conducted by the Bureau since the effective date of the Loyalty Order, or presently being conducted, under the provisions of the Loyalty Order itself or pursuant to such public laws as Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America Program), Public Law 472, 80th Congress (European Recovery Program) and the Atomic Energy Act, concerning those individuals on Mr. Richardson's list who have been employed in the Executive Branch of the Government since the effective date of Executive Order 9835. Such reports would, of course, be delivered to the Loyalty Review Board only in those instances where they have not previously been made available to the Civil Service Commission for consideration under the Loyalty Program.

With respect to those individuals on Mr. Richardson's list who are not presently employed in the Executive Branch and who have not been subjects of investigation or inquiry by the Bureau, either under the provisions of the Loyalty Order itself or one of the aforementioned public laws, since the effective date of Executive Order 9835, the Bureau will not be required to furnish any data or report to the Loyalty Review Board.

The above is provided in accordance with your request to be advised of the Bureau's views in this matter. If our understanding of your instructions, as set forth above, is not correct, we would appreciate your advice at your earliest convenience.

AUG 10 1950  
NB

121-23278-140

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121-23568-X

456



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 27, 1950

FROM : MR. LADD

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION OF THE SECURITY DIVISION  
Communists in STATE DEPARTMENT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, (former Bureau agent), Chief of the Security Division, State Department, called Mr. Roach this morning and stated that his Division is to be investigated by the Senators now serving on the Senate Subcommittee hearing the McCarthy charges. The investigation grew out of a statement made by Senator Brewster of Maine on the Floor when discussing the activities of the investigative group in the State Department. Senator Mundt of South Dakota stated that recent State Department activities (he referred to the alleged investigation of Mr. Kenneth Crawford of "Newsweek" by State Department investigator), warranted an investigation of their activities and that he, Mundt, intended to see that it was done.

Nicholson advised that although no one is in his office now making the check, he expects them soon.

*RRR:ilw ilw*

*WPK*

*FNB/B*

*b*

ADDENDUM: (4/27/50, ilw). The records reveal that Mr. John E. Peurifoy on September 13, 1947, prior to the time that Nicholson was appointed to his present position, called Mr. Tamm of the Bureau and stated that he was endeavoring to obtain someone to head-up the Special Agent Section of the State Department. He stated that the name of former Special Agent Donald L. Nicholson had been given to him and that before he contacted Nicholson, he wanted to check with the Bureau to determine whether Nicholson's record with the Bureau was good. Mr. Peurifoy was subsequently informed by Mr. Tamm of the dates of Nicholson's service with the Bureau and that he resigned of his own volition without prejudice and that his record had been satisfactory. (He was not recommended for the position by the Bureau). RRR.

121-23278-141

~~162-37174-1539~~

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136 JUL 5 1950

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*RRR*  
PERS. FILES

*[Handwritten signature]*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

**TO :** Director, FBI

**FROM :** GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

**SUBJECT:** Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

**DATE:** May 1, 1950

*Massburg*

*PP*

The Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee resumed open hearings today at 2:30 P. M., in connection with the OWEN LATTIMORE matter, and Miss FRIEDA UTLEY was the first witness called.

Miss UTLEY was sworn in and thereafter began reading from a dossier which she had with her wherein there was contained information reflecting an analysis which she had compiled on the writings from the "Amerasia" magazine, as well as certain writings of OWEN LATTIMORE. Miss UTLEY inferred in giving her testimony that the editorial policy of the "Amerasia" magazine was the same policy that OWEN LATTIMORE had been following.

Senator TYDINGS at this point asked Miss UTLEY if of her own knowledge she knew of any influence brought to bear by LATTIMORE that caused the "Amerasia" magazine to have the particular views which she alleged. Her answer, which was inaudible to the audience, was apparently not satisfactory to Senator TYDINGS and he again repeated his question, and on the third time that he repeated his question, he stated that he wished she would continue her testimony, that he felt she had not satisfactorily answered the question, and he desired not to delay the proceedings further.

Miss UTLEY mentioned that the reason she was bringing out these particular points concerning the Communist situation in China was to indicate to the public that both parties the Democratic and Republican, had been completely misguided. Senator TYDINGS at this point stated that it was too bad that she didn't find out from the very beginning of the Communist Party in 1919 that the Party itself was poison.

Miss UTLEY referred to many writers and authors who attacked the policy that OWEN LATTIMORE followed concerning China. In particular, she named A. W. DALEIA, a writer in the Yale University Press. Again Miss UTLEY was interrupted by Senator TYDINGS who stated that one could not be condemned because he or she might be attacked by any certain member of the press.

At this point, Miss UTLEY remarked that her purpose in mentioning this was to indicate that others had observed how subtly LATTIMORE had followed the Party line and she referred in particular to pages 164, 219, 147, 152, and 151 of his recent book, "Situation in Asia", wherein he clearly shows his feelings about the situation in China.

*Copy made in State Department*

*Memorandum  
5-1-50  
E.H.M.S.*

*Gibbs  
for SA  
T. J. E. H.*

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DATE 11/20/79 BY SA 8 RJG/elt

Miss UTLEY then mentioned that LATTMORE in his recent book was most misleading in his statement to the effect that China (CHIANG KAI-SHEK's forces) had been given a great quantity of arms by the United States. She added that as a matter of fact the United States had only given approximately one quarter of a million dollars in arms to China. Senator TYDINGS asked her for her source of information on this particular item and she stated that she received her information from Colonel L. B. HOOEY (phonetic) (Retired), formerly of the Army Ordnance who was familiar with the shipment of materiel to China.

4

Director, FBI

April 11, 1950

SAC, New York

PAMPHLET "AMERICA BETRAYED"  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau's information are two copies of a 62-page pamphlet entitled, "America Betrayed - the tragic consequences of Reds on the Government payroll" by JOSEPH P. KAMP, copyright 1950 by Constitutional Educational League, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York.

This pamphlet was brought to the attention of this office by WILLIAM GROCAN, Security Officer, New York Administrative Office, Department of State, 250 West 57th Street, New York City, three copies thereof were discreetly purchased at the offices of the Constitutional Educational League. The third copy is being retained in the New York files.

It is noted that JOSEPH P. KAMP and the League are the subjects of Bureau file 61-10355, entitled; "Constitutional Educational League, Inc and JOSEPH P. KAMP, et al, Internal Security - C, Registration Act", New York file 65-7018.

REGARDING THE STATE DEPARTMENT

The pamphlet concerns itself with a review of America's China Policy and the State Department in connection therewith, as well as with the allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY (R. Wis.) which have been recently in the national press. On pages 54, 55 the pamphlet, under the heading "Senate Investigators Must Have Access to 'Loyalty' Files", the pamphlet states: "On the theory that the American people are entitled to know to what degree their public servants are, or were involved with Communism... the attention of the Senate Committee is.....directed to the 'loyalty' files of the following persons now in the State Department, or who were in the State Department....." and gives a list of 25 names together with the divisions of the State Department in which those named persons are or were employed.

Inasmuch as no allegation against these persons is made, except that loyalty files exist on each, no investigation based hereon nor any contact with KAMP or other officials of the League is contemplated, and this data is being forwarded for the information of the Bureau.

Encls. (2)

cc: NY65-7018

JRS:APK  
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*Handwritten signatures and notes:*  
Approved  
etc

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. Belmont

DATE: April 27, 1950

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: STATE DEPARTMENT MISCELLANEOUS

Tolson	
Belmont	
Mohr	
Nease	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tracy	
Harbo	
W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

PURPOSE

The purpose of this memorandum is to relate some information furnished to Special Agent William C. Sullivan by Mrs. Robert Freer who, as you recall, is a society reporter and radio broadcaster in Washington. She furnishes the Bureau with information on a fairly regular basis.

DETAILS

Mrs. Freer on April 26, 1950, advised Special Agent William C. Sullivan that the State Department is taking testimony from reputable citizens concerning their personnel. She said the idea of securing this testimony is to offset possible investigations of State Department employees on moral or security grounds.

Mrs. Freer advised that a friend of hers, Barbara Bolling, wife of a young Congressman from Missouri, testified, she thinks, before the Loyalty Review Board on April 20, 1950, at the request of the State Department for the purpose of furnishing information on the character and background of some people known to her in Kansas City who are now employed by the State Department. Mrs. Bolling did not furnish Mrs. Freer with the names of these people and Mrs. Freer did not deem it advisable to ask.

Mrs. Bolling explained to Mrs. Freer that she was glad to give the testimony because she dislikes the present tactics of Senator McCarthy and "feels this witch hunting could happen to anyone." Mrs. Bolling told Mrs. Freer that she was approached by the State Department and that she did not offer to give them information on her volition but rather did so following the request made of her.

ACTION

This memorandum is for your information.

WCS:mac

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EX - 62

121-23278-142

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MAY 4 1950

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57 MAY 12 1950 253

5. W  
W.E.S.

FROM

DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

*Foreign Relations Committee*

- 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 \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten initials and scribbles]*

*Be certain there is no delay in getting to Dept all information & developments growing out of the Arthur C. matter.*

See Me \_\_\_\_\_ *Stanley*

Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ *Stanley*

For Your Recommendation \_\_\_\_\_

What are the facts? ( )

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

*0 State*

*Laughlin - L*  
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*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: April 27, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: SETH RICHARDSON'S LOYALTY PROGRAM

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Mr. Peyton Ford called with reference to the Bureau letter to him concerning Seth Richardson's letter and advised that the Bureau's letter to Ford properly expressed his instructions to the Bureau as to the type of case in which reports should be submitted to Seth Richardson dealing with the names on McCarthy's list.

*AG Belmont*

I asked him if he would send a memorandum to the Bureau confirming this and he stated he would do so. He then stated that he was going to acknowledge Seth Richardson's letter by merely stating "You will be furnished promptly all investigative reports dealing with employee loyalty".

*Stacks*

I told him that I thought this would be much better if he had spelled the understanding out with Richardson accordance with the instructions which he gave to us. He stated that if he endeavored to furnish Richardson a long letter, it would merely embroil longer letters in return from Richardson, who has a mania for letterwriting, according to Mr. Ford.

I told him that if he was going to merely briefly acknowledge Richardson's letter as indicated that it was very important that he confirm his instructions by memorandum to the Bureau and he stated that he would do this.

He further stated that if any questions arose on the part of Richardson, that he, Ford, and Dawson would confer with him further.

DML:dad

*maybe so but I doubt it. I have found from experience with R that he has to be tied down to specifics. 121-23278-144*

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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Mr. Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *WHP* GUY HOTTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

SUBJECT: ① Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: April 27, 1950

At 10:40 A. M., Senator TYDINGS swore in Mr. EARL BROWDER and Mr. BROWDER stated he resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. BROWDER stated he was fifty-eight years of age and unemployed. The questioning of Mr. BROWDER was then turned over to the Counsel for the Committee, Mr. MORGAN.

Mr. MORGAN's first question concerning inquiry of Mr. BROWDER if he were present at a meeting which was held in New York City and which was attended by Mr. TRACHTENBERG and other members of the Communist Party. Mr. BROWDER replied that he could not tell exactly what meeting was being referred to and accordingly he could not answer. He then added in 1937, he was General Secretary of the Communist Party. Mr. MORGAN then asked if at a meeting in October 1937, there was any determination taken on the part of the Party relative to the United States' stand concerning the Chinese problem. BROWDER answered this query by stating that in 1937, great events were taking place in China. He then remarked in 1927 he was in China in connection with the Workers Day Meeting, and spent several months there in latter 1927 and during 1928. He stated he had great interest in China and he presumed that in the October 1937 Meeting of the Communist Party in New York the Chinese problem was discussed. It was important

Mr. MORGAN asked BROWDER if he participated in formulating the policy of the Communist Party wherein Communists in China were to be pictured in a new role. BROWDER replied that he had not, that he recalled no such policy or action on the part of the Communist Party. He then added that the Communist Party attempted to portray the Chinese Communists and represent them as the fighting section of the Chinese people. Mr. MORGAN asked if at that time, it was decided that the Chinese Communists were to be referred to as the North Dakota Non-Partisan Leaders. BROWDER replied that that was not true and that such an assertion was ridiculous.

Mr. MORGAN then asked BROWDER if as Secretary of the Communist Party, it was his responsibility to project a policy in respect to China wherein the Communists of the United States should attempt to influence United States policy relative to its position concerning China. BROWDER indicated that it was the policy of the Communist Party in the United States to influence United States policy into accepting a coalition

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RWMc:smg

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government in China and he added we urged unity for the struggle against Japan. Mr. MORGAN asked what methods the Communist Party employed to advance their aims in this respect and BROWDER replied by direct address to the people of the United States. This he said was accomplished largely through my own medium as spokesman for the Communist Party and through writings in the Daily Worker. He was asked if the Communist Party used transmission belts. BROWDER explained that the term, "transmission belts" had been referred to incorrectly. Actually, he said, by transmission belts the Communist Party referred to every possible channel of approach.

*W. J. [unclear]*  
BROWDER was then asked by Mr. MORGAN if he were familiar with the Institute of Pacific Relations and if the Communist Party employed this organization and BROWDER replied that the Communist Party did not employ the Institute of Pacific Relations.

*check name?*  
At this point in the testimony, Mr. MORGAN read from the Record, Page 1040, the testimony given by Mr. BUDENZ. In this portion of Mr. BUDENZ' testimony, the names of JAFFE and FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD were mentioned. Mr. MORGAN asked BROWDER if he knew either of these men. He replied that he did. Then he was asked if he knew Mr. LATTIMORE and he replied that he had never seen the man and to his knowledge he did not know him. He was next asked if at the October 1937 Meeting which Mr. BUDENZ had referred to in his testimony, there was any mention of the name LATTIMORE. BROWDER replied he could categorically deny any statement to the effect that the name LATTIMORE was mentioned at that meeting.

Mr. MORGAN continuing to read from the testimony given by Mr. BUDENZ, read that portion of Mr. BUDENZ' testimony which stated that during the October 1937 Meeting, FIELD commended Mr. LATTIMORE for his zeal. Mr. MORGAN asked BROWDER to verify his comment and BROWDER stated that such assertion was false and utterly ridiculous; that it was hard for him to imagine how even a professional perjurer could make it up.

Mr. MORGAN then asked BROWDER if at the 1943 Meeting of the Communist Party in New York, did a discussion take place concerning information reported from Mr. LATTIMORE which indicated that a change in policy had taken place relative to the Chinese Communist situation. Again BROWDER stated that he recalls nothing like that being discussed and stated he never heard of LATTIMORE's name mentioned in Party circles. He only knew of his name because of certain publications which he had written.

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RWMc:smg

BROWDER was next questioned about the initials which appeared on the onionskin sheets which contained instructions issued by the Communist Party. BROWDER stated he had never heard of and that he did not personally know of the existence of any such initials and felt they had no significance. (The initials referred to here were stressed by Mr. BUDENZ in his testimony as being the identification of the author on any particular matter explained on the onionskin sheets).

BROWDER at this point stated that he would like to mention that in 1942, as far as the United States Government was concerned, there was a change in policy towards Communist China. He said that this change was announced to him by the then Under-Secretary of State, Mr. SUMNER WELLES. He said that WELLES invited him to the State Department and that his appearance there was a matter of record, that the Press was aware of the conference he had with WELLES. He stated that this change in policy was dictated by our necessity of fighting a global war.

Again at this point, BROWDER was asked if he knew OWEN LATTIMORE to be a Communist. BROWDER replied on the contrary he knew of OWEN LATTIMORE as an anti-Communist and one who expressed anti-Communist views. BROWDER was then asked if he knew FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD to be a member of the Communist Party. He answered this question by saying he knew FIELD when we were both cooperating. I assumed him at the time to be in the Communist Party but I did not know that he was. He was asked if he knew if Mr. JAFFE was a member of the Communist Party. He replied - I accepted him as a friend; I did not know that he was in the Communist Party. Mr. MORGAN then stated that both JAFFE and FIELD have been referred to previously by testimony given before the Committee as being members of an espionage ring. He asked BROWDER if he knew whether or not either or both of these men were engaged in any espionage ring. BROWDER replied that to the best of his knowledge and belief, they had never been so engaged.

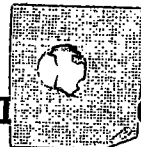
BROWDER was next asked if he knew WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD. He stated he did not. He did mention that he knew EDWARD CARTER and he said that EDWARD CARTER and he, BROWDER, had a common objective. CARTER, he said, was with the Russian War Relief and it was my duty to see that every Communist gave it every assistance.

BROWDER was asked if he knew various individuals who were connected with the Editorial Board of the publication which was sponsored by the Institute of Pacific Relations; namely, BENJAMIN KISER, KAY MITCHELL, HARRIET MOORE, and ANNA LOUISE STRONG. Of these, he mentioned knowing ANNA LOUISE STRONG and stated he has known her for a period of thirty years.

BROWDER then briefly outlined his association with the Communist Party which he stated began in 1919 and ended with his technical expulsion in February 1946. It might be noted that BROWDER refused at this point to advise the Committee why he was expelled from the Party. BROWDER stated in response to a question concerning his ideology that his political opinions had never changed during his adult life.

B-117 ?  
BROWDER was asked by Mr. MORGAN if the Communist Party attempted to recruit members in Government office and he replied that the Party felt that such activity was foolish and futile. Mr. MORGAN in conclusion announced to BROWDER the purposes of the Committee Hearing; namely, to inquire into the loyalty of employees of the State Department. He then asked BROWDER if he knew of any disloyalty on the part of anyone in the State Department. Mr. BROWDER replied he had no reason to think that any person in the State Department was disloyal. He added in the past I have felt that certain persons were detrimental to United States policy. I fought those persons openly, he said. Lastly, he was asked if he knew of anyone in the State Department who was a Communist, would he advise the Committee. He replied that he would not give the Committee the name of any Communist; but that he would, if he knew of any Communists being in the State Department, advise the Committee of that fact.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT



Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Jan*  
*Office*  
**TO :** Director, FBI  
**FROM :** GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field  
**SUBJECT:** Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

**DATE:** April 28, 1950  
*WRO* *V.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/31/79 BY SP-5 RSG/RLW

Attention: Inspector C. E. BARNICH

The meeting of the above Committee was called to order on the morning of April 28, 1950 by Senator TYDINGS. The first witness of the day was FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD. In a prepared statement read into the record, FIELD stated that BUDENZ had said he, FIELD, was a Soviet espionage agent and that he had said that OWEN LATTIMORE was a Communist. FIELD stated the missing witness HUBER would have said that FIELD attended a certain meeting. In his statement, FIELD said he would deny under oath without qualification that he had been an espionage agent of the Soviet Government or any other government. FIELD stated that he had never attended a meeting with OWEN LATTIMORE or LATTIMORE's wife and he had never stated that LATTIMORE was a Communist or was dominated by Communists.

FIELD stated he was with the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1928 until 1940 and thus he had met LATTIMORE in connection with IPR. FIELD stated his relationship with LATTIMORE was limited and that their association did not involve relationship with the Communist Party. FIELD declined to testify relative to his political reviews and political relations.

FIELD stated that the question, "Are you a Communist or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" is used by the government to intimidate individuals.

ED MORGAN, Counsel for the Sub-Committee, read into the record Senate Resolution #231, under which resolution the Committee functions.

FIELD was asked whether he is now or ever has been a member of the Communist Party. FIELD declined to answer this question under the privileges granted him in the Constitution.

FIELD was asked if an answer to this question would tend to incriminate him. To this, he stated he would refuse to answer and again declined on the grounds given for the first question.

Upon the request of MORGAN, Senator TYDINGS asked FIELD whether or not he was now or ever had been a member of the Communist Party. FIELD again declined to testify, stating he was exercising his constitutional rights.

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INDEXED - 115

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on Lattimore case. Hearing record is best evidence copy 5/1/50

FIELD was asked if he attended a meeting at 35 East 12th Street, New York City during the month of October, 1937, which meeting was attended by ALEXANDER TRACHENBERG, EARL BROWDER, J. PETERS, and others. FIELD declined to answer this question on the grounds previously given. Again this question was repeated as coming from Senator TYDINGS and FIELD again declined to respond.

FIELD was asked if he knew EARL BROWDER or ALEXANDER TRACHENBERG. FIELD declined to answer these questions on the grounds previously given.

MORGAN stated that BUDENZ had indicated he had known FIELD as Conrad SPENCER. FIELD was asked if he had ever been known as "SPENCER" or "Conrad SPENCER". FIELD again declined to answer.

FIELD was asked if he knew OWEN LATTIMORE. His answer to this question was "yes". FIELD then indicated he had first met LATTIMORE in the early 1930's, believing it to be more specific in 1934, shortly after LATTIMORE had joined the IPR staff.

When questioned as to the nature of FIELD's association with LATTIMORE, FIELD stated that LATTIMORE had worked for the International Secretariat of the IPR at the same time FIELD had been connected with the American branch of that organization. FIELD stated their association was limited due to the fact that they were employed by separate branches of the IPR and were generally in different parts of the United States.

FIELD was asked why he admitted knowing LATTIMORE when he declined to answer whether or not he knew BROWDER or TRACHENBERG. FIELD declined to answer this question on the grounds of self incrimination.

In answer to a question relative to the specific occasions upon which he had met LATTIMORE, FIELD stated they were both employed by the IPR but in different branches. He stated he had met LATTIMORE in Committee meetings and had also seen him at International Conferences held in different parts of the world.

FIELD was then questioned relative to his most recent association with LATTIMORE. FIELD stated he has not seen LATTIMORE in approximately five or six years to the best of his recollection. When asked what the occasion of their last meeting was, FIELD stated he did not remember. FIELD then continued that he had remained a member of the Board of Trustees of the IPR after his resignation from his job with that organization. He stated LATTIMORE was also a Trustee of the IPR. FIELD stated it was his belief that his last meeting with LATTIMORE was likely at a meeting of the Trustees in the early 1940's. FIELD stated he believed all of his meetings with LATTIMORE to be in connection with the IPR. He stated further that he had limited social meetings with LATTIMORE and his wife and had probably had the LATTIMORES in his home but that he does not remember when.

FIELD was asked if he had ever used his home for a meeting place or a place for a fund raising campaign for any organization. FIELD declined to answer this question on the grounds of self incrimination. Senator TYDINGS directed the question be repeated and be considered as coming from Senator TYDINGS himself. FIELD again declined response.

MORGAN asked FIELD as to whether or not he knew LOUIS BUDENZ. FIELD declined to answer this question on the grounds of possible self incrimination.

FIELD was asked if he had ever made a financial contribution to the IPR. FIELD declined to answer this question on the grounds given previously.

FIELD was asked if the IPR is a Communist organization. To this, FIELD answered no and continued it is not and was not. FIELD stated nothing had ever come to his attention to indicate that it was a Communist organization.

FIELD was again asked if he had ever made a financial contribution to the IPR. He again declined to answer this question. He continued, however, that he was paid by the Institute and that he had also made contributions. He stated his contributions to the IPR were a matter of public record.

FIELD was asked if he was familiar with a publication called "Amerasia". FIELD answered in the affirmative to this question. He further advised that he had been associated with this publication as Chairman of the Editorial Board from its inception until 1943. He further advised that he had written articles for "Amerasia".

FIELD was asked if he knew PHILIP JAFFE. He declined to answer this question on previous grounds. FIELD was then asked if JAFFE was the Managing Editor of "Amerasia", to which FIELD answered that this was a matter of public knowledge.

He was then asked if he was acquainted with T. A. BISSON. FIELD declined to answer this question on grounds previously given. When asked whether or not BISSON was a member of the Editorial Board of "Amerasia", FIELD said he believed he was but that information could be found in the masthead of the magazine itself.

FIELD was asked if he had known a WILLIAM J. LOCKWOOD during the period he was with "Amerasia". FIELD declined to answer on the grounds of self incrimination.

FIELD was asked if he knew an EDWARD C. CARTER during the period he was with "Amerasia". FIELD again declined to answer.

FIELD was then asked if he was acquainted with OWEN LATTIMORE during the period he was with "Amerasia". FIELD answered that he had already indicated that he had known LATTIMORE.

FIELD was asked about the position that LATTIMORE held on the "Amerasia" staff. He indicated he did not recall but believed him to be a member of the Editorial Board.

FIELD was then asked if he was acquainted with a BENJAMIN KIZER. FIELD declined to answer this question.

FIELD was asked if he was acquainted with KATE HUNNELL. He declined to answer this question.

FIELD was then asked if he was acquainted with a HARRIETT MOORE. He declined to answer this question.

FIELD declined to answer a question as to whether or not he was acquainted with ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

At this point, FIELD was asked why he acknowledged knowing OWEN LATTIMORE while declining to answer whether or not he knew the eight other persons. To this, FIELD answered that if he answers questions pertaining to the other eight, he would destroy his privilege as granted to him under the Constitution. When asked for further reasons why he declined to answer the question, FIELD stated that he had fully indicated his reasons and that he had nothing to add.

FIELD was asked if, during the period of his association with IPR, he had known a man named PHILIP JAFFE. FIELD declined to answer this question. The same question was repeated with regard to T. A. BISSON. FIELD indicated his refusal to answer any questions about anyone with the exception of OWEN LATTIMORE.

In answer to a question relative to the publications of the IPR, FIELD stated that that organization had published about 500 books in addition to numerous periodicals. He indicated the periodical publications to be "Far Eastern Survey", "Pacific Affairs", and "IPR Notes". FIELD further indicated that the national council of other countries had published their own periodicals.

FIELD was asked if he had written an article, "Civil War in China", published in the magazine, "Foreign Affairs" in 1946. FIELD declined to answer this question on the grounds that it might be self incriminatory. Senator TYDINGS directed FIELD to reply to this question. FIELD then indicated he does not recall whether or not he wrote the article.

FIELD was asked if he had written an article entitled, "New China Program of American Interventionists", published in the January 1948 edition of "Political Affairs". FIELD declined to answer this question.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : *SAC* GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBJECT: *MS* Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
 Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: May 2, 1950

*MS*

*Blair*  
*7-2-3 re*  
*Budenz*

*Blair*  
*MS*

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suggesting that...*

The meeting was called to order at 10:37 A. M. on this date by Senator MILLARD TYDINGS.

Dr. OWEN LATTIMORE, represented by PAUL PORTER, took his place at the witness stand. LATTIMORE proceeded to read a lengthy prepared statement. He indicated his appreciation in being able to reappear before the Committee to meet the charges that had been made since his first appearance.

LATTIMORE stated that since his first appearance, professional investigators had been beating the bushes frantically in order to show up any more evidence that would support the original charges. LATTIMORE stated that as yet, Senator McCARTHY's charges had not been supported by any evidence and the Senators procured witnesses did not back up McCARTHY's original charges.

LATTIMORE said that none of the witnesses had attempted to support the charges that he, LATTIMORE, was a top Soviet agent. He said that none of the witnesses had given any indication that he, LATTIMORE, was a member of the Communist Party.

LATTIMORE stated that Senator McCARTHY's original charges that LATTIMORE maintained a desk and a telephone in the State Department, and was an official of the State Department, were definitely not proven. LATTIMORE stated it was his opinion that Senator McCARTHY hoped that if the charges against LATTIMORE could be proved it would tie in with the State Department.

LATTIMORE said that he and he alone was responsible for whatever material he has ever written. He said that he was a private citizen and not a public official and further, that he had taken no money from Soviet Russia, KOHLBERG, the China Lobby or Senator McCARTHY.

LATTIMORE indicated that Senator McCARTHY had stated that the validity of the charges against the State Department depended on the charges against LATTIMORE, and that he, LATTIMORE, believes McCARTHY has lost his case.

LATTIMORE indicated that it was his wish that the Committee would not discount the testimony of General THORP (phonetic) and DEMAREE BESS. LATTIMORE stated that unlike Senator McCARTHY, he has never been charged with violation of law of the United States, of destroying records, or of violating the ethics of his profession.

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LATTIMORE stated he considered KERLEY to be a stand-in for the missing witness HUBER. LATTIMORE stated HUBER would have said he, LATTIMORE, attended a meeting in 1946 in the home of FREDERICK FIELD. LATTIMORE stated the meeting was supposedly in conjunction with the "Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy". LATTIMORE stated that he had never joined this Committee and that he could obtain the testimony of the former Mrs. FREDERICK FIELD to indicate that he had never been at the meeting in the FIELD home.

With reference to the testimony given by FREDA UTLEY, LATTIMORE stated that there was no evidence that he was a Communist Party member and there was no evidence that he was a Soviet espionage agent. LATTIMORE pointed out that UTLEY had stated McCARTHY was wrong in setting forth this charge. He indicated that UTLEY had said that LATTIMORE "came near to" supporting the Party line. He concluded that nothing in UTLEY's testimony supports the charges made against him.

LATTIMORE then indicated that the testimony of LOUIS BUDENZ was the only testimony to come within "shouting distance" of Senator McCARTHY's charges. LATTIMORE indicated that BUDENZ had stated LATTIMORE had been given permission to deviate from the Party line inasmuch as he, LATTIMORE, was given permission to criticize the Soviet Union. LATTIMORE stated that if MOLOTIV, FOSTER, or STACHEL had said one thousandth of what LATTIMORE had said against the Soviet Union they would have been punished.

LATTIMORE indicated that BUDENZ had said that he, LATTIMORE, came under Party discipline. He said BUDENZ had given as an example the fact that LATTIMORE was ordered to represent Chinese Communism as an agrarian reform movement. LATTIMORE stated that under questioning by Senator LODGE, BUDENZ had indicated this to be the most concrete example of LATTIMORE following Party discipline. LATTIMORE then indicated he would show that he did not believe Chinese Communism to be an agrarian reform.

LATTIMORE indicated BUDENZ had stated that he, LATTIMORE, was in a good position due to the fact that he could place Communist writers on the staff of "Pacific Affairs". LATTIMORE indicated that this publication had no writers on the staff except the editors and therefore he, LATTIMORE, could not have placed writers on the staff as charged. LATTIMORE indicated that under further questioning, BUDENZ had finally whittled this statement down to the name of one JAMES S. ALLEN who wrote an article on "Agrarian Tendencies in the Philippines". LATTIMORE indicated that at this time there was a general interest in the farm movement in all countries bordering the Pacific and that the material for ALLEN's article had come from the Philippine Department of Agriculture.

LATTIMORE then brought up BUDENZ' testimony relative to a Communist Party meeting which he had attended in 1943. LATTIMORE pointed out that BUDENZ did not say that LATTIMORE was in attendance at the meeting.

LATTIMORE indicated that BUDENZ had testified to the effect that LATTIMORE had received word of a change of attitude toward CHIANG KAI-SHEK through FREDERICK FIELD. LATTIMORE then indicated that later in his testimony, BUDENZ had stated that LATTIMORE had informed FIELD of the change of attitude. LATTIMORE indicated that in 1943, he was with OWI and was not connected with "Pacific Affairs". LATTIMORE indicated that he had supported CHIANG long after American Communists had attacked the Generalissimo.

LATTIMORE indicated that it was his belief that the entire story by BUDENZ is a fabrication. LATTIMORE stated that BUDENZ is either a plain old fashioned liar or a pathological liar.

LATTIMORE noted that BUDENZ had made reference to certain onion skin documents which bore certain initials which BUDENZ stated would connect LATTIMORE with the Communist Party. He stated these documents had apparently been so secret that they were disposed of. LATTIMORE then indicated that he wondered if these documents also contained initials which would connect J. EDGAR HOOVER or Congressman DIES. LATTIMORE stated he believes this story also is a lie.

LATTIMORE indicated that he believed all of BUDENZ' statements to be a product of a malignant and twisted personality. He stated that since 1945, BUDENZ has testified before a dozen government agencies and that during this testimony, no mention has ever been made of LATTIMORE. LATTIMORE stated BUDENZ had spent hours being interviewed by agents of the F. B. I. and no mention of LATTIMORE had been made until after the current investigation was instituted.

LATTIMORE stated he believed BUDENZ is engaged in a transparent fraud. LATTIMORE indicated BUDENZ hops on the band wagon of Communist investigations and uses the name of Communist Party officials because he knows they will not testify or appear in rebuttal.

LATTIMORE stated that in the Colliers article written by BUDENZ last year, LATTIMORE was originally identified as an adherent to the Chinese Agrarian theory. LATTIMORE indicated that BUDENZ had later voluntarily struck out the only reference to LATTIMORE in the entire story.

*orig to Ladd*

Director, FBI

May 1, 1950

GUY HOTTILL, SAC, Washington Field

*Belmont*  
*Hellmuth*

① U.S. COMMITTEE ON SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS, COMMITTEE  
② ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

①  
*Gregg*

Reference previous WFO letter to the Bureau this date.

At this point Senator TYDINGS introduced and read a telegram from what he described as the American Chamber of Commerce of a large Chinese city, dated March 16, 1949. Senator TYDINGS advised that due to the fact that he had been asked to keep the signatures to the telegram in strictest confidence, he would not reveal such at this time, but would make them known to members of the Committee in closed session. Senator TYDINGS further advised concerning this telegram that he had presented it following its receipt by him, to the Armed Services Committee in secret session approximately one year ago. Senator TYDINGS read the very lengthy telegram concerning the United States' position in China as viewed by members of the American Chamber of Commerce in this Chinese city. The telegram indicated that China was primarily interested in arranging peace negotiations and that any attempt to gain influence among the Chinese people would have to be from sources other than the "self-interested groups of the past", and stated that control of China ought to be taken out of all extreme hands.

The telegram further declared that, in effect, the Nationalist Government of China, under Chiang-Kai-Shek, had been corrupt and inefficient and had favored a select few and made no effective use of supplies sent to China from the United States. The telegram further stated that the Nationalist Government never invested one cent of its own money in furthering the nation's interest and actually sold goods obtained from abroad to the highest bidder. The telegram charged that the Nationalist Government, since V-J Day, had heavily taxed people in Northern China and Manchuria, had forced armies upon them and stated that the officers of the troops were chiefly obsessed with a desire to acquire personal wealth. It was further charged that discipline and the will to fight simply were non-existent in the Chinese Nationalist troops as a result of these conditions.

It was further alleged that warehouses of ammunition which the Nationalist Government would not release to its own troops were consequently painlessly transferred to Communist units in China following surrender or flight of Nationalist troops. It was further alleged that as a result of the treason of the former ruling Chinese Nationalist Government, Communist troops in China rode in American vehicles, ate American food, and were equipped with American arms and ammunition. The advice offered to this Government in the telegram was that we should withhold aid to China at that

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time and should not encourage either extreme in that country. Senator TYDINGS stated that this telegram had been sent by what he termed a large group of conservative American businessmen who formed a Chamber of Commerce in a large Chinese city.

ACKED  
KOLBERG

At this point EDWARD MORGAN, Counsel for the Committee, questioned Mrs. UTLEY concerning her relationship with OLIVER COBURG (phonetic). Mrs. UTLEY stated that she had known COBURG and had worked for him and estimated the total income received from her writings from COBURG at approximately \$140 to \$150. Mrs. UTLEY stated that her occupation at this time consisted of writing books and articles as a free lance writer and of giving lectures. Thereupon she was questioned by Mr. MORGAN concerning income derived by her from Chinese sources since 1945, to which she replied negatively. Mrs. UTLEY then told Mr. MORGAN that she is presently a member of the Chinese Policy Association, is not a director of such organization, and received no compensation as a result of her association with that body. In attempting to outline the purpose and objectives of that association, in reply to a query by Mr. MORGAN, Mrs. UTLEY was interrupted on several occasions and summarized the purpose and objectives as being primarily anti-Communist with regard to China.

At this point, Mrs. UTLEY was questioned by Mr. MORGAN concerning a book written by her in 1940, and entitled "Three We Lost" or "Tree We Lost", and admitted that in that publication she had advocated a negotiated peace with the Nazi Government of Germany. Mr. MORGAN called her attention to her statement on Page 261 of that book concerning the possible "humanization and democratization of National Socialism", which Mrs. UTLEY explained as being anti-Russian rather than pro-German, as implied by Mr. MORGAN. MORGAN then called Mrs. UTLEY's attention to an article by her in the periodical "Common Sense" in 1941, which appeared also in the Readers Digest for October, 1941, in which he recalled her as saying "the evil of Nazi dominated Europe is less than the evil of an England fighting in vain---."

MORGAN next called Mrs. UTLEY's attention to her book "The High Cost of Vengeance" written in 1949, in which UTLEY allegedly described Brigadier General TAYLOR (phonetic) as being pro-Russian at that time. MORGAN next pointed out a review of her book by DELBERT CLARK, appearing in the New York Times on July 10, 1949, in which CLARK described her book as consisting of half-truths, lies, etc, concerning her statements regarding the United States policy in the occupation of post war Germany. At this point Mrs. UTLEY stated that the policy adopted with the consent of the United States as to the allied occupation in Germany resulted in a Communist dominated policy. MORGAN then pointed out that in a review of her book in the periodical "Catholic World" in September, 1949, UTLEY placed the blame for the persecution of the German people during the occupation of Germany on the people of the United States.

At this point Mrs. UTLEY was questioned by Senator GREENE, of Rhode Island. In response to Senator GREENE's question as to whether OWEN LATTIMORE was ever, according to her own personal knowledge, a Soviet Agent or a member of the Communist Party, Mrs. UTLEY replied in the negative, adding, however, that in response to Senator GREENE's second question, she personally observed very little difference between an actual Communist Party member and one who, like LATTIMORE, consistently followed the Communist Party line. At this point Mrs. UTLEY was questioned by Senator GREENE concerning her membership in the Communist Party several years ago and stated that she had never taken any pledge of loyalty to Stalin on joining the Party. She further admitted that she vowed on joining the Party to follow international Communist Party doctrines and that such determination at that time was probably not really consistent with her loyalty to this country. Mrs. UTLEY stated generally that lying and cheating were common among members of the Communist Party and stated that she finally left the Party when it became clear to her that she too would have to lie, cheat, commit perjury, etc.

Senator GREENE then questioned Mrs. UTLEY concerning her book "China at War", which he maintained was published in 1932, but which she insisted was published in 1938 or 1939, wherein, according to Senator GREENE, Mrs. UTLEY stated that the Chinese Communists had become radical in the 19th Century sense of the word. In replying to Senator GREENE's questioning as to whether parts of this book might not be interpreted as favorable to Russia and Communism, Mrs. UTLEY pointed out that her husband had been arrested in 1937, without trial, in Russia and that her writings following that time simply had to be at least not unfavorable to Russia for fear of the consequences to her husband.

At this point Senator GREENE questioned Mrs. UTLEY concerning her relationship with COBURG (phonetic), the American China Policy Association (whose policy Mrs. UTLEY described as being consistently pro-Chiang-Kai-Shek), and the AMTORG. Mrs. UTLEY also advised that she had been a Consultant for the China Supply Commission. Mrs. UTLEY stated that she knew of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and knew that COBURG (phonetic) was at one time connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations, but stated that she had never helped COBURG in his work for the Institute of Pacific Relations.

At this point there followed a rather lengthy session between Mrs. UTLEY and Senator GREENE, which attempted to demonstrate that both Mrs. UTLEY and LATTIMORE at times may have followed the Communist Party line, but that to brand LATTIMORE a Communist on such basis would be as erroneous as to charge Mrs. UTLEY with being a Communist on the same grounds.

Senator TYDINGS, at this point, entered into the record a letter from Mr. DEMAREE BEST, of the Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In introducing Mr. BEST, Senator TYDINGS established, through BEST's answers to his questioning, that BEST has been a Foreign Correspondent for the past twenty-five years and spent ten years in China and four years in Russia. Mr. BEST thereupon proceeded to read the letter sent by him previously by Senator TYDINGS. The main content of BEST's letter was to the effect that LATTIMORE had been a house guest of BEST at Moscow in 1936, and had had some contact with a Russian official whose name he recalled as KANTOROVICH or KANTROVICH. At this point the hearing room became extremely noisy and the entire content of BEST's letter could not be ascertained; however, it is believed that BEST stated that LATTIMORE had somehow ascertained some information from a Soviet source and had later furnished this information to agencies of the United States Government. BEST further stated that during the late 1930's he recalled many individuals who had the reputation of being "parlor pinks", but, based on his knowledge of LATTIMORE, he never would include the latter even in this category.

The hearings adjourned at 5:45 P.M., at which time Senator TYDINGS announced a continuation of the hearings at 10:30 A.M., May 2, 1950, at which time OWEN LATTIMORE is scheduled to address the Committee, on his own behalf.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd

DATE: April 28, 1950

FROM : A. H. Belmont *AB 2 JK*

SUBJECT: CASES IDENTIFIED BEFORE TYDINGS SUBCOMMITTEE  
UNDER REVIEW BY LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson  
 Ladd  
 Clegg  
 Glavin  
 Nichols  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Harbo  
 Mohr  
 Tele. Room  
 Nease  
 Gandy

Attached for your information and ready reference is a chart showing the status, as of the close of business April 28, 1950, of the project of furnishing to the Loyalty Review Board reports and data in connection with the President's instruction that the Loyalty Review Board review those cases which have been cited by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy before the Tydings Subcommittee.

You will note there are actually a total of 88 cases involved. Of these there are 20 in which no data is being sent to the Loyalty Review Board because the 20 individuals involved are not employed in the Executive Branch of the Government and have not been investigated by the Bureau under provisions of Executive Order 9835 or such public laws as Public Law 402, 80th Congress, Public Law 472, 80th Congress, and the Atomic Energy Act. This leaves a balance of 68 cases on which we will report to the Loyalty Review Board. Of these 68 two are pending full field loyalty investigations, namely, Aaron Jack Gross and Franz Leopold Neumann. These should be completed in the immediate future and on completion the reports will be directed to Mr. Richardson's attention. In one case (John Carter Vincent) we have requested advice from the Attorney General as to whether a loyalty investigation should be conducted. Of the remaining 65 there are only six cases in which we have not completed our review of the files and furnished to the Loyalty Review Board a letter and/or reports where appropriate. These six cases that we are working on are set forth below, together with the exact status of each case:

Committee on State Department

- out* PEVERIL MEIGS
- out* ERNEST THEODORE ARNDT
- out* ALEXANDER RAPOPORT
- out* ESTHER KOPELEWICH
- out* LOUIS ROSS
- out* SYLVIA SCHIMMEL

- Letter dictated, transcribed and being reviewed.
- Letter dictated.
- Letter dictated, transcribed and being reviewed.
- Leads outstanding.
- Leads outstanding.
- Letter dictated, transcribed and being reviewed.

In every instance where we are making a report to the Loyalty Review Board, we are taking the precaution to insure that the Department has copies of our investigative reports and is also furnished with a copy of the letter which we send to Mr. Richardson on the individual cases.

**ACTION** None. This is for your information.

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 Attachment  
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*expedited in every way.*

*FILE*

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STATUS REPORT ON CASES BEING REVIEWED  
BY LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD

<u>CASE NO.</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>LETTER TO IRB</u>	<u>MEMO TO DEPARTMENT</u>
1.	FIERST, Herbert Abner	4/26/50	4/26/50
2.	VINCENT, John Carter (Memo to Peyton Ford 4/21/50 re initiating investigation)		
3.	MEIGS, Peveril		
4.	ILLYEFALVI-VITES, Gizella	(no data being sent)	
5.	ROBINSON, Jay	4/21/50	4/21/50
6.	TUCHSCHER, Frances Myrle	4/27/50	4/26/50
7.	HARRISON, Marcia Ruth	4/21/50	4/21/50
8.	GRAZE, Stanley	4/20/50	4/26/50
9.	LLOYD, David Demarest	4/18/50	4/21/50
10.	POSNER, Marjorie S.	(no data being sent)	
11.	FERRY, Mabel Frances	4/20/50	4/27/50
12.	YUHAS, Helene	4/17/50	4/21/50
13.	WASHBURN, Carleton Wolsey	4/20/50	4/26/50
14.	ARNDT, Ernest Theodore		
* 15.	JESSUP, Philip Caryl	4/12/50	4/21/50
16.	MILLER, Robert T.	(no data being sent)	
17.	TAYLOR, Jeanne H.	( " " " " )	
18.	LEMON, Edythe J.	( " " " " )	
* 19.	REMINGTON, William Walter	4/13/50	4/21/50
20.	SMITH, Samuel Stephenson	(no data being sent)	
21.	DELGADO, Mucio	4/20/50	4/24/50
22.	RAPOPORT, Alexander		
23.	CHIPCHIN, Nelson	4/20/50	4/24/50
24.	KOPELEVICH, Esther (nee Less)		
25.	GRONDAHL, Tegner Conrad	4/18/50	4/24/50
26.	CLUCAS, Lowell M.	4/19/50	4/24/50
27.	KATUSICH, Ivan	4/19/50	4/24/50
28.	LANDSBERG, Hans Herman	4/17/50	4/27/50
29.	GRAZE, Gerald	4/17/50	4/27/50
30.	JOSEPHSON, Joseph	(no data being sent)	
31.	ROSS, Louis		
32.	ROSS, Robert	4/19/50	4/24/50
33.	SIEGEL, Herman	4/21/50	4/24/50
34.	MONTAGUE, Ella Morris	4/17/50	4/27/50
35.	SHELL, Melvin	(no data being sent)	
36.	SMITH, Frederick W.	4/20/50	
37.	OSNATCH, Olga F.	4/20/50	4/28/50
38.	KAUFMAN, Arthur Milton	4/20/50	4/26/50
39.	VOLIN, Max Abraham	4/26/50	4/26/50
40.	GORDON, Estelle (Loyalty investigation completed. Sent to CSC & Dept. 4/20/50)		
41.	MARGOLIES, Daniel Franks	4/19/50	4/21/50
42.	MANN, Gottfried Thomas	(no data being sent)	

ENCLOSURE  
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43.	FISHBACK, Sam	4/20/50	4/26/50
44.	CARTER, William D.	(no data being sent)	
45.	NESS, Norman Theodore	4/19/50	4/21/50
46.	STONE, William Treadwell	4/21/50	4/25/50
47.	BRUNAUER, Dr. Esther Caukin	4/27/50	4/27/50
48.	BARNETT, Robert Warren	4/18/50	4/21/50
49.	BARNETT, Patricia Glover	4/18/50	4/27/50
50.	SCHIMMEL, Sylvia		
51.	ROMMEL, ROWENA SHELDON BELLOWES	4/19/50	4/25/50
52.	RAINE, Philip	4/24/50	4/24/50
53.	POST, Richard Howell	4/17/50	4/21/50
54.	LORWIN, Val Rogin	4/17/50	4/21/50
55.	CAMERON, Gertrude Grimwood	4/21/50	4/25/50
56.	LIFANTIEFF-LEE, Paul Alexander	4/17/50	4/21/50
57.	NEAL, Fred Warner	4/28/50	4/28/50
58.	CARLISLE, Lois	4/25/50	4/25/50
59.	NEUMANN, Franz Leopold (Pending Full Field Loyalty investigation)		
60.	DuBOIS, Cora Alice	4/18/50	4/21/50
61.	DEMERJIAN, Alice Margaret	4/24/50	4/24/50
62.	PERKINS, Isham William	4/14/50	4/21/50
63.	WILCOX, Stanley	4/19/50	
64.	PETER, Hollis William	4/24/50	4/24/50
65.	HUNT, Victor	4/24/50	
66.	RANDOLPH, David (Rosenberg)	(no data being sent)	
67.	LINDSEY, John Richard	(" " " " )	
68.	GROSS, Aaron Jack (Pending Full Field Loyalty investigation)		
69.	MAGUIE, Sylvia Clementina	4/14/50	4/24/50
70.	BERMAN, Harold	4/19/50	4/24/50
71.	STOLANOFF, Stolan	(no data being sent)	
72.	No name given		
73.	HORWIN, Leonard	(no data being sent)	
74.	JANKOWSKI, Joseph Thaddeus	4/20/50	4/26/50
75.	LEWIS, Preston Keesling	4/25/50	4/25/50
76.	FORD, James T.	(no data being sent)	
77.	POSNIAK, Edward George	4/17/50	4/27/50
* 78.	KAMARCK, Andrew Martin	4/27/50	
79.	POLYZOIDES, T. Achilles	4/26/50	4/27/50
80.	WASHBURN, John T. (John Tipton Fishburn)	4/21/50	4/21/50
81.	PARSON, Ruby	4/24/50	4/24/50

* SERVICE, John Stewart	4/13/50	4/21/50
DURAN, Gustave or Gustavo	(no data being sent)	
KENNY, Mary Jane	(" " " " )	
SHAPLEY, Dr. Harlow (Willis Harlow)	(" " " " )	
LATTIMORE, Owen J.	(" " " " )	
KENYON, Dorothy	4/24/50	4/24/50
HANSON, Haldore Eugene	4/21/50	4/21/50
SHUMAN, Dr. Frederick L.	(no data being sent)	

\* - Letter to Loyalty Review Board, cc Department, advising supplemental investigation has been instituted and reports will be forwarded on completion.



Counsel MORGAN read five other passages from LATTIMORE's book and asked the witness to explain further the reasons for his statements.

LATTIMORE was then directed to previous testimony in which he had indicated he had never called the Chinese Communists "agrarian reformists". Counsel MORGAN read from the Virginia Quarterly Review, Spring, 1940 issue, Pages 164 and 165, in which LATTIMORE had referred to "agrarian radicalists". LATTIMORE stated this phrase was the current expression at the time and he had used that phrase in quotes to indicate that they were in his words. LATTIMORE stated the people were not as much for Communism as they were against the Chinese Government.

At the conclusion of MORGAN's questioning, Senator HICKENLOOPER indicated that Mr. MORRIS (phonetic), Assistant Counsel, had some questions to ask the witness. Senator TYDINGS said if MORRIS had questions he should submit them to Senator TYDINGS, who would ask the questions for MORRIS. Senator TYDINGS would not allow MORRIS to question LATTIMORE, whereupon Senator HICKENLOOPER took over the questioning.

Under Senator HICKENLOOPER's questioning, LATTIMORE stated he had never met LOUIS BUDENZ, had never had any correspondence with him and until the present hearings had never had any quarrels or difficulty with him. Senator HICKENLOOPER asked the witness if he knew why BUDENZ would lie about LATTIMORE as LATTIMORE has claimed. LATTIMORE referred the Senator to Page 4 of his statement in which he considered the career of BUDENZ for the past five years. LATTIMORE indicated his belief that BUDENZ was activated by commercial aspects and a motive of personal profit.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE numerous questions about his knowledge of and connections with VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON, the Arctic explorer. In answer to these questions LATTIMORE stated he had purchased a farm in Connecticut during the summer of 1949, in partnership with STEFANSSON.

Senator HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if he knew a Chinese by the name of TUNG PI WU. LATTIMORE's answer was in the negative.

Under further questioning by Senator HICKENLOOPER, LATTIMORE stated he did not furnish character references for PHILLIP JAFFEE after the latter was arrested in connection with the "Amerasia Case". LATTIMORE stated he hadn't seen JAFFEE since 1940 or 1941. LATTIMORE further indicated that JAFFEE and T. A. EISSON accompanied him, LATTIMORE, on a trip to Hunan, China; further, LATTIMORE stated he did not know GERHARD EISLER in China or anywhere else by the name of EISLER or by any other name.

Next, Senator HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if he knew MAYUGI OTAKU (phonetic), to which LATTIMORE responded that he could not recall. Whereupon Senator HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE whether LATTIMORE's wife, Mrs. LATTIMORE, had ever lectured before the Tom Mooney School in San Francisco, California.

To this question LATTIMORE replied that he did not know, according to his own knowledge.

*Reference*

Next, Senator HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if it were so that, about the time of the arrests in the Amerasia Case, ROTH and JAFFEE visited him at Baltimore. To this question LATTIMORE replied in the affirmative, and stated that also JOHN SERVICE had visited him on that occasion. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE what was the purpose of ROTH's visit. To this LATTIMORE replied that ROTH was at that time working on a book, and as a younger author, wanted LATTIMORE to look over the galley-proofs of his book. LATTIMORE explained that the purpose of SERVICE's visit was merely the fact that SERVICE was a friend of his of many years standing, and may also have been there to look at the galley-proofs, but that he could not recall for certain at this time. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE whether SERVICE had, at that time, brought or taken away any galley-proofs on that occasion. To this question LATTIMORE replied that he could not recall.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then read to LATTIMORE an article from a San Francisco newspaper reporting a scheduled lecture by Mrs. OLGA LATTIMORE concerning a subject related to China, at the Tom Mooney Labor School, Turk Street, San Francisco, California, at 8:00 p.m., on Friday, April 30 (year unintelligible). Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE how he would account for that article and whether his memory had not now been refreshed. After some delay, LATTIMORE responded by asking Senator HICKENLOOPER whether there was any reason why one should not speak at the Tom Mooney Labor School. Senator HICKENLOOPER pointed out to LATTIMORE that this was not the answer to his question and that LATTIMORE was apparently overlooking a fact. Senator HICKENLOOPER next asked LATTIMORE if he had ever met RICHARD SORGE, whom he described as having been a subject of an espionage investigation in China, and in Japan. LATTIMORE replied by stating that he could not recall.

The next question put to LATTIMORE by Senator HICKENLOOPER was whether, to LATTIMORE's knowledge, the Peoples World was one of the official publications of the Communist Party in 1943. Due to disturbances in the hearing room at this point, LATTIMORE's answer was unintelligible. Senator HICKENLOOPER next asked LATTIMORE whether, while he was in Yenan, China, he had ever aided EDGAR SNOW in obtaining information for his book, "Red Star Over China". To this question LATTIMORE replied, "No Sir, not that I can recall".

Senator HICKENLOOPER then queried LATTIMORE as to whether he knew HARRIET DINEEN CHI, whom he described as the wife of the present proposed UN Representative of the Chinese Communist Government, presently awaiting to assume his post, in New York City. LATTIMORE stated that he had known HARRIET CHI. Senator HICKENLOOPER's next question concerned the possible employment relationship between HARRIET CHI and LATTIMORE. To this question LATTIMORE replied that she had been employed as his Secretary during the summer of 1936.

When queried by Senator HICKENLOOPER, LATTIMORE state that this was the only period during which she had been employed by him. To Senator HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether HARRIET CHI is PHILLIP JAFFEE's niece, LATTIMORE replied that he did not know.

At this point, 5:40 p.m., Senator TYDINGS called attention to the hour and advised, that due to the fact Senator HICKENLOOPER had stated that he had many more questions to ask LATTIMORE, the hearings would be carried over at that time until 10:00 a.m. tomorrow.

Director, FBI

May 2, 1950

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Transmitted herewith is the prepared statement of OWEN LATTIMORE before the Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 2, 1950. Mr. LATTIMORE was on the stand from 10:37 A. M. this date until 12:50 P. M. reading the enclosed statement, from which he has not deviated.

Upon the conclusion of this statement, the Committee recessed for luncheon until 2:30 P. M., at which time LATTIMORE will be cross examined.

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : *[Signature]* GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBJECT: Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: May 3, 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12/10/79 BY SP-5 RJO/ELH

The hearings were resumed by Chairman Senator GREEN at 2:07 P. M.

OWEN LATTIMORE stated as an addendum to the last question answered by him during the morning session, that in 1945 at least one newspaper friend of his was refused permission to take a copy of LATTIMORE's book, "Solution in Asia" into Russia. LATTIMORE stated that the reason why permission was not granted by Russian authorities would become apparent by consulting page 83 of his book.

Senator HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if he knew LAWRENCE ROSINGER. LATTIMORE replied that he did and that he first knew ROSINGER when the latter was working for the Foreign Policy Association. HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if ROSINGER at that time was a Consultant of the State Department. LATTIMORE's answer was unintelligible. HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE if he were acquainted with WILLIAM C. STONE, to which LATTIMORE replied that he was, and that STONE was a former member of the Board of Consultants on "Amerasia". When asked as to whether he knew ANNA LOUISE STRONG, LATTIMORE stated that he had met her several times. HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE whether STRONG had ever visited his home during the past two years. To this, LATTIMORE replied that she had visited him on one occasion between trains following her return from Russia. HICKENLOOPER asked whether LATTIMORE had discussed STRONG's experiences with her, to which LATTIMORE replied that he had. HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE if he were acquainted with SHO CHU MINH, to which LATTIMORE responded that he was not. HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE whether he had stated that he had never met Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON. LATTIMORE stated that this was correct, that he had never met Mr. ACHESON.

In response to HICKENLOOPER's question, as to whether he had believed from time to time that Chinese Communist leaders were under the influence of the Communist International, LATTIMORE replied by stating that in a book published by him in 1932 he had stated that he saw only a peasant uprising, but that later, upon having had an opportunity to study the Chinese more carefully, he had consistently held the view that the Chinese Communist Party was an out and out follower of the Soviet Communist Party. He stated that his statement applied to the Chinese Communist leaders also. LATTIMORE stated that the Chinese Communists and their leaders are devout Communists, if nothing else. He pointed out that the Chinese Communist Party has undergone a turbulent revolution of its own, just as in Russia. He advised also that he had observed considerable evidence that the Chinese Communists, while relying on the principles of Russian Communism, often deviated in minor matters pertaining to their activities in the China area.

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At this point, HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if he had ever been associated with the American League for Peace and Democracy. LATTIMORE replied that he did not believe so. At this point, HICKENLOOPER mentioned various members of the Advisory Boards of the American League for Peace and Democracy and of the China Aid Council. Among them: Dr. CLAUDE E. FORKNER, ARTHUR UPHAM HOLT (phonetic), Dr. HENRY A. ATKINSON, Dr. LYMAN R. BRADLEY, Mrs. EDWARD C. CARTER, CAROL CHING CHI, Mrs. ELIZABETH B. COTTON, Mrs. FORKNER, TERESA BERLONG (phonetic), Mrs. PHILIP C. JAFFE, LUPTON, and Miss DOROTHY McCONNELL.

LATTIMORE stated that he was not certain as to whether he knew Dr. FORKNER, unless this individual was the same Dr. FORKNER whom he had met through the Johns Hopkins University. He stated that he knew ARTHUR U. HOLT (phonetic) but had had infrequent contact with him. LATTIMORE admitted knowing Dr. BRADLEY, CAROL CHING CHI, TERESA BERLONG (phonetic), Mrs. PHILIP C. JAFFE, and Mrs. EDWARD C. CARTER, whom he described as the wife of E. C. CARTER former head of the Institute of Pacific Relations when LATTIMORE was employed by that agency.

Senator HICKENLOOPER's next line of questioning concerned LATTIMORE's acquaintance with one Dr. WALTER HEISSIG. In response to HICKENLOOPER's questions, LATTIMORE stated that he had met HEISSIG on one occasion for about one-half hour on December 31, 1945 or January 1, 1946. LATTIMORE stated that he had been introduced to HEISSIG, a German national, by a Swedish friend whom he did not name. LATTIMORE stated that he had on that occasion given HEISSIG money with which the latter was to purchase any books, writings, etc, which had been made in Peiking and in Manchuria during the Japanese occupation, for LATTIMORE. In response to HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether he had had any contact with HEISSIG after V-J Day, LATTIMORE stated that he could not recall. At this point, HICKENLOOPER called LATTIMORE's attention to an article in the New York World Telegram-Sun in 1947, which article appeared in a column bearing the picture of FRANK FERRILL. HICKENLOOPER stated that the article appeared under the heading "Secret Service", and made reference to the investigation of LATTIMORE by Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY.

According to HICKENLOOPER, the article called attention to the fact that HEISSIG, an agent of the German S.D., was caught by United States agents at Peiking while even then promoting activities in Japan after V-J Day which were against the best interests of the United States. The article also points out that LATTIMORE quickly ran to HEISSIG's aid, and pointed out that there appeared to be sufficient evidence against HEISSIG that he could then have been tried as a war criminal. The article pointed out that HEISSIG was finally sentenced to 20 years hard labor. The article also referred to HEISSIG's dealings with OWEN LATTIMORE in Manchuria.

In response to HICKENLOOPER's further questioning of LATTIMORE concerning his contacts with HEISSIG, LATTIMORE maintained that the only personal

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contact with HEISSIG which he could recall was the one mentioned previously by him. He stated that contrary to other reports, HEISSIG had never offered him his library. LATTIMORE went on to point out that certain of his American friends who had been caught with HEISSIG in Peiking following the Pearl Harbor disaster, had told LATTIMORE that HEISSIG had been most helpful to them. LATTIMORE named Professor ARTHUR WRIGHT of Stanford University as one of those persons. LATTIMORE went on to state that he recalled writing a letter to Mr. LEIGHTON STUART, American Ambassador at Nanking at the time, to see what could be done about resolving the situation which involved HEISSIG. LATTIMORE stated that he had never made what might be called an appeal in behalf of HEISSIG. LATTIMORE also stated that he soon thereafter wrote to General THORPE and advised the General that HEISSIG had some valuable information concerning matters in Mongolia and suggested that the General refer this information to the proper channels. LATTIMORE also stated that he corresponded with Dr. HEISSIG through prison censorship while HEISSIG was imprisoned. He advised that HEISSIG was permitted to continue his research work while in prison and sent LATTIMORE some of his work for publication in this country.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE as to his acquaintance with ALGER HISS. LATTIMORE stated that he had met ALGER HISS late in the 1930's when HISS was employed at the State Department in the office of Dr. HORNBECK. In response to HICKENLOOPER's question as to the occasion for his visit to the State Department at that time, LATTIMORE stated that he had gone there to visit Dr. HORNBECK. He further stated that he could not recall anyone else whom he had visited at that time at the State Department with the possible exception of Mr. MILTON B. JOHNSTON, former Minister to China, who was at that time Under-Secretary of State. In response to HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether he had ever conferred with ALGER HISS concerning United States-China policy, LATTIMORE answered negatively. In response to HICKENLOOPER's question, LATTIMORE stated that he had never met DONALD HISS.

At this point, Senator HICKENLOOPER recalled to LATTIMORE the latter's testimony to the effect that he had met EARL BROWDER only on one occasion in 1936. HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if he had ever seen BROWDER to talk with or had ever met him at any other time than the one occasion mentioned by LATTIMORE. LATTIMORE replied that he had not. HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if he had ever sent to BROWDER, directly or indirectly, or had received from BROWDER, directly or indirectly, any communications. LATTIMORE replied, "No; never".

At this point, Mr. EDWARD MORGAN, Committee Counsel, pointed out to LATTIMORE that FREDERICK FIELD had testified that LATTIMORE and his wife had visited his home in New York on one occasion. LATTIMORE stated that he may have seen FIELD at one time or another between 1942 and 1946, and if so, that contact had been so casual that he could not recall it at this moment. LATTIMORE stated

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that he had been in Mr. FIELD's home subsequent to 1938 and that it might have been on one or more than one occasion, or several, that he could not recall. He stated, however, that he was never in FIELD's home in 1946.

At this point, Senator HICKENLOOPER called LATTIMORE's attention to questions previously asked by him of LATTIMORE concerning the latter's acquaintance with the young Mr. CHI, Mr. FREDERICK V. FIELD, PHILIP JAFFE, NIM WALES (phonetic), AGNES SMEDLEY, T. A. JOHNSON. HICKENLOOPER pointed out that it occurred to him that although LATTIMORE by his own testimony admitted that he had met these people and known them over a period of years, he had stated that he had no reason to know if several of them were of leftist leanings. HICKENLOOPER pointed out that in view of the known, very strong leftish leanings, on the part of some of those individuals, he was at a loss to understand how a person of LATTIMORE's brilliance and ability, could have failed to recognize the fact. He stated that he did not wish to admit that he considered Mr. LATTIMORE to be naive. In response to this statement, LATTIMORE repeated that with regard to CHI and FIELD, he had never had any reason to question these individuals in the matter set forth by HICKENLOOPER.

HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE whether or not a compact or treaty of friendship was made in approximately 1945 between Russia and the Chinese Nationalist Government. LATTIMORE replied yes, that he believed there had been, near the end of the war. HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if there had not been some sort of agreement between STALIN and CHIANG KAI-SHEK and an expression of cooperation between their governments, at least on paper. LATTIMORE replied that there may have been. He stated that as he recalled, statements of such agreement were published following the surrender of Japan. In response to HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether these agreements were in complete agreement with the decisions arrived at in the Yalta Conference, LATTIMORE replied that he did not know. At this point, HICKENLOOPER advised Senator GREEN, Acting Chairman, that he desires a closer examination of LATTIMORE's statements with reference to his present line of questioning.

LATTIMORE stated that it has always been his expressed view that it was a grave mistake of American policy in attempting to reach agreements with other countries concerning the internal disposition of Chinese territory, and that such attempts were not only unnecessary but unproductive and harmful. He also stated that it was his view that the United States should never have taken a position to appease any other nation.

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : *WJH* GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

DATE: May 3, 1950

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LGE

Mr. Tolson	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Ladd	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Clegg	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Nichols	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Rosen	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Tracy	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Harbo	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Belmont	<i>[initials]</i>
Mr. Mohr	<i>[initials]</i>
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

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The following is continuation of hearings of above committee this date.

Senator McMAHON began his questioning concerning LATTIMORE'S association with FIELDS in the ~~Institute of Pacific Relations~~ and asked him whether or not FIELDS had visited him in Baltimore and whether or not LATTIMORE visited FIELDS in New York. He also requested information as to whether or not anyone else was present at those meetings and LATTIMORE replied no. He advised he had only been present at a few of these meetings.

No dissemination information to Dept. 4-24-50 + 5-12-50 suggesting they obtain transcript EMG.

Then Senator McMAHON discussed the fight over control of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as to the time of the year and whether or not he had any personal knowledge of the personnel on both sides of this question. LATTIMORE recalled that one KOLBERG (ph) was the main person against whom the charges were circulated. He said the committee, composed of one WALTER HANSON, WALTER DILLINGHAM, Professor JOSEPH TAMBERLANE and PHILIP HESSUP (ph), heard the questions in connection with the Institute against KOLBERG. LATTIMORE stated that he was also one of those attacked and that he did not appear before this committee.

Alfred Kolberg

Senator McMAHON then asked LATTIMORE if he had on occasions, visited the State Department to which LATTIMORE replied yes, he had, to urge a tougher policy against Japan. He said he had visited the office of one DR. HORNBECK and he was aksed if ALGER HISS participated at this consultation and he said no, but that HISS did sit in the outer office.

He was asked why he was advocating a stronger policy against Japan and in what manner he advocated his policy should be followed and he stated that he, like a lot of other people, were alarmed over the growing power of Japan and felt that shipments should be stopped to Japan. Senator McMAHON then asked LATTIMORE what the relationship between Japan and Russia was when he was urging a stronger stand against Japan and LATTIMORE answered that it was his understanding that at one time, there was an undeclared war upon the Siberian Frontier, which would explain the relationship between Japan and Russia.

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Letter to Director

LATTIMORE recalled the leading proponent of a tougher policy toward Japan was HENRY STIMSON, and LATTIMORE had also served on a committee urging a stronger policy, although he has never met HENRY STIMSON.

Senator LODGE then spoke up and requested that the hearing be continued in Executive Session, saying "he was interested in taking the show off the road." After some discussion, LODGE continued the examination of LATTIMORE and asked if, while LATTIMORE was in China, he knew a gentleman by the name of ~~XHO YUNG CHI~~, who was Secretary of the Document Section for General WIDEMEYER and General MARSHALL in China. LATTIMORE could not recall, but did state that he had met ~~XAGNES SIMEDLEY~~ in the Far East many times, specifically in 1934, 1935 and 1937. He could not recall having met her in the United States at all since the war.

Senator LODGE then asked LATTIMORE if he had ever received from, or transmitted to, the following persons, any documents, secret documents or otherwise, and he enumerated the following persons: ~~XPHILIP NAIFE~~, one ~~XLAWSON~~, ~~XROTH~~, ~~XSERVICE~~, ~~XMITCHELL~~. LATTIMORE replied that he had not.

Senator LODGE then asked if ~~XFREDERICK FIELDS~~ had been Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations when the vote on control was taken and LATTIMORE replied that he did not believe so, although he wasn't sure. Senator LODGE then asked what LATTIMORE had meant in a statement of yesterday when he stated that BUDENZ had come to Washington as a "call to colors" and LATTIMORE replied that it was a call to come to smear someone as a Communist who wasn't one.

Senator LODGE, regarding yesterday's testimony, asked if LATTIMORE had stated that the FBI did not vouch for BUDENZ' credibility. LATTIMORE replied that he was not clear as to that statement and the answer and asked his counsel to look into the matter. MR. PORTER got up then and stated that they had no specific information that the FBI does not believe in the credibility of BUDENZ and that we did not refer specifically to BUDENZ. PORTER stated that he had talked to a Department of Justice official who stated that they had used BUDENZ as an informant, but not to identify members of the apparatus.

Senator GREEN came in and asked if LATTIMORE had ever gotten approval of his policy on Japan and LATTIMORE

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Letter to Director

stated no and before the war he was a University Professor and wrote articles, and he was over alarmed by the dangerous policy of Japan's great power. After the war, he stated he was asked to write a syndicate newspaper column and that changed his relationship with the State Department in that he gave no information except through his column, and would drop into the State Department occasionally for information. When asked by Senator GREEN who he contacted in the State Department, LATTIMORE replied it was usually someone in the Far Eastern Office and he recalled no specific name, only that it was someone in the Far Eastern Office.

He recalled that on the Chinese situation, he had seen one KENNETH HENRY MANN and DR. PHILIP SPROUSE. The Senator asked him how often he visited the State Department and LATTIMORE replied once in six months approximately, and the Senator raised the question as to whether that was enough to keep him up-to-date. LATTIMORE replied that it was.

At 3:45 p.m., the session was discontinued until 10:30 a.m. tomorrow when it opens in an Executive Session.

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Director, FBI

May 2, 1950

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The meeting was called to order at 2:35 P. M. by Senator TYDINGS. Questioning was begun by EDWARD MORGAN of the Sub-Committee.

MORGAN referred to page X-7 of the prepared statement which was read by LATTIMORE in the morning session. He referred to the last sentence of the first full paragraph in which Mrs. FIELD was quoted as stating she is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party and further that she stated the LATTIMORES were never at the FIELD home to attend a meeting in 1946. MORGAN asked LATTIMORE whether or not the same statement would hold for other years. LATTIMORE answered that as far as he could recall, he and Mrs. LATTIMORE had never attended a meeting in the FIELD home.

MORGAN then referred to page A-2 of the statement, particularly in reference to a fund raising campaign for Finland. MORGAN asked LATTIMORE if he had any documents to support this statement. LATTIMORE stated that he had a copy of the minutes of the committee meeting dated February 20, 1940 in which he, among others, was to serve on the committee. (It is believed that this committee was the Committee of Sons to Aid Finland.)

MORGAN then referred to page A-15 of the statement relative to BUDENZ' testimony that JOSEPH BARNES and LATTIMORE, if not Communists, at least were fellow travelers. LATTIMORE's Counsel, ABE FORTAS, stated there is a transcript of this testimony in the records. LATTIMORE was then asked if PARRIS (phonetic) (editor of Colliers Magazine) thought that BARNES and LATTIMORE were Communist Party members or fellow travelers. LATTIMORE answered he had not seen the transcript of the conference between PARRIS and BUDENZ.

Counsel FORTAS then requested that the exact language of the transcript be placed in the record at this point.

MORGAN referred to page A-17 of the statement and made the observation that LATTIMORE had made reference to "the disgusting sport of being an informant". LATTIMORE answered that he believed BUDENZ would be an extremely disgusting person. He denounced BUDENZ' practice of taking advantage of Senatorial immunity in order to cast names around before he had given these names to the proper government authority.

Senator McMAHON then asked whether or not BUDENZ had been subpoenaed as a witness or whether he had appeared as a voluntary witness. LATTIMORE then indicated

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that BUDENZ has had five years since he broke with the Party in which to make his charges. LATTIMORE stated it seemed peculiar that after five years he has come out with some 400 other names and until this investigation had not mentioned LATTIMORE.

LATTIMORE was then asked whether or not BUDENZ knew he was going to be a witness before the current Sub-Committee when he gave LATTIMORE's name to the F. B. I. Counsel FORTAS answered this question by stating this information was in the record.

MORGAN then referred to the top of page B-4 of the statement. LATTIMORE was asked with reference to this part of the record whether or not LATTIMORE was referring to testimony BUDENZ has given to the government. LATTIMORE stated he was referring to the exploitation of BUDENZ by himself and to BUDENZ' sordid past. He stated he did not like the idea of BUDENZ being able to waive around a list of 400 names and put people in a position to be told "you better be careful or you will be on BUDENZ' list".

LATTIMORE was then asked if he was referring to BUDENZ' activities in making available the information he had concerning the Communist Party. LATTIMORE answered that the more information we have the better off we are.

LATTIMORE was then asked if his reference was not to what BUDENZ does but the way he does it. His answer was that any accusation should be accompanied by the proper proof.

MORGAN then referred to the same paragraph and asked how LATTIMORE regards the Communist Party. LATTIMORE stated he could make no statement relative to the Communist Party structure except information he had by hearsay.

LATTIMORE was then asked whether or not we must not rely on men like BUDENZ to furnish information on the Communist Party. LATTIMORE answered that there was much literature on the subject and many political scientists have analyzed the Communist Party. LATTIMORE stated that kind of study was proper and necessary and added that he was not an expert on the subject.

LATTIMORE was asked about his general ideas of the American Communist Party. He stated the American Communist Party seems to have no roots. He stated it consists very largely of people of recent European extraction. He said the Party seemed to be composed of an extraordinary collection of crackpots, misfits, and mal-contents. He stated his overall impression was that the American Communist Party has a small place in American life and a small future in American life. LATTIMORE stated this country has been the one in which the real Democratic structure is the most real and most genuine. He stated that he has been in other countries where Democratic sayings are only slogans.



MORGAN then referred LATTIMORE to his statement that the American Communist Party seems to have no roots and asked him where he believed the roots of the American Communist Party lay. LATTIMORE advised that he is not an expert but it is known all over the world that the Party looks to Russia and Russia looks to Moscow. He stated that is as far as his knowledge goes and his knowledge is based on other countries.

MORGAN referred LATTIMORE to page B-3 of his statement with particular reference to his letter to Admiral YARNELL in which he made reference to the different meanings of words in Russia and the United States. MORGAN asked LATTIMORE if "Democracy" has a different meaning in Russia. LATTIMORE stated that it does but that he is not enough of a political scientist to know the exact difference.

MORGAN then asked LATTIMORE how he, LATTIMORE, uses the word "Democracy". LATTIMORE stated he tried to recall a definition he used not so long ago. He stated the essence of a Democracy is to be found in a society where men and women may freely get together to discuss political ideas and if they agree on the set of ideas, allow representative process of government under a Constitution.

MORGAN then quoted a passage from one of LATTIMORE's books in which LATTIMORE had referred to groups in China looking across the border to "Democracy in Russia". LATTIMORE stated that there were certain groups in Asia who have never had Democracy as we know it. He stated it is something to which they aspire; a hope of something they might get. He said that to those people, Democracy means something that would be nice to have.

MORGAN then indicated that LATTIMORE had referred to Democracy on the Russian side of the border and not to Democracy as previously defined by LATTIMORE. LATTIMORE stated that the people who wished Soviet Democracy are out of touch with people in the United States and do not know our type of Democracy.

121-23278-152  
CHANGED TO  
121-23568-1

JUL 17 1950

*OK*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 4, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *[Signature]*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Ghr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Gandy	_____

Peyton Ford sent over the attached copy of a letter which the Department had received from Seth Richardson, which is identical with the letter the Bureau received with reference to a list of the cases presently being considered by the panels of the Loyalty Review Board.

In accordance with a note to call Mr. Ford, I called him at 5:15 PM this evening and told him that it would appear from this letter that Seth Richardson is out of line again in that he has requested all investigative reports and pertinent information secured under authority of any Statute, Executive Order or other authority whatsoever.

Mr. Ford stated that he was trying to get in touch with Mr. Dawson now to have Mr. Dawson discuss the matter further with Mr. Richardson; that Richardson now is of the opinion that he should get reports on all cases except those which might be presently under investigation for espionage or other crimes such as Lattimore, Mary Jane Keeney, etc.

I pointed out to him that Gustavo Duran was on the list and he stated that Richardson feels he should get copies of reports in that case. Mr. Ford indicated that he thought Richardson might be right in insisting that he get all reports if the case was no longer under active investigation.

I pointed out to Mr. Ford the wording of the President's letter was that the Review Board should consider the FBI's loyalty reports and made no mention of other FBI reports.

He requested that we review the individual cases listed in Richardson's letter and let him, Mr. Ford, know whether the cases were espionage or whether they were under active investigation at the present time and the nature of the investigation conducted in each case in order that he might discuss the matter further with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Richardson.

This list is being reviewed for this purpose at the present time.

RECORDED - 85

1121-23278-153

INDEXED

JUN 13 1950

Attachment

DML:dad

cc; Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Laughlin

*I want all matters discussed with Ford to be confirmed by memo to him at once so there will be no misunderstanding. N.*

JUL 6 1950

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY  
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"  
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO  
FILE LRB:CLC:lp  
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

May 4, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL -~~  
~~BY SPECIAL MESSENGER~~

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

Sir:

Reference is made to our previous correspondence regarding the list of cases mentioned before the Tydings Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the request of the President that the Loyalty Review Board review such cases, reporting to him the Board's decision on the question of the subject person's loyalty. In these cases your bureau has been requested by our Board to furnish to it any and all reports of investigation or information in your files pertaining thereto.

You are advised that the following cases have been forwarded to panels of members of the Loyalty Review Board for their study and ultimate decision:

William Draper Carter  
Gustavo Duran  
Leonard Horwin  
Victor M. Hunt  
Joseph T. Jankowski  
Joseph Josephson  
Mary J. Keeney  
Edythe Lemon  
Mrs. Preston Keesling Lewis  
John Richard Lindsey  
Gottfried Mann

Robert Talbot Miller, III  
Fred Warner Neal  
Norman T. Ness  
Isham William Perkins  
Margery S. Posner  
Edward George Posniak  
David Randolph  
Jeanne H. Taylor  
Max Abraham Volin  
Helene Yuhas

However, before final decision can be made by the panel members, it is necessary that we be certain that all available evidence and information has been placed before such panel members. It is therefore requested that your bureau advise me whether or not any and all investigative reports and pertinent information secured under authority of any Statute, Executive Order or other authority whatsoever,

*Declassified by Call  
Mr. White on 1/24/77*

*Stephens  
Johnson*

*5/5/50  
Letter message  
to Peyton  
CHS:NRJ/hur  
CC MR. LADD*

RECORDED - 85 121-23278-153  
JUN 13 1950  
INDEXED - 85 12

relating to each of the above listed cases, and relevant to questions of loyalty, has been furnished to the Loyalty Review Board. If further information is to be furnished or if any investigation or inquiry is in progress, kindly so indicate.

Your immediate reply to this letter is requested in order that we may complete our task and advise the President at the earliest possible date.

Very truly yours,



Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board

*Give immediate  
attention.*

*d.*

From  
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Memorandum.

The Attorney General _____	
The Solicitor General _____	
Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust _____	
Assistant Attorney General, Tax _____	
Assistant Attorney General, Claims _____	
Assistant Attorney General, Lands _____	
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal _____	
Assistant Solicitor General _____	
Director, Bureau of Investigation _____	
Director, Bureau of Prisons _____	
Commissioner, Immig. & Naturalization _____	
Liaison Officer, I. & N. _____	
Director, Office of Alien Property _____	
Pardon Attorney _____	
Parole Board _____	
Board of Immigration Appeals _____	
Administrative Assistant _____	
Division of Records _____	
Mr. _____	
Miss _____	
Please: Note and return _____	
Prepare reply for my signature _____	
For appropriate action _____	
Phone me _____	
See me _____	
Attach file _____	
For your information _____	

*Mr. Ladd*  
*OK*  
*see note*  
*& call.*

Director, FBI

May 3, 1950

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
Allegations of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The hearing was resumed by Chairman Senator TYDINGS at 10:05 A. M. this date, at which time Senator TYDINGS announced that he had sent letters of inquiry to former Secretaries of State MARSHALL, HULL and BYRNES, and Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON, as to whether LATTIMORE had had any part in formulating State Department Far Eastern policy. TYDINGS announced that replies had been received and would be read in the session at the close of the cross examination.

At this point, LATTIMORE submitted for the record a copy of the memo sent by him to Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK and his Yen-an Diary covering interviews with Chinese Communists in 1937. LATTIMORE noted that the last page of the diary contained a long list of names of Chinese and British Christians, which list had been given him by a Chinese Christian Doctor with the request that LATTIMORE write to the people listed and explain to them the situation of the encroaching Communists. LATTIMORE stated that this Doctor feared to contact the individuals while remaining in the Communist dominated section of China.

At this point, LATTIMORE also pointed out that as a Political Scientist, his writings had not taken the form of simple denunciation. He stated that he had repeatedly advocated policies in his writings which would limitate action by the Russians. LATTIMORE also submitted examples of attacks against him appearing in the American press which had been collected by his wife. Among these, he claimed were several from Communist dominated organs.

LATTIMORE stated that it is his opinion that the "shadow of McCarthyism" hangs over the whole procedure of our public life today and represents a dangerous trend. He asked the question "how often does a man have to prove his loyalty to his country, not by his works, but by replying to violent attacks against him?" LATTIMORE pointed out the similarity as he sees it, between articles currently appearing in the American press concerning investigation of loyalty and those appearing in the Soviet press, all of which he said have to begin with praise of STALIN and have to end with denunciation of all things foreign to the Communist ideology. LATTIMORE praised a rhetorical question as to whether we are to reach a point in American life where an University professor can only hold his Chair for so long a period as he is able to defend himself against attack.

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132 JUN 2 1950

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REPLACES ON ORIGINAL

03 JUN 7

Senator HICKENLOOPER replied to LATTIMORE by recalling that in yesterday's session, LATTIMORE had appeared to challenge the search for truth on the part of the Committee, while he at the same time had himself implied that scholars and writers were being limited in their freedom. LATTIMORE replied that he was not raising any objection to the search for the whole truth in our public life but merely objected to a specific line of questioning which implied denunciation and which appeared to him to be similar to that employed in Russia.

Senator HICKENLOOPER stated that the "shadow of McCarthyism" may hang over the Committee, but that the shadow of Communism also may hang over matters being considered by that Committee. HICKENLOOPER explained to LATTIMORE that the latter had become an element in this inquiry and that it was the duty of this Committee to find out, through his answers to certain questions, whether there is a basis for certain allegations or not. At this point, LATTIMORE pointed out that his case has now been before the Committee for over a month and that his business affairs are suffering as a result.

Senator HICKENLOOPER at this point recalled his question to LATTIMORE at yesterday's session as to whether Mrs. LATTIMORE had spoken in 1943 before the Tom Mooney Labor School at San Francisco, California. HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE if he and Mrs. LATTIMORE had had a chance to refresh their memories concerning that question. To this, LATTIMORE replied that they had. He stated that in 1943, he and his wife, like many other people, were at the height of their war activity. He stated that he and his wife were both doing what they felt was their part and did so in many places. He also stated that in 1943, both he and Mrs. LATTIMORE were heart and sole behind the Chinese Nationalists and CHIANG KAI-SHEK. He stated that Mrs. LATTIMORE at that time spoke before what she understood to be a Labor School and also spoke at churches and other organizations. LATTIMORE then pointed out that the Committee inquiry had sent some right low blows, but that the attempt to attach him through his wife, through searching her opinions, has struck a new low.

At this point, Senator HICKENLOOPER pointed out to LATTIMORE that the answers to certain questions being asked of LATTIMORE were most pertinent to the investigation.

At this point, LATTIMORE questioned Senator HICKENLOOPER as to the nature of the Tom Mooney Labor School. To this, HICKENLOOPER replied by citing pages 63, 77, 78, and 79 of the California Committee on Un-American Activities Report for 1947 and advised LATTIMORE that the School had been described as a Communist Party functionary. LATTIMORE at this point replied that in 1943, he and his wife were engaged in patriotic activity, and were not discoverers of subversive schools. He stated that if it now turns out that the Communists were against the Chinese Nationalists at that time and if it turns out that he has now learned that this school was at that time Communist dominated, then it was an extremely good thing that his wife was able to appear to give her views before such a group.



At this point, Senator HICKENLOOPER questioned LATTIMORE as to whether he had ever sent any communication via Soviet diplomatic pouch. LATTIMORE replied that he may have used it on one occasion in 1947 when he was hoping to make a trip to Outer Mongolia. He stated he had written a letter to the Premier of Outer Mongolia, hoping to receive permission for the trip, and had enclosed an original letter written in Mongolian, with English translation, and had asked the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, D. C. to transmit it to Mongolia through Moscow. He avowed that he did not know if the diplomatic pouches were used or not. To HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether LATTIMORE had ever made use of the Soviet diplomatic pouch at any other time, LATTIMORE replied, "not that I can recall; I think it most unlikely".

At this point, Senator McMAHON requested LATTIMORE to furnish a copy of the letter mentioned, to which LATTIMORE replied that he would furnish such copy.

Senator HICKENLOOPER next asked LATTIMORE to tell of the circumstances as to whom he had contacted and to who arranged for his trip to Yen-an. LATTIMORE replied that he had planned the trip by train and motor car. He stated that their first Communist contact was made with the first Communist Outpost at which they met, and that no previous arrangement and no special procedure had been planned. It is noted that LATTIMORE briefly mentioned at this time the name of VISSON (phonetic), but the exact connection was not understood. LATTIMORE stated that at that time every newspaper man in China was trying to get to Yen-an and that the world was avid for news of that area. He stated that a few such correspondents got into the area. In response to Senator HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether AGNES SMEDLEY and WALES (phonetic) were at Yen-an when LATTIMORE arrived, he replied that they were and that upon his arrival at Yen-an, he had met them at an hostel which had been put up by the Chinese Communists for foreigners. LATTIMORE stated that he had only social contact with SMEDLEY and WALES and talked with them very briefly.

Senator HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE next if he had ever read the SORGE story. LATTIMORE replied that he had seen references to it but had not read the story in detail. In response to HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether he was aware that AGNES SMEDLEY was involved in that story, LATTIMORE replied that he was, and stated that he was also aware of a press story in which she denied being involved.

Senator HICKENLOOPER next questioned LATTIMORE concerning the radio production "Pacific Story", presented on NBC in 1943. LATTIMORE stated that he had been approached by NBC in 1943 to act as a commentator on "Pacific Story", a radio drama, for three to four minutes at the end of each broadcast. He stated

that his wife was also asked to act as a research worker for the program. LATTIMORE further stated that this program was entirely the responsibility of the producer and NBC. In response to HICKENLOOPER's question as to whether AGNES SMEDLEY ever appeared on such a broadcast, LATTIMORE replied "not that I ever heard of; not while I was there". HICKENLOOPER then asked LATTIMORE if he had ever arranged for her to be on the program, to which LATTIMORE replied that he had not; that he was on the program only three or four months and had never arranged for anyone else to be on the program.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then questioned LATTIMORE as to his knowledge of INDUSCO. LATTIMORE stated that he was acquainted with the organization. When asked by HICKENLOOPER whether he had ever been an official of INDUSCO, LATTIMORE replied that he may have been on a Committee before leaving for China in 1941. HICKENLOOPER next asked LATTIMORE if it were not possible that he was in fact an honorary Vice-President of INDUSCO, to which LATTIMORE replied that it was possible and that he may have been. At this point, Senator HICKENLOOPER asked LATTIMORE whether PHILIP JAFFE and Mrs. LATTIMORE were not members of the Board of Directors of INDUSCO. LATTIMORE's reply to this question could not be overheard.

At this point, Senator HICKENLOOPER advised that he had received a communication from FREDA UTLEY, a recent witness in the hearing, who had enclosed a number of questions which she suggested should be asked of Mr. LATTIMORE. Mr. HICKENLOOPER announced that the questions had been given to Mr. MORGAN, Committee Counsel, for further action.

At this point, Senator TIDINGS inquired as to the presence of an individual named FRANK GILLESPIE or GILLASPIE, who he said had sent a message to the Chairman requesting that he be called by the hearing. Mr. GILLESPIE or GILLASPIE did not respond to a call for his appearance in the hearing room.

Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General  
Director, FBI

May 5, 1950

**LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

RECORDED

121-23278-154

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/12/78 DPJ/DLC

Reference is made to your telephone conversation last evening with a Bureau official in which you advised him that you had just learned the President is going to permit the Tydings Subcommittee to call at the White House and review the State Department loyalty files on the 81 individuals who have been mentioned by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

You indicated that you were sure the Attorney General had no advance information regarding this matter and in view of this development you suggested that the Bureau not send any more material or data to Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, in connection with the Board's review of the 81 cases since you desire to determine from the White House what position is being adopted with respect to these cases.

You, of course, are aware that the Bureau already has furnished to the Board material on some of the 81 cases. It is my understanding of your instructions, as set forth above, that the Bureau should immediately stop sending to the Board material on any of the cases identified before the Tydings Subcommittee and presently being reviewed by the Board except in those instances where we are conducting active full field or supplemental investigations under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 regarding persons on Mr. Richardson's list who presently are employed in the Executive Branch. In such instances, the provisions of Executive Order 9835 itself would require that we furnish to the Civil Service Commission the reports of such investigations upon completion.

If the Bureau's understanding of your instructions in this regard is not correct, I would appreciate receiving your immediate advice.

NRJ:IHS

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SLIP(S) DATE 4-26-78

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
FBI  
MAY 5 6 28 PM '50

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAY 6 1950

48 MAY 2 15 53 1950

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

COPY FILED IN 100-23278-154

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 4, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT:

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Nease
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Peyton Ford called at 6:10 PM and stated that he had just learned that the President was going to let the Tydings' Committee call at the White House and review the State Department loyalty files on the 81 individuals referred to by Senator McCarthy.

He stated that this is a complete surprise; that he is sure the Attorney General has had no advance information on it and in view of this development, it is suggested that the Bureau send nothing else to Seth Richardson until Mr. Ford advises the Bureau to do so, in view of the fact that he wants to determine from the White House what position is being adopted.

*J. Laughlin*

*W. Stanley*

cc - Mr. Belmont

DML:dad

*Confirms by writing memo to Ford as to our understanding re not sending anything more to SR.*

*Memo to Ladd  
Memo to Mr. Peyton Ford  
5-5-50  
EK8: AET/eh*

*5/10/50*  
RECORDED

121-23278-154  
JUN 13 1950  
12

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-23278-154

BSM

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

May 8, 1950

RECORDED - 19

EX-125

INDEXED

121-23274-155

Honorable Harry P. Cain  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

AR 10-1

My dear Senator:

I have been informed of the telephone call from Miss Dorothy Swartz of your office on May 5, regarding your desire to obtain a copy of my statement given before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1950.

It is a pleasure to enclose a copy of my statement, and if I can be of further service to you at any time please do not hesitate to call upon me.

S. R. S.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

ARA:jms

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
MAY 8 6 28 PM '50  
FBI  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

U

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nesse \_\_\_\_\_
- Candy \_\_\_\_\_

2

MAY 8 6 32 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

MAY 9 1950  
COMM-FBI

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 5, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

*JL*

*(7)*

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

I took a call from Miss Dorothy Swartz, Secretary to Senator Cain (R. Wash.) by reference from your office. She indicated that the Senator had a letter from a constituent inquiring concerning the Director's position with reference to the release of files to a Senate Committee.

I told her that the Director had testified before the Committee at a public hearing as to his position in this matter and that a copy of that testimony would be forwarded to her. She expressed appreciation for this courtesy.

It is suggested that Mr. Nichols forward a copy of the statement made before the committee to Senator Cain, attention of Miss Dorothy Swartz.

**SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE**

DML:dad

*Here is a matter that Ladd should have used the phone to Nichols to get immediate action. As it is several days have been lost.*

*rec'd  
Mr. Sen. Cain  
5-8-50  
dia*

REC-250-19

EX-125

INDEXED-10

121-23278-155

~~62-71923-71~~

MAY 12 1950

34

*(Signature)*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 5, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

## FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Reference is made to my memorandum to you dated May 4, 1950, regarding telephone call received from Peyton Ford on that evening indicating that the Department had just learned the President is going to let the Tydings Subcommittee call at the White House and review the State Department loyalty files on the 81 individuals referred to by Senator McCarthy. Mr. Ford suggested that the Bureau send nothing else to Seth Richardson until Ford advises the Bureau to do so since he wants to determine from the White House what position is adopted. You noted: "Confirm by writing memo to Ford as to our understanding re not sending anything more to R."

As you know, we have been reviewing our files and furnishing information concerning the names on Senator McCarthy's list to Seth Richardson. However, in view of instructions received from Peyton Ford no further information will be sent to Seth Richardson. Of course, where we presently have pending either a full field investigation or a supplemental investigation, for example, in the case of John Carter Vincent on whom the Department recently has requested a full field loyalty investigation, we are required under the provisions of the Loyalty Order to furnish the results of such investigations to the Civil Service Commission.

### ACTION

There is attached for your approval a memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford confirming our understanding of his instructions to me on May 4, 1950.

Attachment  
CHS:IHS

G. I. R. -9

RECORDED - 61

EX-3

121-23278-156  
~~100-71923-42~~

MAY 9 1950  
37

CHS. [Signature]  
AB [Signature]

37  
56 JUN 28

DIRECTOR, FBI

May 3, 1950

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

① SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LGE

Reference is made to my previous memorandum of this date beginning with: "Senator HICKENLOOPER: Did you know a MR. CHI," etc, etc.

This is to advise you that this is not intended to be a verbatim transcript of the proceedings at this hearing, but the questions and answers were paraphrased by the Agent attending the hearing.

HDP:MFL  
121-13947

121-23278-✓

~~121-91113-~~

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132 JUN 14 1950

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INITIALS ON ORIGINAL



DIRECTOR, FBI

May 3, 1950

GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field

SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY  
LGE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/11/00 BY 60322/UC/STP/STP

Reference is made to my previous memorandum of this date.

Senator HICKENLOOPER: Did you know a MR. CHI who was proposed by the present Communist Regime in China as Representative at the United Nations?

MR. OWEN LATTIMORE: I knew him before the war in 1934, rather slightly.

HICKENLOOPER: Did you ever believe him to be a Communist or were you ever reliably informed he had Communist tendencies?

LATTIMORE: No.

HICKENLOOPER: When did you learn that he was a Communist?

LATTIMORE: I do not know that now.

HICKENLOOPER: Even now, when he is proposed by the Communist Government in China as the Representative to the United Nations? How long have you known FREDERICK FIELDS?

LATTIMORE: Yes. I knew him when we were both employed in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

HICKENLOOPER: During that association, did you believe or were you ever reliably informed that he was a Communist or had Communist tendencies?

LATTIMORE: No sir. Quite the contrary as far as I know. He was a rather likeable young man, although my conversations were casual. I only recently learned that he was at one time a NORMAN THOMAS supporter.

HICKENLOOPER: In regard to PHILIP JAFFE, did you ever know he was a Communist or were you ever reliably informed he had Communist tendencies?

WPS:MFL  
121-13947

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED  
122 JUN 14 1950

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-24678-2126

Letter to Director

LATTIMORE: No. We were on a trip to Yunnan together and I saw him occasionally in Baltimore in 1938.

(In his opinion, JAFFE was one of those Americans who had a bright and hopeful view of Asia and LATTIMORE had no reason to believe he was a Communist.)

HICKENLOOPER: In regard to AGNES SMEDLEY, did you ever know her to be a Communist, or were you ever reliably informed that she was a Communist or had strong Communist sympathies?

LATTIMORE: No. I was never very close to SMEDLEY, although I had met her on a few occasions.

HICKENLOOPER: Regarding NEM WHALES (Ph), did you ever believe him to be a Communist or were you ever reliably informed that he had Communist tendencies?

LATTIMORE: My acquaintance with WHALES was slightly less than that with SMEDLEY. I knew her in Yunnan, which was no reason to believe that she was or is a Communist.

HICKENLOOPER: Regarding T. A. VISSON (Ph), did you know him to be a Communist or were you ever reliably informed that he was a Communist or had Communist tendencies?

LATTIMORE: None whatsoever.

HICKENLOOPER: Regarding these people -- were many of them known to you to be Communists or to have strong Communist leanings?

LATTIMORE: That is a hypothetical question which I might answer by pointing out that during those years, particularly when I was in China and associating with some of those people, they did not speak or read Chinese as I did and I did not go to them for information. I always went to the original sources.

WPS:MFL  
121-13947

Letter to Director

HICKENLOOPER: Did you say that LAUGHLIN CURRY had recommended you to the President as an Adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK?

LATTIMORE: No. I was asked to come to Washington, having heard that the President was considering sending a representative to CHIANG KAI-SHEK. I do not know how my name came up.

HICKENLOOPER: Did you know LAUGHLIN CURRY?

LATTIMORE: No. Prior to that time, I had read of him in the newspapers, but I did not know him.

HICKENLOOPER: After your trip to Yunnan, did you submit a report to anyone in the Government?

LATTIMORE: No. I was not responsible to anyone in the Government.

HICKENLOOPER: In connection with the trip by WALLACE into Siberia and his book on Siberia, credit was given you under author's notes for certain aspects of the book. Have you read the book?

LATTIMORE: No. I have merely looked through it, but have never read it through.

HICKENLOOPER: I consider the book to be a praise of the Soviet System of operation in Siberia. How much did you contribute to the book?

LATTIMORE: The reference in the book to me is more laudatory than I deserve. The proofs were sent to me in New York. It was my duty to see that they were correct, which I did.

HICKENLOOPER: Did you contribute to the conclusions of the book?

LATTIMORE: No.

HICKENLOOPER: During the time you were Pacific Representative to OWI, did you follow the articles or read the China Daily News in New York, and did you believe it was a Communist controlled or Communistic paper?

WPS:MFL  
121-13947

Letter to Director

LATTIMORE: No, very definitely not. My knowledge of the China Daily News came primarily from a DR. GHI (Ph) who wrote editorials for the paper.

HICKENLOOPER: During the picnic in Baltimore at your place a day before or a day after the Amerasia raids, when MR. ROTH, SERVICE, JAFFE, and MISS MITCHELL were present at your place, were there any documents of the government there which were classified as secret, top secret or classified?

LATTIMORE: Not that I was aware of.

HICKENLOOPER: Did you discuss secret documents or classified documents that day?

LATTIMORE: No, sir.

HICKENLOOPER: Did you discuss the Amerasia case of the seizure of documents with SERVICE, ROTH or JAFFE before or after the raids?

LATTIMORE: I cannot recall discussing the case after the raid. I saw MR. ROTH in India. It was a surprise - I did not know he was there. I did not get to talk to him because immediately after a lecture I gave, I was whisked away to a dinner. I did not talk to MR. SERVICE except for some time after the charges against him had been dismissed. Naturally, we discussed the matter. I do not recall the details.

HICKENLOOPER: Had any of those people displayed to you restricted or classified documents?

LATTIMORE: Not that I recall.

HICKENLOOPER: Since June 1945, how frequently did you consult MR. JAFFE, ROTH, SERVICE or MISS MITCHELL?

LATTIMORE: ROTH only once; MITCHELL and JAFFE, I do not recall.

HICKENLOOPER: Where was the office and established headquarters of the magazine, "Amerasia?"

WPS:MFL  
121-13947

Letter to Director

LATTIMORE: I don't remember.

HICKENLOOPER: Were you not connected several years with the magazine?

LATTIMORE: I was Consulting Editor, but lived in Baltimore.

HICKENLOOPER: Where was the office of the Institute of Pacific Relations?

LATTIMORE: When I was with them (Institute of Pacific Relations) it was located at East 52nd Street, and later moved to East 54th Street.

HICKENLOOPER: At any time during your association with the magazine, was the Office of Pacific Affairs adjacent to the office of "Amerasia?"

LATTIMORE: I do not recall.

HICKENLOOPER: Was there a door out between the two offices?

LATTIMORE: Not that I recall. My work was done in Baltimore and my trips to New York were infrequent.

HICKENLOOPER: Do you know how many subscriptions "Amerasia" had?

LATTIMORE: No.

HICKENLOOPER: Approximately 1700.

LATTIMORE: I had nothing to do with the circulation.

HICKENLOOPER: On your visits to the "Amerasia" Office, did you see the printing plant?

LATTIMORE: No.

HICKENLOOPER: You left "Amerasia" in 1941 - what was the occasion?

LATTIMORE: I was going to China as Adviser to Generalissimo and I had considered resigning for some time because I had been doing very little contributing.

WPS:MFL  
121-13947

Letter to Director

HICKENLOOPER: Was "Amerasia" widely read in the State Department in the Far Eastern Section?

LATTIMORE: I have no knowledge of that.

HICKENLOOPER: Was the "Pacific Affairs" subscribed to by personnel in the State Department?

LATTIMORE: No knowledge.

HICKENLOOPER: What was the number of subscriptions of the "Public Affairs?"

(LATTIMORE could not recall, but thought it would be between 900 and 1100).

HICKENLOOPER: The "Amerasia" and "Pacific Affairs" had to be supported by means other than subscriptions. Is that true?

LATTIMORE: I do not know.

HICKENLOOPER: Did FREDERICK FIELDS finance "Pacific Affairs?"

(LATTIMORE recalled that indirectly FIELDS had supported "Pacific Affairs.")

HICKENLOOPER: Did your son, DAVID, attend a World Youth Conference in Prague?

LATTIMORE: My wife, son and I were in Czechoslovakia and my son attended a number of camps and various youth conferences in Prague and just outside Prague. He was trying to secure dormitory accommodations and was a means for him to get away from his parents for awhile.

HICKENLOOPER: Were there a number of students there from the Putney (Ph) School?

(LATTIMORE recalled seeing three students there from the Putney School).

WPS:MFL  
121-13947

Letter to Director

HICKENLOOPER: Did your son return or go to some of these other places in Prague?

LATTIMORE: MRS. LATTIMORE and I went to England and he joined us for some time.

HICKENLOOPER: Did your son go to Russia?

LATTIMORE: No, sir.

HICKENLOOPER: Are you familiar with, and have you read the articles in the "New Times?"

LATTIMORE: I have read articles in the "New Times."

(HICKENLOOPER called attention to a book review of LATTIMORE'S book, "Solution to Asia," reviewed by one B. YAROVY (Ph), which appeared in "New Times" in 1945. HICKENLOOPER pointed out that the article gives LATTIMORE great credit for understanding the position in Asia and he quoted passages from the book.)

HICKENLOOPER: It seems the reviewer was very kind and expresses approval of your book.

LATTIMORE: A communist reviewer is a Communist review for political purposes.

(LATTIMORE pointed out that as late as 1947, General WIDEMEYER went so far as to propose a Chinese-American-British trusteeship on Asia.)

LATTIMORE: Certain aspects of my book appear to contain information the Communists could use to advantage.

(LATTIMORE stated that the reviewer went on to warn the readers that LATTIMORE was not a Communist or a fellow traveller and "presents me as a spokesman and expansionist American capitalist." His reviews are distorted by the reviewed. Moreover, a significant passage was left out by the reviewer.)

Court was recessed at 11:25 a.m., to be resumed

at 2:00 p.m.

WPS:MFL  
121-13947

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 5, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT:

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Peyton Ford called me this evening and stated he talked to the White House with reference to the State Department files being made available to Senator Tydings' Committee; that they are going to try and hold off on this until the President returns from his trip; that they are going to insist that the counsel for the committee not be present, no one to be present except the Senators on the committee to review the files at the White House.

Further, Mr. Ford stated that he had insisted that any names of informants, etc. which might appear in FBI reports which were in the State Department files made available must be blacked out.

DML:dad

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

RECORDED - 92 121-23278-157

MAY 9 1950

34

EX-27

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : FBI

DATE: May 5, 1950

FROM : PHILADELPHIA

SUBJECT: ACTIVITY IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference Bureau telephone conversation April 27, 1950, requesting that Professor PAUL B. EATON, Lafayette University, Easton, Pa., be interviewed for information concerning OWEN LATTIMORE and Communist activity in the State Department. Information concerning OWEN LATTIMORE was previously set forth by report.

On April 28, 1950 and May 1, 1950, Professor PAUL B. EATON, Engineering Department, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., was interviewed and furnished the following information:

Professor EATON stated that during the latter part of 1942 he wrote the State Department upon the suggestion of such men as DR. COMPTON, M.I.T.; DR. MILLIKEN, California Institute of Technology; DR. DURANT, Cornell University; and DR. E. G. BAILLEY, Bailley Meter Company, and offered his services to the government in the field of engineering.

In November, 1942, Professor EATON was notified by the State Department that he would be sent on a secret mission to China for the purpose of determining what specialized technical personnel and essential operating instruments and supplies of a critical nature were required to maintain the Chinese National Government industries in the war effort. Professor EATON said that it was an extremely important mission because much depended on getting the latest technological information to the Chinese engineers. Professor EATON travelled in China as a representative of a cultural relations group.

Professor EATON was scheduled to leave for China about February 15, 1943, although it was actually the latter part of April or first part of May before arrangements could actually be made for him to leave. He returned to the United States on May 2, 1944. Professor EATON was told by a MR. MYERS, a Representative of the State Department in Washington, that efforts were being made for him to fly to China via Alaska and Siberia but that "We don't know what's happening but apparently the Russians aren't letting us over". Professor EATON indicated that certain individuals in the State Department were delaying his mission as long as possible.

According to Professor EATON, HALDOR HANSEN, in the China Section of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, was appointed his Washington Manager for his mission to China. The primary duties of the Washington Manager was to see that the person being sent on the mission was properly advised and furnished all information necessary to carry out his mission successfully.

JAH:AEE  
121-0

Enclosures

SPECIAL DELIVERY

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
JUN 22 1950  
121-2327-157X

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

*Handwritten notes:*  
Pat Housen  
C. R. ...  
5+6

*Handwritten initials:*  
ASB

Letter of May 5, 1950 from Philadelphia regarding COMMUNIST  
ACTIVITY IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES. Info.  
re Hanson furnished by Professor PAUL B. EATON:

According to Professor EATON, HALDORE HANSEN, in the China Section of  
the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, was appointed his Washington  
Manager for his mission to China. The primary duties of the Washington Manager  
was to see that the person being sent on the mission was properly advised and  
furnished all information necessary to carry out his mission successfully.

In February, 1943, Professor EATON, while talking with HALDORE HANSEN  
in Washington, D. C., was advised that arrangements had been made for him to  
talk with DR. HORNBECK, LAUCHLIN CURRIE, Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE, as  
well as several other individuals. Professor EATON informed HANSEN that he  
was not interested in talking with WALLACE, which he later realized was a  
mistake since it "opened me up" to the so-called liberal element in the State  
Department.

According to Professor EATON, he attended a small party at the  
residence of HALDORE HANSEN the evening before he left for China. Also in  
attendance of this party were ROGER SHERMAN GREEN (deceased), HALDORE and Mrs.  
HANSEN, AGNES SMEDLEY, and a newspaper photographer. During the course of the  
evening AGNES SMEDLEY criticized the Nationalist Government of China and  
praised the Communist group. She indicated the Communists represented the  
real people of China and that the Capitalist form of Government should be  
done away with. As a result of these remarks Professor EATON and AGNES SMEDLEY  
engaged in a heated argument. AGNES SMEDLEY suggested to Professor EATON  
that he look up YAP CHW-FAY, a Chinese engineer, when he arrived in China.  
Professor EATON added that he did meet YAP CHW-FAY in China and found him to  
be definitely "pro Red". Professor EATON was convinced that AGNES SMEDLEY  
attended the party for the purpose of ascertaining the purpose of his mission  
to China. Professor EATON did not know if she was actually invited to the  
party or just dropped in of her own accord. However, from her actions, he  
was of the opinion that she was fairly well acquainted with HANSEN and had  
been in his residence before.

Professor EATON said that HALDORE HANSEN has never said or done any-  
thing which would indicate he was a Communist, although he is somewhat suspicious  
of him in that he (HANSEN) failed to bring to his attention numerous things  
which might have assisted him in his work in China before he left, and that he  
failed to assist or supply him with needed technological data to carry out his  
mission, all of which are the duties of the Washington manager. In the opinion  
of Professor EATON, HANSEN could not have helped knowing what was taking place  
in Chungking, and was either sympathetic with that element in the State  
Department that was working for the Chinese Communist Government or was afraid  
to say or do anything about the situation.

173

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Letter

In February, 1943, Professor EATON, while talking with HALDORE HANSEN in Washington, D. C., was advised that arrangements had been made for him to talk with DR. ~~HORNBECK LAUHLID~~ CURRIE, Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE, as well as several other individuals. Professor EATON informed HANSEN that he was not interested in talking with WALLACE, which he later realized was a mistake since it "opened me up" to the so-called liberal element in the State Department.

*Alley*

According to Professor EATON, he attended a small party at the residence of HALDORE HANSEN the evening before he left for China. Also in attendance at this party were ROGER SHERMAN GREEN (deceased), HALDORE and MRS. HANSEN, AGNES SMEDLEY, and a newspaper photographer. During the course of the evening AGNES SMEDLEY criticized the Nationalist Government of China and praised the Communist group. She indicated the Communists represented the real people of China and that the Capitalist form of government should be done away with. As a result of these remarks Professor EATON and AGNES SMEDLEY engaged in a heated argument. AGNES SMEDLEY suggested to Professor EATON that he look up YAP CHW-FAY, a Chinese engineer, when he arrived in China. Professor EATON added that he did meet YAP CHW-FAY in China and found him to be definitely "pro Red". Professor EATON was convinced that AGNES SMEDLEY attended the party for the purpose of ascertaining the purpose of his mission to China. Professor EATON did not know if she was actually invited to the party or just dropped in of her own accord. However, from her actions, he was of the opinion that she was fairly well acquainted with HANSEN and had been in his residence before.

*Approved by  
1943*

Professor EATON arrived in Chungking, China, during the early part of May, 1943. He immediately started to make arrangements to carry out the duties of his mission which consisted primarily of determining what specialized technical personnel and essential operating instruments and supplies of a critical nature were required to maintain the Chinese Nationalist Government industries in the war effort. It was also necessary that he inform the Chinese engineers and students of the latest information and developments in the engineering field which they were sorely in need of. However, it became increasingly apparent as time went on that various individuals in the American Embassy in Chungking and the State Department in Washington were doing everything possible to interfere and prevent Professor EATON from successfully carrying out his mission. There is hereinafter set forth a summary of the information furnished by Professor EATON setting forth the difficulties and interference encountered by him in attempting to carry out his mission in China:

*u*

Letter

#### HOUSING

Professor EATON advised that he was housed at the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations in Chungking. The institute was centrally located and arrangements were such that interviews and discussions could be held with various Chinese friends and visitors without any embarrassment. However, the sanitary conditions prevailing at the institute were deplorable, and during the winter months when the temperature was near freezing, no heat was available. Professor EATON said that it was necessary to sleep fully clothed which included the wearing of an overcoat to keep from freezing. According to Professor EATON, the American Embassy was well aware of these conditions but made no attempt to assist, although they knew it was interfering with the carrying out of his mission.

#### FOOD

The food served by the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations was, according to Professor EATON, notoriously bad. He added, in fact, that the institute bore the reputation of serving the worst foreign food in Chungking. Professor EATON said that nearly all Americans in Chungking were allowed to obtain a certain amount of food each month from the Army, but that he and the other individuals at the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations were not aware of this until they had been in Chungking for some time, and then it was only shortly before he left that he was actually permitted to purchase food from Army supplies. Professor EATON discussed this situation with the American Embassy but it was only after months of stalling that he was allowed to purchase food from the Army supplies. Professor EATON was told that he was being paid \$7 a day (per diem) which could be used to purchase food. He added, however, that \$7 a day would purchase very little food in China on the open market, and that he did not have sufficient time to run around Chungking looking for food because of the heavy schedule required to fulfill his mission. Professor EATON advised he lost 60 pounds during the year he was in China.

Professor EATON said that it is true the American Embassy is not responsible for the food and housing provided by the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations but the Embassy was responsible for the care of the various individuals on secret mission in Chungking, and could have assisted in providing additional housing facilities and food if they desired.

Letter

#### CLOTHING

According to Professor EATON, he came to China fairly well prepared for the winter months but did need additional clothing such as long underwear, but was not given an opportunity to purchase the same, although some was available through the Army which the American Embassy could have obtained. Other individuals staying at the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations who were also in Chungking on secret missions experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining additional clothing.

#### MEDICAL FACILITIES

Professor EATON stated that the State Department had advised that medical attention was available through the American Embassy. According to Professor EATON, he had been in Chungking about a month and a half when Professor BROWN needed medical attention. Neither Professors EATON nor BROWN had been advised where medical attention could be obtained and, after some difficulty, finally determined from the American Embassy that a DR. HERRINGTON on the south bank would provide medical aid. It was necessary for Professor EATON to take Professor BROWN to DR. HERRINGTON's Office which was approximately five miles from the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations. In that neither Professors EATON nor BROWN were very well acquainted with Chungking, it took considerable time and difficulty to find DR. HERRINGTON's Office.

#### TECHNOLOGICAL DATA

Professor EATON advised that he travelled to Chungking by plane and consequently the amount of his luggage was limited to 55 pounds, which consisted of 40 pounds of personal items and 15 pounds of technological data. This was not nearly enough technological data to effectively carry out his mission, but he was told that additional data could be obtained through the State Department. In addition, Professor EATON instructed his wife to enclose certain technological data in her letters to him which were not bulky.

*Copy* According to Professor EATON the State Department was to ship technological data to him on micro-film and make available a projector so he could transmit the information to the Chinese engineers. However, JOHN K. FAIRBANKS blocked relatively all the shipments of micro-film to China, which micro-film was urgently needed by Professor EATON to carry out his mission. U

Letter

Professor EATON stated that of approximately 1,100 micro-films contained in the National Central Library, only nine pertained to engineering. He said that the "Chungking Embassy and State Department exhibited not only reluctance to expedite the film but exhibited a desire to block ready transmittal".

Professor EATON advised that all technological data mailed to him by his wife was removed from the letters by someone in the State Department before the letters were sent to him in Chungking.

Professor EATON discussed the situation with a MR. FREEMAN in the Chungking Embassy who advised him that if his letters had been sent to a particular office in the State Department they would have received special attention - or words to that effect. Professor EATON advised that even after discussing the matter with the American Embassy, he still received relatively little technological data.

According to Professor EATON, he finally ascertained from a MR. BELTZ that mail could be received through the Army which was not censored. As a result, Professor EATON received considerably more technological data through this means.

Eaton ✓  
Professor EATON said that he made arrangements with the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, of which he has been a member for a number of years, to send him technological data on micro-film. However, he never received this material. He learned later that the State Department asked Professor THOMAS REED, a Metallurgical Engineer at Columbia University, if he thought that Professor EATON really needed the data as desperately as he indicated. Professor REED said that EATON did not need the material and was "Just blowing his top". Professor EATON said that Professor REED was the brother-in-law of WILLIS WICK, Head of the China Section of the State Department, who is strongly suspected of being pro Russian by Professor EATON. According to Professor EATON, Professor REED was not acquainted with the activities of the Far East and could not have known if the material was urgently needed or not.

According to Professor EATON, there were other individuals in Chungking on secret missions who were experiencing the same difficulties as he was but they were hesitant to do anything since they were actually employed by the government and were afraid of losing their jobs. However, since Professor EATON was what you might say on loan to the government, he led the fight since he had nothing to fear.

Letter

According to Professor EATON, he had a discussion with WILLIS PECK, Head of the China Section of the State Department on his return from China in May of 1944. PECK wanted to know if Professor EATON could "Forget some of the unpleasantries and unfortunate situations which impacted against you while in China". Professor EATON replied that "I cannot forget; in fact, each passing day finds me more and more indignant because of the inhuman treatment given me and the lack of aid for my mission". MR. PECK expressed deep concern and stated it was all due to his faulty arrangements. Professor EATON stated, however, that PECK had little if anything to do with the situation, and was apparently taking the blame in the hope that he (Professor EATON) would forget the entire situation.

Professor EATON advised that because of conditions in the Embassy in Chungking, LAUCHLIN CURRIE, the personal representative of President ROOSEVELT, came to Chungking to talk with CHIANG KAI SHEK and did not even stop at the Embassy. He added, in fact, that the Embassy did not know of CURRIE's arrival until after he had already returned to the United States.

Professor EATON said that CLARENCE E. GAUSS was American Ambassador in Chungking at that time but was away a considerable portion of the time, and was not acquainted with what was actually happening in the Embassy.

According to Professor EATON, nearly all the trouble in the American Embassy in Chungking stemmed from one man, namely, GEORGE ACHESON, JR. (deceased), Charge de Affairs, who he considered to be "pro Red".

Professor EATON said that ACHESON was responsible for much of the hardships suffered by him and others in Chungking on secret missions in an effort to make their mission less effective or a failure.

Although most of Professor EATON's contacts with the Embassy in Chungking were with MR. BOEHRINGER, MR. FREEMAN and others, he still believes that ACHESON was the person responsible since he was their supervisor.

Professor EATON was of the opinion that these individuals were probably not "pro Red" themselves but were forced to carry out the instructions of ACHESON since they were fearful of losing their jobs.

Professor EATON said that HALDORE HANSEN has never said or done anything which would indicate he was a Communist, although he is somewhat suspicious of him in that he (HANSEN) failed to bring to his attention numerous things which might have assisted him in his work in China before he left, and that he failed to assist or supply him with needed technological data

Letter

to carry out his mission, all of which are the duties of the Washington manager. In the opinion of Professor EATON, HANSEN could not have helped knowing what was taking place in Chungking, and was either sympathetic with that element in the State Department that was working for the Chinese Communist Government or was afraid to say or do anything about the situation.

Professor EATON was of the opinion that JOHN K. FAIRBANKS, through his actions, has indicated that he is a "pro Red sympathizer and a direct antagonist to the National Central Government of China".

Professor EATON said that MR. MYERS, in the China Section of the State Department, warned him to have nothing to do with DAN LI, the Head of the Chinese Intelligence, prior to his leaving for China. Professor EATON was of the opinion that MYERS was 100 per cent American.

According to Professor EATON, MR. FREEMAN, MR. BOEHRINGER and HARRY STEVENS, all employees of the American Embassy in Chungking were not believed to be "pro Red", although they may have appeared to have been, but were only carrying out instructions of GEORGE ACHESON, JR.

Professor EATON advised that he had little contact with JOHN S. SERVICE but did know that he was thoroughly allied with GEORGE ACHESON, JR., and that he would readily carry out ACHESON's wishes.

Professor EATON advised that he had been in contact with Senator RALPH E. FLANDERS concerning the above situation and expected to be called to Washington, D. C., in the near future to discuss the matter and possibly, to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

There are herewith enclosed several letters made available by Professor EATON which set forth in more detail the situation in connection with his mission to China:

1. A letter from Professor EATON to CLARENCE E. GAUSS, Esquire, American Ambassador, Chungking, China, dated November 22, 1943.
2. A letter from C. E. GAUSS to Professor EATON dated November 30, 1943. (Professor EATON advised that although this letter was signed by Ambassador GAUSS, it was actually written by GEORGE ACHESON, JR.).



Letter

3. A letter from Professor EATON to Ambassador GAUSS dated December 5, 1943.
4. A letter from Professor EATON to Senator RALPH E. FLANDERS dated March 27, 1950.

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121-23278-157X

ENCLOSURE

Confidential and for transmittal to the Secretary of State.

Clarence H. Gauss, Esq.,  
American Ambassador,  
Chungking, China.

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

I have been informed by an oral request of Mr. Boehringer it is the suggestion of the Embassy that I expand upon the last paragraph of my report which is being typed.

At the outset of my remarks it must be understood it is not my intention to change or attempt to change any policy established by the Department of State regulating its normal procedure relative to those in its employ but I should desire to know the Department's regulations. Upon ascertaining them I feel I might be in a position to determine the degree of departure, if any, from the established procedure.

I did not expect to find all the amenities available in Chungking - in fact I came prepared to endure many hardships relative to food, shelter, clothing, and knew of a certainty I would lack the elements necessary to carrying out my professional duties such as books, writing paper, projectors, films and such things. I anticipated sharing them jointly with other Americans resident in Chungking and similarly engaged in the war effort. Anyone leaving America for a mission of minor importance such as mine should be aware that difficulties lay ahead when the baggage limitation was placed at fifty-five pounds with an additional ten pounds allowance.

Without doubt my complaint arises mainly from the fact that an accumulation of small items when integrated looms large in one's viewpoint. I shall attempt to enumerate a few of them:

The practice among the Cultural Relations group, from my experience, when determining what was available through the Embassy, appeared to be secured by word of mouth from within the group itself. And none seemed to be aware of any regulatory practice. To cite one example: I had been in Chungking one and one-half months when Professor Brown needed medical attention. The Department of State had provided us with INSTRUCTIONS TO TRAVELERS IN CHINA and I had scrutinized it. It informed us that medical aid was available in Chungking. But neither Professor Brown nor I knew who the doctor was or his location. Even after a call by phone to the Embassy it was my understanding that Professor Brown remained uncertain as to whether or not the doctor recommended was the one officially provided. As for myself, I was of no assistance because I lacked the information. Furthermore, I, personally, was not aware for some period of time that our Cultural Relations group had any special member of the Embassy Staff assigned to assist us. I secured the information accidentally from one of my group. Subsequent changes took place relative to the assignment of a staff member and once again I learned it from a group member. I was led to feel the care of our group was set upon a "hit-and-miss" method.

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It was about the middle of June that I noticed other American groups coming to Chungking - some short of certain things and others with apparently plenty to carry out their assignments. ( I use the word " plenty " in a relative sense. ) Yet all of them had some head officer to look after their interests. From what I could determine such things as magazines, newspapers, tobacco, food difficulties, housing and like things were settled each upon a basis depending upon the pressure exerted by the officer in charge of the group. Since the Cultural Relations' group was not housed as a group nor treated as a group it was inevitable that individuals within the group would not secure comparably favorable treatment. No well-defined procedure existed concerning our welfare and, apparently, no well-found procedure was desired. There seemed to be a spirit pervading the atmosphere of " Don't let the other fellow have anything because the more he gets the less there will be for the rest of us. " I had been led to feel when leaving Washington that I was loosely connected to the Department of State staff - an employee of the Department and not of the Embassy. I was therefore prepared for certain differentiation during working hours but I was not prepared, especially due to severe baggage limitations, to encounter discriminatory treatment between the Embassy staff and the Cultural Relations' group when a distribution of life's necessities was made. Undoubtedly there are some who feel there might have been a justifiable difference in treatment since the members of the Cultural Relations' group were provided with \$7.00 per diem while simultaneously receiving board from the Chinese government. But let it be known ( and the Embassy should have known it ) that the board at the Institute furnished the Cultural Relations' men was notoriously bad. I write the foregoing words as a seasoned engineer who has worked in remote regions before and additionally on my second trip to China. The Institute bore the unsavory reputation of serving the worst foreign food in Chungking. The reasons which are obvious to me are not pertinent here. The Embassy was aware that the food shortage interfered with the diet of its employees since special subsidies were given certain men and the Embassy secured access for their employees to the army supply of such items as coffee, tobacco, jam, cheese and like things in limited quantities. Yet no word reached me from the Embassy officially or unofficially that we were to be accorded similar treatment. I assumed we were not. I naturally inferred that if I wished to secure the much needed foods I could go into the native markets and purchase them with the \$7.00 per diem. Now anyone walking the streets of Chungking would know that the food augmentation could not be secured within the limitations of the allotted per diem. Furthermore, specialists have their specific duties to perform and cannot or should not divert their time to secure food augmentation in the native markets even if available. It appeared to me that common courtesy would demand equitable treatment for all members of the group of Americans resident in Chungking. But such was not the case. We were so few in number compared to other Government agencies enjoying that distinction that it was but natural I should wonder where Cultural Isolation began and ended.

Next come newspapers, magazines and like literature which filter into the Embassy: I have noting but words of praise for Mr. Cherp in carrying out his duties but I was led to believe I should wait my turn until the regular employees of the Embassy had had their choice of literature. This seemed manifestly fair and I would not have given the matter even a passing thought except that I was encountering censorship difficulties in securing newspaper clippings of current technological material forwarded in my wife's letters. Washington was methodically removing them. I had taken the matter up with Mr. Freeman stating that this form of censorship was silly since Mr. Beltz secured his clippings through the army mail without one removal. Mr. Freeman had informed me that if my letters had been sent to a particular office in the Department of State they would have received special attention - or words to that effect. I was properly mystified for I had been led to feel that Mr. Hansen was qualified for that purpose.

I still remain in doubt as to whether or not any action was taken by the Embassy relative to censorship for no word has reached me since the interview. So when one located at the end of the long trail at Chungking is forced to wait at the end of the Embassy line for scraps of technological information the mental effect is not stimulating to say the least. I note from observation that special issues of the New York Times are now in circulation at the Embassy, issues which contain fragmentary technological information, and I still wait to learn whether or not I am entitled to see them.

Next comes the housing: I have stayed at the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations since arriving in Chungking. It is centrally located and arrangements are such that my Chinese friends and visitors can have conferences with me without embarrassment. It is well-suited to my work in this respect. It is my understanding that several sizable sums of money have been given the Institute through one of the agencies of the Government. Yet the sanitary conditions prevailing for the roomers is deplorable. There are two toilets in the building: one is downstairs for the use of the staff members and the other is located on the second floor in the combined one-man toilet and bath room. The latter is supposed to service fifteen roomers, three Chinese staff members, and the few Chinese and foreigners who are aware of its existence when coming into the building for one purpose or another. Resident Americans have been compelled to defecate and urinate repeatedly in cuspidors in their bedrooms and to wait interminably for hot water to be drawn from the tank located in the " usually closed " bathroom. The period of winter is drawing uncomfortably close as I envision from the coal stoves noted in the Embassy quarters and other quarters devoted to housing members of the other American agencies. Thus far no stove has made its appearance at the Institute and without doubt none is contemplated. Yet I am inclined to believe that cultural relations between China and America are supposed to emanate from this source. While the Institute is not organized

for profit, a statement from an unofficial source causes me to feel that " starting with practically nothing except an idea we have half a million dollars CN in the bank drawing interest " belies the spirit. I have been informed from other sources that the half million should have been stated as a million and one-half. But granting that the mercenary spirit has not been proved the present lack of sanitary and kitchen commissary facilities leads one to feel the Embassy should take more than a passing interest in the situation. It is my understanding that no representative of the Embassy is on the Board of Directors of the Institute. If this be the case and should another request arise for additional financial aid, it might be well for the Governmental agency to provide essentials instead of money.

Clothing: I came to China prepared adequately if not comfortably for the rigors of winter outdoor life; others were not so fortunate within our group either through ignorance or neglect. I sought to secure underwear, pants and a shirt for one of our group directly from the army commissary. Two undershirts were finally forthcoming from a stock which was indeed meager according to the army records. However, before us stood a member of the Embassy staff ( homeward bound ) turning in blankets which had been drawn previously with the understanding they were available to his group. I was led to feel that the Embassy had not included our group in a request for consideration; if so, I had not been informed. I am prepared to suffer the utmost provided other Americans similarly located in Chungking are compelled by circumstances to follow suit but any other path should not be followed silently.

In conclusion: I trust no one will construe my statements or criticisms as reflecting directly or indirectly upon individuals; they are directed at the system or lack of system prevailing. If one feels that I have been inordinately severe let him live in the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations one month, visit the Embassy as I do looking for literature, witness other American groups protected at least partially from isolation of necessities, and get the polite " brush-off " from time to time. Knowing Americans as I do I am positive that they too would take an action similar to mine when requested to do so. They too would feel that something, perhaps intangible, is amiss and would hope for a review of the situation. They might realize that under the exigencies of war little or nothing worth while would eventuate but he would have had the satisfaction of registering a protest.

Chungking, China,  
November 22, 1943.

Very truly yours,

THE FOREIGN SERVICE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Chungking, November 30, 1943

Professor Paul B. Eaton,  
Care of Chinese-American Institute of  
Cultural Relations,  
Chungking.

My dear Professor Eaton:

Mr. Boehringer has told me of his conversation with you of November 29, 1943 in regard to your letter of complaint addressed to me under date of November 22, 1943 and marked "confidential and for transmittal to the Secretary of State." A copy of your letter is going forward with appropriate comment to the Department of State for the attention of the Division of Cultural Relations.

I am very glad that you have clarified the last sentence in your report of November 6 and to know exactly the nature of the matters which cause you dissatisfaction here. The Embassy wishes, of course, to give every appropriate assistance to the cultural relations specialists and, as you know, I and the appropriate officers of the Embassy are available for consultation in regard to these matters.

I was, of course, somewhat surprised at your dissatisfaction especially as you had not called to consult with me until some six weeks after my return and during our one conversation did not mention these matters. In fact, I believe that your report of November 6 was not submitted on your own initiative but was received only after we requested that you make a report as called for in your official instructions.

I shall be very glad to see you and discuss your complaints with you personally. I may say here that, as regards your dissatisfaction with the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations, it is my understanding that the Chinese Government is providing you both with lodging and with food at the Institute although it is not incumbent upon the Chinese Government to provide you with meals and the Department has furnished you with a per diem for that purpose. The magazines and newspapers

received

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received by the Embassy are sent to the Institute and are there, of course, as available to you as to the other residents of the Institute, including two members of the Embassy staff. As regards the question of medical attention: Dr. Herrington, Assistant Naval Attache, provides medical attention to members of the Embassy staff as a courtesy. He has been kind enough to volunteer to extend his services to the cultural relations specialists and to a number of other persons in Chungking. There is no physician "officially provided" as mentioned in your letter; Dr. Herrington's services are purely voluntary on his part and I believe that all of us who have had occasion to avail ourselves of his kindness are very much in his debt. As you know, Dr. Herrington's office is but a few feet from the chancery and if any specialist is in need of medical attention it would be only natural for him to make inquiry of the Embassy in the matter and receive information as to the location of Dr. Herrington's office.

I understand that in your conversation of November 29 with Mr. Boehringer you mentioned that the Ministry of Education has not set up a program for you although you have been in Chungking for some seven months. This matter should, of course, have been reported much earlier to the Embassy in order that it might be discussed with the Ministry with a view to endeavoring to arrange that appropriate use is being made of your services. I should be glad to discuss this aspect of your situation with you at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

G. E. Gauss



Clarence E. Gauss, Esq.,  
American Ambassador  
Chungking, China.

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

I have your communication of November 30, 1943 in reply to my expansion dated November 22, 1943, of the last sentence in my report to the Embassy dated November 6, 1943.

It is now crystal clear to me what issues lie between the Embassy and my work in China since I believe I am safe in assuming your reply is official.

1. The Embassy has not given the Cultural Relations group sufficient attention through properly organizing its functions to carry out the wishes of the Department of State nor has it acted upon occasion concerning the welfare of the group when it was possible to do so.

2. Since May 7, to my knowledge, three different members of the Embassy staff have been assigned, at one time or another, to assume our direction and guidance; and I learned recently from a member of our group that a fourth had been assigned apparently. Your Embassy has never informed me concerning one of them except the last, Mr. Hoehringer.

3. The Embassy is now on record as assuming it was not remiss in failing to indicate where it might be possible to secure medical attention. I disagree with your contention while agreeing with you heartily as to the splendid service rendered by Dr. Herrington to all who require it. I am one of his regular patients suffering from colds.

4. From indications, the Embassy has never had the intention of placing our names on a list of those eligible to receive limited supplies from the army commissary.

5. The Embassy has not interested itself to determine whether or not we were properly housed or fed aside from informing the Chinese authorities that we had arrived.

6. The Embassy remains highly indifferent as to whether or not we receive recent technological news from America through the same channels ( and at the same time ) provided for some of its staff carrying purely clerical work.

7. The Embassy, through its favored position, attempts to place me on the defensive in any and every complaint rendered by me through its use of such statements as " appropriate officers are available for consultation in regard to these matters. " As a matter of fact, they are available but I have not received a decision from them on certain matters which I have considered important to my work. The Embassy has hidden behind its bureaucratic position constantly. Your statement that " The Embassy wishes to give every appropriate assistance, etc, " smacks of stilted phraseology when performance is used as the criterion.

107-2321-157X

I shall attempt to delineate my reasons for the foregoing statements in chronological order. You will also incorporate statements in my letter to you dated November 22, 1943.

1. I visited Mr. Freeman the morning of the day you arrived in Chungking expressing hope that Professor Brown's Helicopter films be retained if they arrived in Chungking. I asked for a ruling on the matter. ( Professor Brown had left China most untimely after stirring up Chinese hopes of seeing the films. ) A dead silence has prevailed since then. What am I to surmise? It is true that Mr. Freeman was available but it availed me nothing. I am still ignorant of the Embassy's decision and I expect from past treatment or lack of it to remain so. Although other incidents are possible to relate, I consider no further word necessary for clarifying my position before the Secretary of State. However I am impelled to present one additional fact: at this late date I still remain ignorant concerning my status relative to the payment of income tax. I quote my wife's letter dated October 25, 1943: " Dearest - First of all, you remember several letters ago you asked me to get in touch with Mr. Hanson regarding your financial status. Well, I did; and received his reply this morning. I quote: " I have turned your letter over to the Foreign Service Administration, etc. They wrote as follows, " you are informed that the tax on your husband's income is not withheld by the Department while he remains abroad. Pertinent instructions in regard to income tax were sent to offices abroad some time ago and your husband should by now be informed of the provisions applicable to his salary. " So there you have it. " ( The last statement is my wife's - not mine. ) Even she is trusting. I learned yesterday that the Embassy's staff has received the information from the Embassy; yet I must remain unserved presumably because the Embassy's technique is faulty in organization and/or performance or because it does not consider the required action " appropriate ".

2. I feel no further comment is necessary to clarify my position.

3. Referring to your letter of November 30, 1943 - last sentence of fourth paragraph: Your statement is correct but irrelevant and therefore tends to becloud the real issue. I quote from the 15th page of " Instructions of Travelers Going to China " : "Medical Facilities. The American Embassy at Chungking has a doctor attached to it who can care for staff members. The American armed forces in China have their own medical staff. " Furthermore, for your information so that you may have the correct timing, the " Brown Incident " occurred when Dr. Herrington's office was on the South Bank - miles away from the present chancery - and in a location unknown to a newcomer.

4. Referring to the first portion of the fourth paragraph of your letter of November 30, 1943. I was under the impression I too had made this point clear in my letter of expansion. I wish to call your attention that tobacco is considered essential to the welfare of those using it. I was informed by one of my group that he had asked for consideration and had received a polite brush-off. There are other American non-military groups receiving limited ration service from the army. Why not we - especially when it has been evident that the food served is not sufficient to sustain one?

5. No further comment is necessary.

6. American magazines and newspapers available at the Chinese-American Institute of Cultural Relations ( December 3, 1943 ) for my work are:

Asia - August  
Bull Sheet - none  
Life - none  
Foreign Policy reports Feb 1, '43  
Far Eastern Survey Sept. 15, '43  
Survey of Current Business May '43  
News Week, Sept 18, Nov. 5th, '43  
National Geographic Aug. 23  
Foreign Affairs Jan. & April '43  
American Digest Nov. 26, '43  
New York Times - at no time.

Please refer this list to any professional engineer for his comment as to suitability for my work in China. I'll rest my case on the comment given by a reputable man.

Need more be said except to query why the mention of your two staff members was made by you. I presumed you understood we were covering matters incident to my engineering work.

7. The last paragraph of your letter dated November 30, 1943 is entirely erroneous and tends to place me in a position of remissness. You may have understood Mr. Boehringer correctly but the fact is that I never made the statement. I cannot prove it "officially" for I did not have a witness. Are we therefore to assume that Mr. Boehringer's report to you is correct? What I did say was this in essence: that it was my opinion my service as an educator had little value to the Ministry of Education with the exception of my direct work with the professors. That as far as my true direct value to the students was concerned it would be well to get me passage about December 15th. However, my work elsewhere such as consulting, symposia, lecturing before industrial groups and the timely Job Instructor Training Course had real value according to my estimate. Further, that the Chinese Government was the ultimate judge of the value of my services and that I would continue to serve the "fiction" by remaining at Central University until the end of the current term. I told him I went to Central University Tuesdays and Thursdays; also

was engaged in teaching JIT Courses Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings from 7:15 to 8:45 to groups of industrialists ( mainly ) numbering approximately 100 total. I have assumed I have been permitted to give work outside of Central University only at the discretion of the Ministry of Education. How, then, in all conscience, could I have wittingly given the impression that I had not been given a program by the Ministry of Education? Can't you see that the foregoing is exactly what I am inveighing against. It is very easy for the Embassy to place any construction they wish upon an interview leaving the interviewee reasonably helpless since he has no knowledge of the " appropriate remarks " sent to the Department of State in Washington. This practice is unamerican and undemocratic. For your particular and direct information and for my representation to all who will review the case: I am proud of my work for China aside from that connected with direct student teaching and I have every reason to feel the Chinese are well-satisfied in all respects.

I have one final statement relative to your letter of November 30, 1943, the last sentence in the third paragraph. You are correct in stating that I did not submit my report on my own initiative but that you requested it. If you will read the copy of my travel orders which you have in your possession you will ascertain that the Department of State instructed me as follows: " You should keep the Ambassador informed of your activities to the extent that the Embassy considers desirable. " I have done so! Not one of your three ( or four ) men assigned to aid our group ever told me specifically when to render a report and I have never been sent ( and it cannot be proved to the contrary ) a written statement of rules, regulations, procedures connected between the Embassy and my work. I have been given the specific impression that the less the contact with the Embassy the better. I have tried to observe this but have been forced to ask for mail and cable service. I have found these excellent. In justice to the Embassy and to the referee, these two functions have been carried out.

In closing, I must inform you that I should prefer to carry out the adjustment of our differences by correspondence. The reason should be obvious. I am enjoying the work with my Chinese friends and hope that I shall be permitted to retain a serene mind while attempting to concentrate upon my immediate task.

Faithfully yours,

Chungking, China  
December 5, 1943

Paul B. Eaton

March 27, 1950

The Honorable Ralph E. Flanders  
Room 311  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Flanders:

Word has reached me via radio news issue that you have taken dominant stand upon the manner of the investigation of the Department of State by Senator McCarthy. When I heard the statement of the commentator I sensed you were taking your position because of your desire to have "fair play" prevail in whatever deliberations ensue. Apparently you believe that Secretary Acheson is being subjected to accusations that have little or no basis in fact and, as a result, you become nauseated at the seeming lack of dignity within the procedure of the investigating group. In this I join you heartily for I too deplore the seeming necessity of exaggeration which is apparently required before the American public becomes aroused. And I too feel that Senator McCarthy has made some statements relative to the numbers of Communists employed by the Department of State that would be most difficult if not impossible for him to substantiate. It is exceedingly regrettable that Senator McCarthy did not confine himself to statements that could be substantiated - statements which are of sufficient merit to cause men like you and me to know that something is rotten at the core of our government structure.

I trust you will agree with me that if Senator McCarthy had made the statement there had been and are men in the employ of the Department of State whose acts played deliberately into the machinations of the Politbureau you would have been willing to remain neutral in your thinking until all the facts had been assembled. I can join you in disbelieving there is now any considerable number of Communists in the Department of State but I wish to make an even more serious charge: there have been and are still those in the employ of the Department of State who are far more dangerous to our American Way of life in that they refuse to affiliate themselves with the Communist Party but simultaneously plan, write, and speak concerning ideologies which aid the diabolical plotting of those Russians who would destroy our freedom. This sort of individual is much more difficult to catch up with than those who join secretly yet actively with our foes.

121-23278-157X

March 27, 1950

I realize you are a busy man and have a voluminous correspondence yet I know from our past associations that you are searching for the truth and are willing to spend considerable time in unearthing it. Please listen to the story of my mission to China during the years of 1943 and 1944 - listen with an open mind - attempt to evaluate whether or not I am trying to be truthful - and be in the knowledge that at all times during my mission I lived up to the ethics of the profession of engineering as enunciated by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, a virile association which you and I have had the honor to serve. I am proud to be known as "one of Dean Kimball's boys" for that grand man not only taught me sound and basic technology but also the necessity for observing the ethics of the engineer.

.....

My Mission to China - and Subsequent Happenings

The true purpose of my mission was to determine what specialized technical personnel and essential operating instruments and supplies of critical nature were required to maintain the Chinese National Government industries in the war effort. On the surface, I travelled around Free China as a representative of a Cultural Relations group but my work must have had paramount importance since my Travel Orders stated that "if the Government of the Republic of China was unable to transport me to any locality I could requisition an American plane" --- or words to that effect.

I shall never forget the afternoon of February, 1943, when I sat with Haldore Hanson in the China Section of the Far Eastern Division of the Department of State; he was telling me that arrangements had been made for half-hour talks with Dr. Hornbeck, Mr. Currie, one or two others, AND Vice-President Wallace. When Hanson mentioned that name, I said, "I am not interested". I had my reasons at the time for refraining from any form of contact with Mr. Wallace; and I still have them. I did not meet Mr. Wallace.

There is every reason for me to believe that this rash act on my part opened me up to the so-called liberal element in the State Department who proceeded to make life as unbearable for me as possible during my full year's stay in China. I flew to China with George Acheson, Jr., Charge de Affairs of the American Embassy at Chungking upon his arrival, and acting for the Ambassador in his absence. Mr. Acheson failed in no manner whatsoever to make my mission a thoroughly unworkmanlike job. I must congratulate him upon his diabolical cunning but offer condolence to him that he met his match in my indomitable spirit

that I would die before his plans ( and that of the American Embassy at Chungking ) would interfere with the work I had been assigned to bring to a fruition. When I started for home in May of 1944, I left sixty pounds lighter than my arrival weight, and, upon my reaching home, my wife failed to know me until I started to take her in my arms.

I ask you in all frankness: do you condone the lack of physical care and administrative procedure from the Chungking Embassy which reduced me to this distressing condition? And when I inform you that I have in my possession copies of two " Secret, Confidential, and Immediate Transmittal " letters addressed to Secretary Hull calling to his attention distinct remissness of duty by the Chungking Embassy and when you couple General ( Pat ) Hurley's bitter experiences with the same individuals subsequent to mine, can you come to any other conclusion that as early as 1943 there were those within the framework of the Department of State that were doing their level best to " Sell China down the River ".

Looking back upon the years that have intervened since my " nightmare " with the American Embassy at Chungking and the general apathy of the American public towards those who would undermine our form of government, I am not amazed at what has or has not taken place. The credulity of the American public passes all understanding for we have such a confidence in ourselves that we feel no matter what remissness take place we are and will continue to be strong enough to survive. Rome thought so too.

I offer no apology for the splendid group of Chinese engineers and administrators with whom I worked intimately in China and later in America. They command my admiration for their courage and stoicism. It is true that I found occasional mismanagement and a general disintegration within certain of the ministries but these were induced more because of the terrible vicissitudes of the war than an indifference of the leaders towards what was right and honorable. Considering the difference between the relative strengths of the respective governments, I felt at the time and will continue to feel that we displayed more of the elements of basic weaknesses toward graft, corruption, and deceit than the Chinese leaders I encountered. I was housed and fed by and with these men for one full year and worked with them intimately. If they had been as corrupt as you have been led to believe, why was it that my physical and mental condition was so deplorable upon my return to America? I ate their food and shared their shelter. It was miserable. It is fundamental that food, shelter, and clothing are essential to life. When one constantly plumbs the depths as did my friends and myself it follows inevitably that these men were not grafters - yet they were the leaders of China.

.....

I wish to make the following charges against certain members of the Department of State during the years of 1943 and 1944:

1. They were purposely negligent in providing the amenities of life during my stay in China.
2. Every possible interposition was brought to bear to render my mission a failure until I had forcefully informed Secretary Hull of what I termed "remissness" but what I actually knew was diabolical planning.
3. Certain supplies reached the American Embassy in 1944 which were retained at the Embassy instead of passing them over to the Chinese who were leading the program to create a better understanding between America and China.
4. Towards the end of my stay there was more or less open hostility between the Embassy and those of us Americans who were trying to bring order out of chaos. Sneering and slothfulness seemed to be the order of the day. One can never imprison an embassy member for slothfulness or dilatory tactics -- and every member knew it.

I wish to make one more point as emphatic as possible: it takes a brave man to speak openly against the evils of others who are in a position to do him harm. I have that sort of bravery when I am convinced I am in the right. Perhaps I should not declare my temerity so boldly since I am teaching engineering in a small, but independent, college where my right to speak is not abridged and those dependent upon me will not suffer. Other Americans on independent missions similar to mine also suffered indignities of extreme bureaucratic dominance for they told me so most emphatically but ( and here is the crux of the matter ) they feel they dare not speak lest they and their dependents suffer.

.....

What has Mr. Acheson to do with the foregoing? It cannot be denied that he was progressively Assistant Secretary of State and Under Secretary of State during 1943 to date. It may well have been he who read my two letters of protest addressed to Secretary Hull. Those in charge of the destiny of our country have a responsibility placed upon them.

I ask in all fairness, why was it that repeated denials emanated from the Department of State as early as 1943 concerning the true situation in the Department? Could it have been that Secretary Acheson was entirely unaware that some of us Americans possessing the welfare of our country had the facts that traitors were in our midst? If Mr. Acheson were unaware, he shows himself unfit for his important post and if he were aware, why did he not tell the American people the truth?



March 27, 1950

I stand ready to send you copies of my two letters to Secretary Hull if you desire them. And, further, I am ready to appear before any Congressional Committee for questioning. There resides within me an extreme reluctance at an exhibitionism in Washington but patriotism and a love of one's country should transcend personal wishes.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Paul B. Eaton

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont *ABE*  
FROM : Mr. Baumgardner *DBA*  
SUBJECT: ANNA RACHEL HEISLER  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: May 5, 1950

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

PURPOSE

To advise the Bureau is in receipt of a copy of a letter from the captioned individual in which she deplors the fact that the Director is opposed to divulging the contents of Loyalty files. Heisler advised copies of files were being forwarded to the editor of a metropolitan newspaper, to Senator McCarthy, and to President Truman.

BACKGROUND

In a letter addressed "To the Editor" dated April 25, 1950, at Reading, Pennsylvania, A. Rachel Heisler asks whether the willingness of the President to open Loyalty files and the opposition of the Director to such action is not a scheme to shield the President. She asks the real purpose of Loyalty files and urges that the contents thereof be revealed if they will verify McCarthy's charges. Heisler states "the FBI is, to all appearances, an agency that functions only after the horse is stolen. After the crime is committed, after our freedom is gone, the FBI will catch the culprit, and the files will spill what should have been disclosed, in the public interest, long ago." Heisler closes by referring to the President's radio speech of April 24, 1950, in which he invited every citizen to report information of a subversive nature to the Attorney General or the FBI, and points out the inconsistency of condemning McCarthy who has merely followed this suggestion.

Attached to the Bureau's copy of this letter was a type-written notation to the effect that copies were being forwarded to the editor of a metropolitan newspaper, to Senator McCarthy, and to President Truman.

DETAILS

EX-136

RECORDED - 101  
INDEXED - 101

121-23278-158

166-1000-318  
MAY 9 1950  
FILES

Bureau files reflect Anna Rachel Heisler, born February 7, 1896, in Pennsylvania, made application for position of Bureau clerk on January 30, 1943. On the same date the interviewing official reported her as being "too mature in appearance and mannerisms ... temperance worker and is more interested in temperance than in anything else. Created impression of being somewhat fanatical on subject. Too domineering." (67-0-48-4398)

By letter dated August 18, 1944, Heisler wrote the Bureau as Temperance Superintendent of the Berks County Christian Endeavor of Pennsylvania concerning the availability of liquor to service men. (62-0-27456)

COMMA IN THE STATE DEPT

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2279

*[Handwritten signature]*

4

By letter dated April 19, 1949, Heisler again wrote the Bureau as Chairman, Christian Citizens Committee, seeking information concerning the Communist affiliations of Reverend Howard Goeringer, a pastor at Reading, Pennsylvania. An acknowledgment was forwarded to her on April 22, 1949, and on April 27, 1949, she wrote the Bureau as Temperance Superintendent of the Berks County Sunday School Association of Pennsylvania again referring to Goeringer and asking for assistance in exposing him. (100-24409-120; 100-0-23552)

ACTION

None - submitted for your information only.

*Sh*

*U*

Furnished 7/13/50  
by Mr. D. E. Nicholson,  
State Department  
NY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIST OF 108

ALEXANDER, Dorothy H.

ARNDT, Ernest T.

BARNETT, Robert W.

BERMAN, Harold

BLAISDELL, Donald C.

BORTON, Hugh

BRUNAUER, Esther C.

BURLINGAME, Robert S.

CAMERON, Gertrude

CARLISLE, Lois

CARTER, William D.

DEMERJIAN, Alice

DEMORETZ, Shirley T.

DuBOIS, Cora

ELINSON, Marcelle D.

EMINOWICZ, Halina D.

FERRY, Frances

PIERST, Herbert

FINE, Sherwood M.

FISHBACK, Sam

FISHBURN, John Tipton

FORNO, Joseph T.

FOURNIER, Norman L.

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/12/77 DP/DLC

List of 108 cases considered  
by subcommittee of House  
Committee on Appropriations  
in connection with appropriations  
for appropriation Bill for 1949.  
The 62-39749-1109 for  
further details  
NY  
62-39749

121-23278  
File 5-78  
121-23275-✓

AUG 11 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

GORDON, Estelle  
GRAZE, Gerald  
GRAZE, Stanley  
GROSS, Aaron Jack  
HANKIN, Robert  
HARRISON, Marcia Ruth  
HORWIN, Leonard  
HUGHES, Henry Stuart  
HUNT, Victor M.  
ILLYEFALVI- VITEZ, Gizella  
JACKSON, Malcolm A.  
JANKOWSKI, Joseph T.  
JOSEPHSON, Joseph  
KAMARCK, Andrew W.  
KAUFMAN, Arthur M.  
LANDSBERG, Hans H.  
LAZARUS, Theodore I.  
LEMON, Edythe J.  
LEWIS, Mrs. Preston Keesling  
LLOYD, David Demarest  
LIFANTIEFF-LEE, Paul A.  
LINDSEY, John R.  
LORWIN, Val R.  
LOVELL, Leander Bell  
LUNNING, Just

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 3 -

MAGRUDER, John H., III

MAGUIE, Sylvia

MALLON, Dwight S.

MANN, Gottfried T.

MARGOLIES, Daniel F.

MARGOLIN, Arnold D.

MARTIN, Shirley M.

MARTINGALE, Rose Marie

McDAVID, Raven I., Jr.

MEIGS, Peveril

MILLER, Robert T.

MONTAGUE, Ella M.

MOORE, Leith Celestia

NEAL, Fred Warner

NESS, Norman T.

NEUMANN, Franz Leopold

OSNATCH, Olga F.

PARKER, Glen T.

PARSONS, Ruby A.

PERKINS, Isham W.

PESTO, Paula Pavedo

PETER, Hollis W.

POLYZOIDES, T. Achilles

POSNER, Margery S.

POST, Richard H.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 4 -

RAINE, Philip

RANDOLPH, David (Rosenberg)

RENNIE, Leonard C.

ROBINSON, Jay

ROMMEL, Rowena

ROSE, Ernest W.

ROSENTHAL, Albert H.

ROSS, Louis

ROSS, Robert

ROTHWELL, George J.

ROYCE, Edith M.

RUDLIN, Walter A.

SALMON, Thomas R.

SCHIMMEL, Sylvia

SHELL, Melvin

SHEVLIN, Lorraine A.

SIEGEL, Herman

SMITH, Frederick W. (Schmidt)

SMITH, Samuel S.

SMOTHERS, Frank A.

STOIANOFF, Stoian

STONE, William T.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 5 -

TAYLOR, Jeanne H.

THOMSON, Charles A.

THURSZ, Jonathan

TOORY, Dr. Frank P.

TUCKERMAN, Gustavus

TUCHSCHER, Frances M.

VINCENT, John Carter

VOLIN, Max A.

WASHBURNE, Carleton Wolsey

WILCOX, Stanley

WILFERT, Howard F.

WOOD, James E.

YUHAS, Helene

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



70043

May 5, 1950

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board  
United States Civil Service Commission  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge your letter of May 4, 1950,  
regarding loyalty investigations and reports concerning persons  
identified before the Tydings Subcommittee.

Since the questions raised in your communication  
involve matters of policy which must be passed upon by the  
Department of Justice, I am referring your letter to Mr. Peyton  
Ford, The Assistant to the Attorney General, for consideration  
and reply.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

*Committee on State  
Appointments*

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/12/78 DPB/DC

CHS:NRJ:hw

RECORDED - mld

127 23278-159

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF

RECEIVED-DATE 4-20-78

BY SCL MSGR  
MAY 8 1950  
COMM - FBI

RECEIVED  
CIVIL SECTION

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
FBI  
MAY 5 5 14 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED  
MAY 5 19 PM '50

*[Handwritten signatures]*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*C38*  
*MJLS*

Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General  
Director, FBI

May 5, 1950

LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON

2909  
4/12/78 DRS/DLC

Attached are copies of a letter dated May 4, 1950, addressed to the Bureau by Mr. Seth W. Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, with further reference to cases mentioned before the Tydings Subcommittee now being reviewed by the Board.

You will note that Mr. Richardson lists twenty-one cases and requests the Bureau to advise him "whether or not any and all investigative reports and pertinent information secured under authority of any Statute, Executive Order or any other authority whatsoever, relating to each of the above listed cases and relevant to questions of loyalty, has been furnished to the Loyalty Review Board." The twenty-one cases listed are identical to those listed in a similar letter received by the Department from Mr. Richardson.

In discussing the letter received by the Department last evening with an official of the Bureau you requested that we review the individual cases listed and advise you whether the cases were espionage investigations, whether they were under active investigation at the present time and the nature of the investigation conducted in each case in order that you might discuss the matter further with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Richardson.

In nine of the cases listed in the attached letter from Mr. Richardson we have already furnished the Board with material and reports where available and not already in the possession of the Civil Service Commission because the nine individuals in question, specifically, Victor M. Hunt, Joseph T. Jankowski, Mrs. Preston Keesling Lewis, Fred Warner Neal, Norman T. Hess, Isham William Perkins, Edward George Posniak, Max Abraham Volin and Helene Yhas, have been subjects of investigation or inquiry by the Bureau under the provisions of the Loyalty Order or Public Law 402, 80th Congress, since the effective date of Executive Order 9835. Copies of the letters directed to the Board concerning these nine individual cases have previously been furnished to you.

With respect to the remaining twelve individuals listed in Mr. Richardson's letter, which you will note include Mary Jane Keeney, Gustav G. Duran and Robert Talbott Miller, III, there is no indication that any of these twelve individuals are presently employed in the Executive Branch of the Government and none of them have been subjects of investigation or inquiry by the Bureau under the provisions of the Loyalty Order or such Public Laws as Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America Program), Public Law 472, 80th Congress (European Recovery Program) and the Atomic Energy Act, since the effective date of Executive Order 9835.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CHS:NRJ:hw

C38

NVA

RECORDED

121-23278-160

✓

*[Handwritten signatures]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

Cases mentioned in the attached Department

151

Pursuant to our understanding of your instructions to an official of the Bureau, as outlined in the Bureau's memorandum to you of April 26, 1950, which you confirmed as correct in a telephonic conversation with a Bureau official on April 27, 1950, we have not furnished any data or report to the Loyalty Review Board on these remaining twelve individuals.

Concerning these twelve cases, there is set forth below the information you requested as to which of the cases are espionage type investigations, whether they are under active investigation at the present time and the nature of the investigation, if any, conducted in each case:

PRESENTLY ACTIVE ESPIONAGE TYPE INVESTIGATIONS

Gustavo Duran	Subject of active Internal Security - R investigation.
Mary J. Keeney	Subject of active Internal Security - R investigation.
Robert Talbott Miller, III	Subject of active Internal Security - R; Registration Act investigations.

SUBJECTS OF SPECIAL INQUIRY TYPE OR HATCH ACT INVESTIGATIONS BY FBI PRIOR TO EFFECTIVE DATE EXECUTIVE ORDER 9835

William Draper Carter	Subject of Special Inquiry type investigation for Office of Coordinator of Information and reports furnished to OCI in 1942.
John Richard Lindsey	Subject of Special Inquiry type investigation for Office of Coordinator of Information and reports furnished to OCI in 1942.
David Randolph	Subject of investigation under Hatch Act as employee of Office of War Information and report furnished State Department in 1948.

NOT SUBJECTS OF INDEPENDENT FBI INVESTIGATION

Leonard Horwin
Joseph Josephson
Edythe Lemon
Gottfried Mann
Margery S. Posner
Jeanne H. Taylor

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

3016

The letter addressed to the Bureau by Mr. Richardson under date of May 4, 1950, has been acknowledged, and he has been advised that this matter is being referred to you for consideration and reply inasmuch as the questions raised in his communication to the Bureau involve matters of policy to be decided upon by the Department. Appended for your information is a copy of the Bureau's acknowledgement to Mr. Richardson.

We will appreciate receiving your further advice in this matter at your earliest convenience.

*Eg*  
Enclosures

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR

DATE: May 8, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT:

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

Peyton Ford called and stated that he had obtained an interpretation of the White House as to the President's statement to Senator Tydings with regard to making available the State Department's files; that the White House indicated that they only intend to make those files available which the Appropriations Committee had seen in 1949; that they are not making any FBI files available.

Mr. Ford stated that he and Donald Dawson had been designated to hold Senator Tydings in line on that point.

M L:dad

cc - Mr. Belmont

9-1-50 - 121-23278-161

RECORDED - 89  
EX-35

121-23278-161  
~~166-7225-319~~

53 JUN 27 1950

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744

5-9



1950

- TO:  Director  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. Carlson  
 Mr. Callahan  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Gandy  
 Personnel Files Section  
 Records Section  
 Mrs. Skillman

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

See Me For Appropriate Action

Send File Note and Return

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---



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---

Clyde Tolson

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *sh*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

While talking with Peyton Ford on other matters, he advised Mr. Nichols and Mr. Ladd that he was going to assign Mike Horan from his office to review all of the State Department files which the President was making available to the Tydings' Committee prior to the time that they were made available to the Committee for the purpose of blocking out the names of any confidential informants or sources which should be protected in Bureau reports. *u*

He requested the Bureau to make an Agent available to work with Mike Horan on this project. *u*

We both advised him that we could not do this that this would be a very bad procedure; that the FBI should not be a party to reviewing the State Department's files prior to the time that they were made available to a Senate Committee by the President. He then suggested that the Bureau might go through its own files checking the material which has been sent to the State Department and checking to see if there are any names which the Bureau desired to be blocked out as undesirable for the Committee to see. *u*

We again pointed out that this would be impractical and unwise. *u*

It was suggested that in the event Mike Horan is going to make this review that at the time he is reviewing the reports that if he has any questions about any particular reports, that he then contact the Bureau. *u*

DML:dad

cc - Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Belmont

6-879

*Right. I want no part to review of such files or the blocking out of information.*

121-23278-1162

~~162-39749-1559~~

RECORDED - 93 MAY 17 1950 34

INDEXED - 93

EX-136

51 JUN 5 1950

Commonwealth of the State Department

*11-1*

*Al...  
J. Laughlin  
Stack...  
Kerry*

350

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd *DLW*

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : E. H. Winterrowd *EW*

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES -  
STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

On May 9, 1950, when the writer talked to Mr. Peyton Ford concerning clarification of his penned notation on a memorandum to him, he advised that it was his understanding the following course of action was being taken with respect to making available State Department files to the Tydings Committee:

He said that with respect to ex-employees who were in McCarthy's list of 81, only the material which had been made available to the Appropriations Committee (either Senate or House) in 1947 would be made accessible to the Tydings Committee.

With respect to cases decided on loyalty grounds, either dismissal or retention, General Snow is to make available (apparently to read) a summary of the information and the action taken. If more specific details are requested by the Committee or if the veracity of the summary is questioned, then the State Department file will be made available.

With respect to employees against whom administrative action is taken, Mr. Ford said it was his understanding Mr. Donald Nicholson will make available a summary of information and action to the Committee. If anything is doubted or questioned, then the State Department file will be made available.

It might be noted that Mr. Ford indicated that he was scheduled to see Senator Tydings as of 2:00 or 2:30 P.M., May 9, 1950.

ACTION:

None. The above is submitted for information purposes.

EHW:WMJ

RECORDED - 1111

121-23278-163

JUN 13 1950

12  
RECEIVED  
MAY 11 1950

53 JUL 5 1950

Comments to State Department

*Carlson*  
*Laughlin*  
*Stolley*  
*Johnson*



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DML*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

While talking with Peyton Ford on other matters, he exhibited to Mr. Nichols and Mr. Ladd a letter addressed to the Attorney General from Senator Tydings, which dealt with making available by the President to the Tydings' Committee the files of the State Department. U

Senator Tydings was requesting assurance from the Attorney General that all loyalty reports on those 81 cases had been sent by the FBI to the State Department in order that the Committee might be assured that they were obtaining not only information from the State Department but all that which the FBI had furnished to the State Department. U

Mr. Ford wanted the Bureau to take this letter and to suggest how it might be answered. U

We pointed out to Mr. Ford that under the provisions set up in the Loyalty Program, the Bureau does not send reports direct to the employing agency but rather sends all copies to the Civil Service Commission, who in turn transmit the reports to the appropriate employing agency; that, therefore, all the Bureau could say was that the loyalty reports had been sent to the Civil Service Commission. The Bureau obviously could not certify that the Commission had sent them all to the State Department. U

In light of this, it was suggested that the Civil Service Commission would be the proper agency to answer Senator Tydings' letter. U

DML:dad

cc - Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Nichols

*Right. But make certain all reports in these cases have been sent to C & S C.*

57 JUL 6 1950

RECORDED

121-23278-164  
JUN 13 1950  
12

*See Exhibit 3 - State Dept*

*Belmont  
Laughlin  
Stanley*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General

DATE: May 5, 1950

FROM : Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to your telephone conversation last evening with a Bureau official in which you advised him that you had just learned the President is going to permit the Tydings Subcommittee to call at the White House and review the State Department loyalty files on the 81 individuals who have been mentioned by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

You indicated that you were sure the Attorney General had no advance information regarding this matter and in view of this development you suggested that the Bureau not send any more material or data to Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, in connection with the Board's review of the 81 cases since you desire to determine from the White House what position is being adopted with respect to these cases.

You, of course, are aware that the Bureau already has furnished to the Board material on some of the 81 cases. It is my understanding of your instructions, as set forth above, that the Bureau should immediately stop sending to the Board material on any of the cases identified before the Tydings Subcommittee and presently being reviewed by the Board except in those instances where we are conducting active full field or supplemental investigations under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 regarding persons on Mr. Richardson's list who presently are employed in the Executive Branch. In such instances, the provisions of Executive Order 9835 itself would require that we furnish to the Civil Service Commission the reports of such investigations upon completion.

If the Bureau's understanding of your instructions in this regard is not correct, I would appreciate receiving your immediate advice.

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED

121-23278-165  
JUN 13 1950

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF DeClass.  
DATE 4-27-78 DPK

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/12/78 DPG/DC

*make  
containing AS  
however, I would  
the other material to continue  
Per your memo with AS  
Dawson + I counsel  
Seth R.  
APK*

FILED IN 151-3

RECEIVED

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd *DL*  
 FROM : Mr. E. H. Winterrowd *EHW*  
 SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: May 9, 1950

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
 Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Rm. b6 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease b7C \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to the attached memorandum from the Director to Mr. Peyton Ford dated May 5, 1950, wherein Mr. Ford has made the notation: "Continue as marked -- I would, however, \_\_\_ to continue to furnish the other material as per our conversation until Dawson and see Seth R." *u*

Pursuant to your instructions, I first contacted *[redacted]* of Mr. Ford, to determine the meaning of the above-quoted notation. She, in turn, referred me to Mr. Ford and he stated that he could see how we were possibly confused and he stated further that he meant the (Bureau should continue to supply information to the Loyalty Review Board in the same manner as he previously had indicated,) until such time as he, Mr. Ford, talk to Mr. Dawson at the White House and with Mr. Seth Richardson. He said, in other words, the Bureau should furnish loyalty reports and information pertaining to the loyalty of present employees of the State Department, but that if a request for a security type report were received, such a report should not be given to Mr. Richardson at this time. If there are any changes as a result of his conference with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Richardson, he will advise the Bureau. *u*

Upon my departure from Mr. Ford's office, I specifically stated that I understood that the Bureau should continue to operate on the same basis with the Loyalty Review Board as was previously agreed to by Mr. Ford and that if a request were received for a security type report, that it would not be furnished to the Loyalty Review Board. He stated that this was correct. *u*

ACTION:

Inasmuch as it was necessary to obtain clarification as to Mr. Ford's penned notation set forth on the Bureau's memorandum of May 5, 1950, it is believed that this should be set forth in writing to Mr. Ford. In this regard it is suggested that this confirmation be handled by the attached memorandum of May 9, 1950, directed to Mr. Peyton Ford, wherein reference is made

ENCL. *mkw*

EHW:WMJ

Attachment 1950

RECORDED *mkw*

JUN 13 1950

121-23278-165 *u*

*[Handwritten signature]*

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-23278-165

*Case made 2 State Dept. 10/1/50*

*360*

to a request by Mr. Seth Richardson for a copy of an FBI report on Robert Talbott Miller, III, who, it will be noted, is no longer with the State Department, but who was included in the list of 81 cases referred to by Senator McCarthy. This request of Mr. Richardson is a request for a security type report. The request, consequently, falls within the category which at the present time is not to be complied with.

Accordingly, it is recommended that the attached memorandum serve two purposes: (1) To confirm the clarification of the above-referred-to notation and (2) to refer to Mr. Ford the request of Seth Richardson.

✓

*[Handwritten signature]*

u

Copy

3013

West Asheville, N. C.  
May 12, 1950.

63989

Honorable Millard E. Tydings,  
U. S. Senator from Maryland.  
Washington D. C.

FIUBAM

Dear Senator:

Would you, or any of your committee, be interested in knowing what the reaction of many of the American citizens are to the debacle which you are now conducting?

Have you given proper consideration to the meaning of the Red, White, and Blue arrangement in the flag of our country?

Do you realize that you gentlemen can and do sit over there in Washington, D. C. and legislate human lives into battle, for the protection and the perpetuation of our freedom and liberty?

Do you believe that it has a tendency to add to the patriotic and moral fiber of our citizenry to see this greatest of all deliberative bodies--the United States Senate--being now prostituted down into the muck and mire of stupidity, for the purpose of promoting the personal political standing of certain people, who are too steeped in their asinine proclivities, to comprehend the fact that their own actions at this particular time is far worse in its influence against Democracy, than the worst individual Communist which you may scare up?

Can't you see, or do you care, that our Secretary of State is right now sweating out his very life's blood trying to stop Communism where it is, and not allowing it to spread all over the world? How may he do this after Joe McCarthy, Sherry, Stassen, Dewey, Taft, and now of all people Herbert C. Hoover? act in such unstatesmen like manner as to reflect discredit, and dishonor upon our State Department? Can they be PATRIOTIC? Are these men placing their COUNTRY ahead of their own personal ambition? The men who died in the last two wars, and those who are permanently maimed, helplessly crippled, and blind forever, had no choice but to sacrifice all this for their country--only to have their noble effort thrown to the dogs!

Do you think that this give me any pleasure to have to write to you in this vein? My heart is filled with sadness at the thoughtlessness of men who should be great, and noble! Oh! that my life could only be sacrificed, in order to erase away all the stain which Senator Joe McCarthy has smeared upon the great escutcheon of liberty and freedom!

Your committee are prolonging this agony, and most foolish crucifixion of our public servants, to the point where there is now a cry going up for the limitation and the restriction of congressional liberty of action! Can't you see that you are destroying your own usefulness, and therein striking the worst blow at our freedom that has been handed out during our lifetime?

These people are aiding and abetting Communism in our country, when they know of any person or act which will be detrimental to our well being and safety, and they commit treason when they do not report such actions to the Department of Justice for proper investigation and prosecution! In addition to being most incompetent to bring about any desirable results, your committee's actions enrage to the high heavens.

Very truly yours,

*Harvey Miller*  
Harvey Miller

RECORDED - 65  
INDEXED - 65  
65-23376-166  
ed-91725

Back of Dec 3-17-50  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE may All members

EIG

Mr. Aytan Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General

May 15, 1950

Director, FBI

53988

EXECUTIVE BRANCH  
U. S. GOVERNMENT  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909

ON 4/12/78 DPG/efc

*gm*  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Reference is made to your memorandum of May 10, 1950, attaching a copy of a list of individuals identified from Senator McCarthy's speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, whose names were also included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee (S. Res. 231).

In accordance with the instructions set forth in your memorandum, there is attached a list of the individuals, as they appear on the "subpoena" list which you furnished to us, setting forth the material you requested with respect to each individual identified. In those instances where the individual involved has been the subject of investigation by the Bureau under the Loyalty Order, Public Laws 402 and 472, both covering (cases of Communist and European Recovery Programs) or the Atomic Energy Act, photostatic copies of Bureau transmittal letters showing the reports transmitted or the action taken are furnished as exhibits.

You will note that the attachment is divided into Parts I, II and III. Part I pertains to the individuals identified on the "subpoena" list. In Part II there is furnished for your information material relating to additional individuals not identified on the "subpoena" list but who were identified on a list furnished to the Bureau by the Honorable Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, in a letter dated April 5, 1950. The list furnished by Mr. Richardson under date of April 5, 1950, apparently is being used by the Loyalty Review Board as the basis for its review of the 81 cases in question. In Part III of the attachment there are furnished the exhibits consisting of Bureau transmittal letters described in Parts I and II.

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

CHS; NRJ; JHS

5/16/50 3:30 PM

121-23278-167

Personally del. to Clair  
Palmer  
del.

RECORDED

62-91123

MAY 17 1950

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
MAY 18 1950  
FBI  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Declass.  
DATE 4-2-78 BSF

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Attachment  
52 JUN 23 1950

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 121-23278-167

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: May 15, 1950

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*Henry Cabot*  
 [redacted] told me confidentially that Senator Lodge had prepared a letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations charging that the Tydings' investigation to date had been farcical; that no good purpose could be served and therefore he was withdrawing; that Senator Hickenlooper would endorse this view. U

[redacted] stated that he did not know whether Lodge would send the letter but he was giving serious thought to it. U

[redacted] commented that he had talked to several Republican leaders recently and they were fearful that they will win both the House and the Senate this fall which they do not want as they would prefer for a Democratic majority to continue and they would be content merely to pick up 3 or 4 seats in the Senate and a few seats in the House. U

LBN:LH

RECORDED - 85

MAY 18 1950

INDEXED - 85

EX-35

3

334  
 53 MAY 25 1950

b6  
b7c

121-23278-168  
~~62-91923-16~~

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. BELMONT *evk*

DATE: May 16, 1950

FROM : V. P. KEAY *VPK*

SUBJECT: CHARGES AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY SENATOR MC CARTHY  
*Communists*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mike Horan advised me confidentially that he had reviewed the files at the State Department which are to be made available to the Senate Committee strictly from the standpoint of seeing that there was nothing in the files which would be harmful to the Department of Justice and which did not belong in the files. He stated that he wanted to pass on the following information with reference to Bureau information he observed therein.

Horan stated in the Loyalty file on Gertrude Cameron he noted a copy of a long letter from the Bureau to Seth Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, dated April 21, 1950. One paragraph of this letter furnished for Richardson's confidential information the identity of one of our confidential informants. Horan stated that he suggested to the State Department that they block out this paragraph as it had no pertinency and might be harmful. Also he noted in the Gertrude Cameron case a memorandum from Arch K. Jean to Mr. Nicholson of the State Department dated October 21, 1948, saying something to the effect that the FBI did not make as complete an investigation as was possible on Mrs. Cameron's husband. Horan stated there was no indication as to why the investigation on Mrs. Cameron's husband was pertinent in this file. It is noted that the investigation was conducted on Mrs. Cameron and the only references made to her husband were incidental or were related to her activities.

Horan also advised that in the file involving J. Robinson, he noted pencil notations on the Bureau report which was written by Charles A. May at Washington, D. C., in April, 1944. These pencil notations identified the various informants in the report. According to Horan, there was no information as to how the informants had been identified by the State Department. Horan stated he noted there were two original copies of this report in file and one photostat. The photostat did not have any notations on it. Horan stated he suggested to the State Department that they remove the two white copies of the report which contain notations and leave only the photostatic copy in the file.

VPK:mks:mer

RECORDED - 37

INDEXED - 37

121-23278-168X

62-39749-15816

JUN 6 1950

*470 Memo to Mr. Belmont 5-23-50  
RER-ee*

JUN 12 1950

*33*  
*VPK*



gm  
May 17, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD

On May 12 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. called to see me stating he desired to discuss with me informally and confidentially the matters which had developed in connection with the review of the State Department files in the 81 cases being considered by the Tydings Committee.

He stated that he and other members of the Committee were now reviewing these files at the White House and after several days of such review he did not know whether he was stupid or ignorant but he was terribly confused about the contents of the files in that the files contained no recommendations and in cases where Loyalty hearings had not been held by the State Department there was no indication as to why they had not been held. He stated furthermore that in some instances there was no indication that various leads had been followed out which appeared in the files and he was wondering whether I could give him my reaction upon the same.

I told the Senator that of course I had not seen the files and was not therefore in a position to speak authoritatively about them. I stated that in so far as the FBI reports were concerned obviously we reached no conclusion because that was not our function, but that we did endeavor to follow out every lead which we developed and also endeavored to indicate the reliability of the source from which we obtained the information. The Senator stated he appreciated completely the position of the Bureau in the matter but he had been confused about the files as a whole.

Very truly yours,

151 JEH  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

JEH:EH

RECORDED - 104  
INDEXED - 104

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 4:00
DATE 5-17-50
BY Kew

121-23278-169  
led 59719 1559  
MAY 16 1950

56 MAY 24 1950

The Director

May 17, 1950

D. M. Ladd

EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
(NAMES IDENTIFIED BY SENATOR McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE: To respond to your inquiry as to whether we are sound in not having mentioned, in our memorandum to Peyton Ford of May 15, 1950, incidental references concerning an individual named by Senator McCarthy which appeared in collateral reports furnished to the State Department on other people and in not mentioning confidential memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees.

BACKGROUND: My memorandum of May 15, 1950, attached for approval a memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford furnishing to the Department, in accordance with his request, information regarding material sent to the Civil Service Commission and/or the State Department regarding the 81 individuals identified by Senator McCarthy. This material was furnished in connection with a request made by Senator Tydings that the Attorney General furnish him with a letter regarding the material transmitted by the Bureau concerning these 81 cases.

On page two of my memorandum of May 15, 1950, it was pointed out that in connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to individuals identified on the Tydings "subpoena" list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances; that as a general rule these incidental references had not been included in the memorandum to the Department; that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the State Department in connection with the "Gregory" case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, and that in these memoranda numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included; that in such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we had not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees since it was felt to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda.

With respect to this particular paragraph in my memorandum of May 15, 1950, you noted, "Are we absolutely sound in marked paragraph on P. 2. I want nothing which is material withheld."

It is felt that we are entirely sound in not having mentioned incidental references appearing in reports or memoranda given to the State Department concerning an entirely different person or subject. An example of the type of incidental references referred to would be a case where we have conducted a loyalty of Voice of

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*ja*

*[Handwritten signature]*

America investigation on an employee of the State Department who perhaps associated with one of the 81 individuals named on the "subpoena" list. Naturally, the report furnished to the State Department would mention this association and thereafter set forth briefly information concerning the associate, who happens to be one of the 81 individuals. The substance of any incidental references of this nature appearing in collateral reports on other individuals would, of course, be included in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports pertaining to the individual who appears on the "subpoena" list. Consequently, it was felt that listing collateral references of this nature would be a duplication and not serve any particular purpose.

With regard to summary memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, the general substance of the information appearing in such summary memoranda would be reflected in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports furnished to the Civil Service Commission where the individual in question has been the subject of an investigation of this type. With this in mind, it was again felt that it would be duplication to list such summary memoranda and, further, that it would be extremely dangerous to list them since, if we did so, the Tydings Subcommittee would undoubtedly demand that they be produced and they, of course, contain information concerning numerous individuals not mentioned on the Tydings "subpoena" list and also contain information from highly confidential sources.

As you know, Robert Talbott Miller, III, was one of the subjects in the Gregory case. Miller resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946, prior to the time the Loyalty Order was promulgated. He, of course, has not been the subject of a loyalty investigation or investigation under the Voice of America Program, the European Recovery Program, or the Atomic Energy Act. At the present time he is the subject of a pending Internal Security - R; Registration Act investigation by the Bureau. Miller is one of the individuals named on the "subpoena" list and with respect to him we pointed out in our memorandum of May 15, 1950, to the Department that he had not been investigated under Executive Order 9835; that he had resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946; that Civil Service Commission records fail to reflect any employment of Miller in the Executive Branch subsequent to his termination with the State Department. It was pointed out that Miller was investigated by the Bureau in 1944 and 1945 under the provisions of the Hatch Act and we specifically mentioned each report in the Hatch Act investigation which has been furnished to the Department of State. We also specifically referred to memoranda dated February 19, 1946, and July 15, 1946, addressed to Frederick B. Lyon of the State Department under the caption "Robert T. Miller, III." Our files also reflect that letters were addressed to the Secretary of State on February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, enclosing summaries of the Gregory subjects, including Miller. We did not mention these letters of February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, since we felt that it was dangerous to do so. If they had been mentioned, the Tydings Subcommittee would in all probability demand that they be produced and naturally, in addition to referring to Miller, the summaries referred to other subjects of the Gregory case who were not included among the individuals presently being considered by the Tydings Subcommittee. Furthermore, they contain information obtained by the Bureau from highly confidential sources.

**ACTION:** None. This is for your information.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

TO : Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
 Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : Peyton Ford  
 The Assistant to the Attorney General

SUBJECT:

DATE: May 10, 1950

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. Ladd ✓
- Mr. Clegg ✓
- Mr. Glavin ✓
- Mr. Rosen ✓
- Mr. Tracy ✓
- Mr. Harbo ✓
- Mr. Belmont ✓
- Mr. Mohr ✓
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

There is attached hereto copy of a list of 81 individuals identified from Senator McCarthy's speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, whose names were also included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee (S. Res. 231). *u*

The Attorney General wishes to prepare at the earliest possible moment a letter to Senator Tydings listing, first, those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted, and attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission. It is understood that these transmittal letters identify the investigative reports making up the report of full field loyalty investigations. *u*

In this group there will undoubtedly be cases in which a loyalty investigation was never instituted because of the absence of derogatory information in the Bureau's files or because it was learned prior to the institution of the investigation that the individual had left the service. Also, there may be cases in which investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals left the service during the course of the investigation. It is desired to list these individuals with an indication of what transpired in this respect. *u*

There may have been, with respect to some of these individuals, memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during, or following the loyalty investigation, or in cases in which no loyalty investigation has been made. It is desired to make appropriate identifying reference to any such memoranda. *u*

It is not necessary in this connection to include any material submitted subsequent to February 20, 1950, which date may be accepted as the cut-off date in the search for materials referred to.

ENCL. 74  
 Memo to Mr. Ford  
 5-15-50  
 PFS/mef/cls  
 Leonard Hoover

Deleted Copy Sent  
 by Letter 11-3-75  
 Per FOIA Request mcl

Declassified by: RBWL  
 Richard Special  
 Assistant to the  
 Attorney General by  
 [Signature]

RECORDED - 74  
 INDEXED - 74  
 121-23278-170  
 JUN 13 1950

RECEIVED  
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DEPT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

JUL 7 5 20 PM '50

*Archival Authority for  
Lyapunov*

*copy of*

MAY 10 4 47 PM '50

RECEIVED-TOLSON  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-LADD  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED  
MAY 10 10 47 AM '50  
LOYALTY SECTION

MAY 19 11 41 AM '50

F B I  
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MAY 10 11 51 AM '50



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

List of 81 individuals identified from Senator McCarthy's speech of February 20, 1950 whose names were also included on the "Subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee (S. Res. 231)

In his speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, Senator McCarthy claimed 81 cases but gave identifiable information on only 71 individuals. Three numbers (15, 27, and 59) he did not discuss, one case he discussed under two numbers (77 and 9) and six cases he grouped under a general description but gave no information that identified the individuals.

In Senator McCarthy's "Subpoena" list he omitted two of the individuals he identified on the Senate floor (numbers 28 and 72). Two individuals named on the subpoena as Jasse T. Ford (No. 76) and John T. Washburn (No. 80) are obvious errors and are intended to refer to Joseph Vasso and John Washburn, who were identified in the Senate speech. The names which were added to the Subpoena list but were not identified on the Senate floor have not been included.

#### Recapitulation

"Subpoena" list	81
Senate speech (February 20)	81
Loss:	
numbers not discussed	3
case numbered twice	1
cases without identification	6
	10
"Identifiable" individuals	71
Individuals identified on floor but omitted on Subpoena	2
	12
	69
	81

1. ~~FIENST, Herbert~~
2. ~~VINCENT, John Carter~~
3. ~~WELLS, Foveril~~
4. ~~SILVERPALVI-VITTES, Giselle~~
5. ~~ROBINSON, Jay~~
6. ~~FUCHSOMER, Frances K.~~
7. ~~HARRISON, Marcia Ruth~~
8. ~~GRAZE, Stanley~~

ENCLOSURE 121-23278-170  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/12/78 D.P.J./D.C.

9. ~~LLOYD, David Demarest~~
10. ~~PEGNER, Marjorie S.~~
11. ~~FERRY, Frances~~
12. ~~JURAS, Helen~~
13. ~~WASHBURN, Carleton~~
14. ~~[REDACTED]~~
15. ~~MILLER, Robert T.~~
17. ~~TAYLOR, Jeanne E.~~
18. ~~LEMON, Edythe J.~~
19. ~~SANSBERG, Hans~~
20. ~~SMITH, E. Stevenson~~
29. ~~GRAZE, Gerald~~
30. ~~JOSEPHSON, Joseph~~
31. ~~ROSS, Lewis~~
32. ~~ROSS, Robert~~
33. ~~SIEGEL, Herman~~
34. ~~MONTAGUS, Elle M.~~
35. ~~SHELL, Melville~~
36. ~~SMITH, Frederick W.~~
37. ~~OSNATICH, Olga F.~~
38. ~~KAUFMAN, Arthur Milton~~
39. ~~VOLIN, Max A.~~
40. ~~GOLDON, Stella~~
41. ~~MARGOLIES, Daniel F.~~
42. ~~HAUN, Gottfried Thomas~~
43. ~~FISHBACK, Sam~~
44. ~~CARLES, William D.~~



- 45. ~~NESS, Norman T.~~
- 46. ~~STONE, William T.~~
- 47. ~~BRUNAUER, Esther Calkin~~
- 48. ~~BARNETT, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Warren~~
- 49.
- 50. ~~SCHLIMMEL, Sylvia~~
- 51. ~~ROMEL, Rowena~~
- 52. ~~RAINE, Philip~~
- 53. ~~POST, Richard~~
- 54. ~~LORWIN, Val R.~~
- 55. ~~CAMERON, Gertrude~~
- 56. ~~LIFANTIEFF-LEE, Paul A.~~
- 57. ~~NEAL, Fred Warner~~
- 58. ~~CARLISLE, Lois~~
- 60. ~~DUBOIS, Cora~~
- 61. ~~DEMERJIAN, Alice~~
- 62. ~~PERKINS, Isham W.~~
- 63. ~~WILCOX, Stanley~~
- 64. ~~PETER, Hollie W.~~
- 65. ~~HUNT, Victor~~
- 66. ~~RANDOLPH, David (Rosenberg)~~
- 67. ~~LINDSEY, John Richard~~
- 68. ~~CROSS, Aaron Jack~~
- 69. ~~MACGITE, Sylvia~~
- 70. ~~BERMAN, Harold~~
- 71. ~~STOLANOFF, Stefen~~
- 72. No name given on subpoena but identifiable individual discussed on Senate floor



- 73. ~~HOWIN~~, Leonard
- 74. ~~JANKOWSKI~~, Joseph T.
- 75. ~~LEWIS~~, Mrs. Preston Keesling
- 76. ~~ORNO~~, Joseph (Incorrectly Listed as ~~ord~~, James T.)
- 77. ~~LLOYD~~, David Derarest (See No. 9)
- 78. ~~KALARCK~~, Andrew W.
- 79. ~~POLYZOIES~~, T. Achilles
- 80. ~~FISHBURNE~~, John (Incorrectly Listed as ~~ashburn~~, John T.)
- 81. ~~PARSONS~~, Ruby A.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Peyton Ford  
The Assistant to the Attorney General

May 10, 1950

There is attached hereto copy of a list of 81 individuals identified from Senator McCarthy's speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, whose names were also included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee (S. Res. 231).

The Attorney General wishes to prepare at the earliest possible moment a letter to Senator Tydings listing, first, those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted, and attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission. It is understood that these transmittal letters identify the investigative reports making up the report of full field loyalty investigations.

In this group there will undoubtedly be cases in which a loyalty investigation was never instituted because of the absence of derogatory information in the Bureau's files or because it was learned prior to the institution of the investigation that the individual had left the service. Also, there may be cases in which investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals left the service during the course of the investigation. It is desired to list these individuals with an indication of what transpired in this respect.

There may have been, with respect to some of these individuals, memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during, or following the loyalty investigation, or in cases in which no loyalty investigation has been made. It is desired to make appropriate identifying reference to any such memoranda.

It is not necessary in this connection to include any material submitted subsequent to February 20, 1950, which date may be accepted as the cut-off date in the search for materials referred to.

121-23278-170

350

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

Tolson	✓
Ladd	✓
Clegg	✓
Glavin	✓
Nichols	✓
Rosen	✓
Tracy	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Nease	✓
Gandy	✓

SUBJECT: INVESTIGATION BY SENATOR TYDINGS' COMMITTEE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALTY CASES

Clive Palmer called at my office at 5:40 PM tonight and left the attached memorandum listing the names of the eighty-one individuals named in the subpoena by Senator McCarthy.

Mr. Palmer stated that Peyton Ford had been in conference all afternoon with Senator Tydings; that Senator Tydings insists that he wants a letter signed by the Attorney General listing the dates of reports on loyalty cases sent to the Civil Service Commission. Apparently they are fearful that the State Department's files have been stripped. Therefore, Mr. Palmer stated that the Attorney General and the White House had instructed that the Bureau prepare a memorandum to the Attorney General sending over a copy of the letter of transmittal in each instance where loyalty reports were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission inasmuch as this cover letter will show the itemization of the reports.

Another paragraph should indicate that the individuals listed thereunder were the subject of a preliminary loyalty investigation which was discontinued when it was learned that the employee had left the Government service and, therefore, no reports were sent to the Civil Service Commission.

A third paragraph should list any cases where no investigation was conducted because no derogatory information was available.

He also advised that Senator Tydings suggested that a cut-off date of February 20, 1950, be set and that nothing be listed thereafter.

I told Mr. Palmer that the Bureau would not prepare any such list until we got a memorandum from the Department in writing listing exactly what it was that the Department wanted. He promised to have this prepared and sent to the Bureau tomorrow, May 10, 1950.

In the meantime, I would suggest that we start working on this and would suggest that a photostatic copy of the letter of transmittal to the Civil Service Commission be prepared, which will only show the name of the Agent preparing the report, the date of the report and the office where made.

Also, I would suggest that the Bureau not use a cut-off date but include everything up to the present time. The Department can use whatever cut-off date they want after they get the Bureau's

Memorandum.

JUL 1 0 1950

RECORDED EX-3 JUN 13 1950 121-23278-170

I concur. H. S. [Signature]

Copy memo to [unclear] 5-15-50 MA [unclear]



FROM

DO-7

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 \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

are we absolutely  
sound in marked  
paragraph on  
p. 2. I want  
nothing which  
is material  
withheld.

- See Me \_\_\_\_\_
- Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_
- For Your Recommendation \_\_\_\_\_
- What are the facts? \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

H.

memo to Director

NRJ:js 5-17-50

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED 71/21-23278-170  
JUN 13 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 15, 1950

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
(Names identified by Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson  
 Ladd  
 Clegg  
 Glavin  
 Nichols  
 Rosen  
 Tracy  
 Harbo  
 Mohr  
 Tele. Room  
 Nease  
 Gandy

### PURPOSE

To recommend that the attached memorandum concerning the individuals identified by Senator McCarthy before the Tydings Subcommittee be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford pursuant to his request to be advised regarding the dissemination of information in the Bureau's files and the results of investigations regarding these persons to the Department of State.

### BACKGROUND

You will recall that in my memorandum of May 9, 1950, which is attached, I pointed out that Clive Palmer had called at my office on the evening of May 9, 1950, and left a memorandum listing the names of the 81 individuals named in the subpoena of the Senate Subcommittee. Mr. Palmer advised that Peyton Ford had been in conference all afternoon with Senator Tydings; that Senator Tydings insists that he wants a letter signed by the Attorney General listing the dates of reports on loyalty cases sent to the Civil Service Commission, as well as information on the individuals who were the subjects of preliminary inquiry loyalty investigations, but which were discontinued upon receipt of information that the employees had left the government service. Palmer further indicated Tydings also desired any cases where no investigation was conducted because no derogatory information was available be listed. According to Palmer, Senator Tydings suggested that a cutoff date of February 20, 1950, be set and that nothing be listed thereafter. Palmer was advised by me that the Bureau would not prepare any such list until we received a memorandum from the Department in writing listing exactly what it was that the Department wanted. It was also suggested that the Bureau not use a cutoff date, but include everything up to the present time. You noted on my memorandum, "I concur."

The attached memorandum dated May 10, 1950, from Peyton Ford requests the following specific information concerning the names included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee: The Attorney General wishes to prepare a letter to Senator Tydings listing first those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted, attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission; further, in cases where a loyalty investigation was never instituted because of the absence of derogatory information in the Bureau's files or because it was learned prior to the institution of the investigation that the individual had left the service, or where investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals left the service, information is desired regarding what transpired in this respect. Peyton

Attachment

CHS:NRJ:man *man*

58 JUL 10 1950

RECORDED  
 INDEXED  
 JUN 13 1950  
 ENCLOSURE  
 23278-170  
 Ex-3  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

Ford further pointed out that there may have been, with regard to some of these individuals, memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during, or following the loyalty investigation, or in cases in which no loyalty investigation has been made. He stated it is desired that the Bureau make appropriate identifying reference to any such memoranda. Peyton Ford, as indicated above, stated it is not necessary to include any material submitted subsequent to February 20, 1950.

All references in the Bureau's files have been reviewed concerning the names set forth on the "subpoena" list furnished by Clive Palmer, together with other individuals who have been identified by Senator McCarthy, and the information requested by the Department has been set forth in the attached memorandum dated May 15, 1950, to Mr. Peyton Ford.

You will observe that the material being furnished to the Department is divided into Parts I, II, and III. Part I pertains to the individuals identified on the "subpoena" list. In Part II, there is furnished for the Department's information material relating to additional individuals not identified on the "subpoena" list, but who were identified previously by Seth W. Richardson in a letter to the Bureau dated April 5, 1950. Part III consists of photostatic copies of transmittal letters requested by the Department.

In connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to the individuals identified on the subpoena list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances. As a general rule, these incidental references have not been included in the memorandum to the Department. In this same connection, you will recall that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the Department of State in connection with the Gregory case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees. In these memoranda in many instances, numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included. In such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we have not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees, since it is felt that to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda which at the time were not specifically given to the State Department regarding the individuals concerned with this request.

The review of the references on the individuals in question also revealed in various instances oral information had been furnished to the Department of State. This oral dissemination of information has been noted in the memorandum to Peyton Ford inasmuch as it may have been made a matter of record in the files of the State Department. For us to delete such information might create an erroneous impression that the Bureau is withholding material.

ACTION

That the attached memorandum be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 17, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
(NAMES IDENTIFIED BY SENATOR McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Handwritten initials*

*Communicated to State Department*

PURPOSE: To respond to your inquiry as to whether we are sound in not having mentioned, in our memorandum to Peyton Ford of May 15, 1950, incidental references concerning an individual named by Senator McCarthy which appeared in collateral reports furnished to the State Department on other people and in not mentioning confidential memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees.

BACKGROUND: My memorandum of May 15, 1950, attached for approval a memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford furnishing to the Department, in accordance with his request, information regarding material sent to the Civil Service Commission and/or the State Department regarding the 81 individuals identified by Senator McCarthy. This material was furnished in connection with a request made by Senator Tydings that the Attorney General furnish him with a letter regarding the material transmitted by the Bureau concerning these 81 cases.

On page two of my memorandum of May 15, 1950, it was pointed out that in connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to individuals identified on the Tydings "subpoena" list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances; that as a general rule these incidental references had not been included in the memorandum to the Department; that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the State Department in connection with the "Gregory" case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, and that in these memoranda numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included; that in such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we had not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees since it was felt to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda.

With respect to this particular paragraph in my memorandum of May 15, 1950, you noted, "Are we absolutely sound in marked paragraph on P. 2. I want nothing which is material withheld."

It is felt that we are entirely sound in not having mentioned incidental references appearing in reports or memoranda given to the State Department concerning an entirely different person or subject. An example of the type of incidental references referred to would be a case where we have conducted a loyalty or Voice of

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RECEIVED-TOLSON  
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U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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MAY 18 9 52 AM '50

MAY 19 2 57 PM '50  
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America investigation on an employee of the State Department who perhaps associated with one of the 81 individuals named on the "subpoena" list. Naturally, the report furnished to the State Department would mention this association and thereafter set forth briefly information concerning the associate, who happens to be one of the 81 individuals. The substance of any incidental references of this nature appearing in collateral reports on other individuals would, of course, be included in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports pertaining to the individual who appears on the "subpoena" list. Consequently, it was felt that listing collateral references of this nature would be a duplication and not serve any particular purpose.

With regard to summary memoranda furnished to the State Department in connection with the Gregory case and investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees, the general substance of the information appearing in such summary memoranda would be reflected in the loyalty or Voice of America investigative reports furnished to the Civil Service Commission where the individual in question has been the subject of an investigation of this type. With this in mind, it was again felt that it would be duplication to list such summary memoranda and, further, that it would be extremely dangerous to list them since, if we did so, the Tydings Subcommittee would undoubtedly demand that they be produced and they, of course, contain information concerning numerous individuals not mentioned on the Tydings "subpoena" list and also contain information from highly confidential sources.

As you know, Robert Talbot ~~Miller~~, III, was one of the subjects in the Gregory case. Miller resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946, prior to the time the Loyalty Order was promulgated. He, of course, has not been the subject of a loyalty investigation or investigation under the Voice of America Program, the European Recovery Program, or the Atomic Energy Act. At the present time he is the subject of a pending Internal Security - R; Registration Act investigation by the Bureau. Miller is one of the individuals named on the "subpoena" list and with respect to him we pointed out in our memorandum of May 15, 1950, to the Department that he had not been investigated under Executive Order 9835; that he had resigned from the State Department on December 13, 1946; that Civil Service Commission records fail to reflect any employment of Miller in the Executive Branch subsequent to his termination with the State Department. It was pointed out that Miller was investigated by the Bureau in 1944 and 1945 under the provisions of the Hatch Act and we specifically mentioned each report in the Hatch Act investigation which has been furnished to the Department of State. We also specifically referred to memoranda dated February 19, 1946, and July 15, 1946, addressed to Frederick B. Lyon of the State Department under the caption "Robert T. Miller, III." Our files also reflect that letters were addressed to the Secretary of State on February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, enclosing summaries of the Gregory subjects, including Miller. We did not mention these letters of February 25, 1946, and November 25, 1946, since we felt that it was dangerous to do so. If they had been mentioned, the Tydings Subcommittee would in all probability demand that they be produced and naturally, in addition to referring to Miller, the summaries referred to other subjects of the Gregory case who were not included among the individuals presently being considered by the Tydings Subcommittee. Furthermore, they contain information obtained by the Bureau from highly confidential sources.

ACTION: None. This is for your information.

*This looks OK*

*5718* 

Leon C. SILBER

PAL BLADE CO., INC.  
43 WEST 57th STREET  
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.



NEW YORK  
MAY 8 '50  
N. Y.



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington Col.

Attn: Director J. Edgar Hoover DC

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121-23278-170x  
MAY 19 1950

RECEIVED

Frank M. Conroy

1 ENCL

SENATOR McCARTHY'S TEMPEST IN A TEAPOT

By Leon D'Argent.

*F. I. [unclear]*

For years, the Republican party aims to discredit the Truman Administration and uses every possible means to drag it into dirt and filth.

Now, this time a young politician, Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin, is using the opportunity of creating a big to-do by claiming incompetence of the State Department. The senator insists this Government agency is infiltrated with Communists, fellow-travellers and people sympathizing with the Russians and their cause, spying in this country for the Reds. He seems unaware of the services he is rendering the opponents of our country with these claims. If we are to follow his conclusions, the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt must also have been a Communist, co-operating with the Russians. By his actions he was successful in exterminating the Hitler clique and in winning the war. In politics it is often of greater advantage to keep silence than to speak up.

MORAL: MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

McCarthy obviously was interested in getting in the limelight and in showing his efficiency. He consequently acted according to the principle: The end justifies the means. The public should be interested in learning the sources of McCarthy's information. How much did he pay for it and what promises did he make in return? Maybe his informants are recruited from the ranks of former Russian agents, conspirators against our country, like Whitaker Chambers, Mrs. Gerhard Eisler, etc. People like them enjoy their freedom, are at liberty now, unpunished for their actions. They might act tomorrow again, provided the pay is alright. It's a known fact that most criminals revert to their past crimes. Were honest politicians to serve our country honestly, with no business-like dealings behind the scenes, the world would be free of Al Capones, Joe Fischettis (alias Fischer), etc. and there would be less murders committed.

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~~94-37108~~  
ENCLOSURE

*Allen  
[unclear]*

13-50

It's also doubtful whether a McCarthy, unprotected by Congressional immunity would dare to stand up against decent public servants and to slander publicly. Politics is often a dirty business.

MORAL: A MAN IS KNOWN BY THE COMPANY HE KEEPS.

There is no use in criticising. To improve things, that's what counts. If there are dishonest characters, ready to betray our country, our beloved country, then the most severe punishment should be meted out to them. If an Alger Hiss is really guilty he should be punished according to law, with a long prison term, followed by deportation to the country of his heels, which remains has more to offer him than the U.S.

There is also the case of Miss Coplon, worse than the others. She seems to be a child of Russian parentage, whose ancestors driven from Russia not so long ago, found refuge in the United States, liberty and freedom. MORAL: ONE IS TAUGHT WISDOM BY ADVERSITY.

One thing is certain: We are at war again. This time at war with an enemy more dangerous than Hitler. Hitler stated all his future plans and the conception of his world openly in "Mein Kampf". Stalin, however, is acting behind the mask of an honest man, having nothing else in mind but peace. The war now going on and forced upon us only wears a different label: "Cold War". We are not suffering any casualties right now but it might happen any day. Should we lose this war, then everything will be lost for us and we will have ceased to exist as a free nation. This condition now going on for years, is abnormal, extra-ordinary. War conditions require special conditions and measures to be taken. Consider the fact that we are a democratic country, with laws and regulations. Consider the "Lend-Lease" law which helped our allies to fight Hitler until we were ready to step in with actions of our own. If there is a war on, war laws should govern us and, as long as this war lasts, we are to defend our-

selves. No obvious damage has been done yet but who knows what we may expect

Our sole and biggest enemy for the time being is Communism. The Communist party should be abolished "for the duration" of the present war or at least for such a period until we return to normal conditions. Membership in its party and public speeches and articles favoring its aims should be forbidden; punishment handed out for those who break the law. We all should strive to hinder the existence of a "Fifth column". We should aim to build up a propaganda department which would prevent decent and loyal citizens from being misguided by lies and false promises. For them Russia would never be the promised land. If Russia were the paradise, praised by its agents in this country, we would be permitted to glimpse behind the curtain and to see for ourselves what is going on there. If Russia is paradise then why keep its people forcibly behind its borders, why prevent them from leaving the paradise even for a short while? MORAL: FORESIGHT IS THE MOTHER OF ALL WISDOM.

Finally, the writer has a suggestion to make: In order to remind all Americans in what golden country we are living, let us sing our National Anthem before the curtain rises in a theatre, before a concert, before every radio music hour and before every television show. I personally would give away all of Europe and Asia for staying in this country. There is nothing better than America. GOD BLESS AMERICA.

Cheron C. SILBER  
c/o Pal Blade Co  
43 W 57th St  
N.Y. 22 N.Y.

63987

May 15, 1950

RECORDED  
INDEXED

Mr. Leon C. Silber  
c/o Pal Blue Company, Inc.  
48 West 57th Street  
New York 19, New York

~~74-27708-32~~  
121-23278-170X

Dear Mr. Silber:

Your communication postmarked May 8, 1950, has been received and I wish to express my appreciation for the enclosure thereto.

Should any further information in which this Bureau might be interested come to your attention it is suggested that you may wish to correspond directly with our New York Office, 607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York 7, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc New York:  
ATTENTION SAC: For your information correspondent enclosed a mimeographed pamphlet entitled "Senator McCarthy's Tempest in a Teapot," by Leon D'Argent.

DDC:mjp

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

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COMM - FBI

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DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

DATE: May 23, 1950

FROM : C. H. Stanley *CHS*

SUBJECT: CHARGES AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY SENATOR McCARTHY

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

*communicate in the*

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. Keay to you dated May 16, 1950 concerning Mr. Horan's observation of the State Department files which are to be made available to the Tydings Committee. It is noted Mr. Horan mentioned the files on Gertrude Cameron and Jay Robinson.

RE: JAY ROBINSON

Mr. Horan indicated he noted pencilled notations identifying informants in a Bureau report written by Charles A. May at Washington, D. C. in April 1944. He further advised the file contained two original copies of the report, one photostat and that the photostat did not have any notations on it.

In this connection Bufiles disclose a Loyalty investigation was instituted concerning Robinson on 5-28-48, however the investigation was discontinued and CSC so advised by letter dated 6-11-48 when it was ascertained Robinson resigned from the State Department on 4-16-48. No LGE reports were disseminated. (121-9838)

In regard to the Hatch Act investigation concerning Robinson it is noted the report of SA Charles A. May, dated 4-22-44 at Washington, D. C., was sent to the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations on 5-11-44. In addition the file shows a copy of the report was also sent to the State Department on 8-25-47 for information purposes. It is noted the original copy of the report by SA May does not contain any pencilled notations identifying the informants and the file does not reflect the Department of State was ever advised of the identity of the informants. (100-69918-10)

RE: GERTRUDE CAMERON

Mr. Horan referred to a copy of a letter from the Bureau to Mr. Seth W. Richardson, dated April 21, 1950, in which one paragraph set forth the identity of a confidential informant (Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr.).

With respect to this observation the letter to Mr. Richardson pointed out that during a Hatch Act investigation concerning Cameron a prominent citizen and personal acquaintance of Mrs. Cameron advised another government agency that the employee "became so wrapped up in Communism" that the informant had to sever their acquaintanceship. The informant also provided information of a disloyal nature regarding employee's husband. The Hatch Act investigation further revealed the informant was reinterviewed by the government agency at which time she modified her previous statements and advised she did not mean "wrapped up in Communism." The informant was ascertained to be Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., former employer of Mrs. Cameron.

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*62-37747-1385*

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*AB*  
*per*

During the LGE investigation the modified statement by Mrs. Skeel received from the above-mentioned government agency was reported and her name was not concealed. It is also noted Mrs. Skeel did not have any additional information to offer and her identity was not concealed when she was reinterviewed during the LGE investigation. Because Senator McCarthy stated in his case No. 55, later identified as Cameron, that a former employer described her as "wrapped up" in Communism and did not refer to the reinterview with her former employer in which the allegation was modified, it was considered advisable to point out to Mr. Richardson that Mrs. Skeel was the informant or former employer inasmuch as she had been interviewed and plainly identified during the LGE investigation.

Mr. Horan also mentioned that he observed a memorandum in the State Department file on Cameron dated 10-21-48 indicating the FBI did not make as complete an investigation as was possible on Mrs. Cameron's husband. Mr. Horan added there was no indication as to why the investigation on Mrs. Cameron's husband was pertinent in the file.

A review of the LGE investigation reflects the Philadelphia Office submitted a 3 page report devoted principally to the background of the employee's husband. Other reports in the investigation also set forth pertinent information concerning her husband when it applied to the employee. The report from the WFO dated 5-15-48 stated the Camerons were voluntarily separated because of physical disabilities received by Mr. Cameron during World War II. A review of the file indicates an appropriate investigation was conducted and the Department of State has not requested any supplemental investigations. (121-3702)

ACTION

The above is for your information.

*Bob*



75

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: May 24, 1950

FROM : MR. LADD

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE;  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES  
BUFILE 62-91923

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/23/83 BY SP6 DAA/...**

PURPOSE

To answer your inquiry concerning the advisability of formally requesting of Senator Millard Tydings the transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

BACKGROUND

On May 12, 1950, Mr. Ed Morgan, counsel for the Tydings Committee inquired as to whether we had a copy of the transcript of hearings before the committee. When informed that such a transcript had not been made available to us, Mr. Morgan stated that Senator Tydings wanted to be sure that the FBI was being furnished all information in this matter and that he would be glad to make a copy of the transcript available to us. He said that there were only a limited number of copies of the transcript, but that he would make a copy available to us as soon as possible. Informed of Mr. Morgan's offer by memorandum from Mr. A. H. Belmont to Mr. D. M. Ladd, dated May 12, 1950, captioned "Owen Lattimore; Espionage - R," you instructed that "As soon as copy is obtained we should go over it carefully for leads and information."

On May 22, 1950 Mr. Ed Morgan called on another matter, at which time Mr. Belmont took the opportunity to inquire as to whether the transcript was as yet available. Mr. Morgan advised that there was not then an extra copy of the transcript but he would get one as soon as he could. Informed of this call by Mr. Belmont's memorandum to Mr. Ladd dated May 22, 1950, captioned, "Philip Jacob Jaffe, with aliases," you suggested, "Shouldn't we formally request the transcript of Tydings?"

Open sessions of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have been attended unobtrusively by Agents of the Washington Field Office, who have immediately submitted summaries of pertinent development. Of necessity, these summaries have been incomplete and have not included testimony presented at executive sessions of the committee.

EMG/de  
62-91923  
cc: 100-24628 (Lattimore)  
cc: 100-267360 (Jaffe)

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JUN 7 1950

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~~62-91923-115~~

8 JUN 14 1950

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EMG

Recognizing that the best record is the transcript itself, on April 24, 1950 a memorandum was sent to Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney, pointing out that the Department might wish to arrange to receive copies of the official transcript of all testimony before the Subcommittee concerning Owen Lattimore. By memorandum dated May 12, 1950, it was again suggested to Mr. McInerney that the Criminal Division might wish to arrange to secure such transcripts and inquiry was made of Mr. McInerney as to whether such material was available.

At 5:15 PM on May 23, 1950, Mr. Raymond Whearty telephonically advised that the Department now has a single copy of the transcript and that although he is required to follow the matter closely and would like to keep the transcript, he would gladly make it available to the Bureau for photostating.

RECOMMENDATION

Inasmuch as the transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is now available through the Criminal Division, it is suggested that it be obtained and photostated. Should it prove incomplete or otherwise inadequate for our purposes, it is recommended that a formal request then be made of Senator Tydings for the official transcript.

*Yes.*

TO:

- \_\_\_ Director
- \_\_\_ Mr. Tolson
- \_\_\_ Mr. Clegg
- \_\_\_ Mr. Glavin
- \_\_\_ Mr. Harbo
- \_\_\_ Mr. Nichols
- \_\_\_ Mr. Rosen
- \_\_\_ Mr. Tracy
- \_\_\_ Mr. Q. Tamm
- \_\_\_ Mr. Mohr
- \_\_\_ Miss Gandy
- \_\_\_ Mr. Nease

Mr. Tolson	___
Mr. Ladd	___
Mr. Clegg	___
Mr. Glavin	___
Mr. Nichols	___
Mr. Rosen	___
Mr. Tracy	___
Mr. Harbo	___
Mr. Belmont	___
Mr. Mohr	___
Tele. Room	___
Mr. Nease	___
Miss Gandy	___

- \_\_\_ Mr. Belmont
- \_\_\_ Mr. Laughlin
- \_\_\_ Mr. Hennrich
- \_\_\_ M
- \_\_\_ M
- \_\_\_ Mr. Baumgardner
- \_\_\_ Mr. Keay
- \_\_\_ Mr. Stanley

Mr. Tolson	___
Mr. Tolson	___
Mr. Ladd	___
Mr. Ladd	___
Mr. Clegg	___
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Mr. Glavin	___
Mr. Glavin	___
Mr. Nichols	___
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Mr. Belmont	___
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Mr. Mohr	___
Mr. Mohr	___
Tele. Room	___
Tele. Room	___
Mr. Nease	___
Miss Gandy	___
Miss Gandy	___

- \_\_\_ Mr. Pennington
- \_\_\_ Mr. Winterrowd
- \_\_\_ Mr. J. A. Carlson
- \_\_\_ Mr. Hargett
- \_\_\_ Mrs. Henley
- \_\_\_ Miss Jess
- \_\_\_ Mrs. Davidson
- \_\_\_ Chief Clerk's Off.
- \_\_\_ Records Section
- \_\_\_ Personnel Files
- \_\_\_ Mechanical Sec.
- \_\_\_ Ident. Division
- \_\_\_ Technical Lab.
- \_\_\_ Reading Room

- \_\_\_ Mr. Ferris
- \_\_\_ Foreign Service Desk
- \_\_\_ Mr. Callan
- \_\_\_ See Me
- \_\_\_ Call Me
- \_\_\_ Appropriate action
- \_\_\_ Note & return
- \_\_\_ Send file
- \_\_\_ Bring up-to-date
- \_\_\_ Correct
- \_\_\_ Re-date
- \_\_\_ Please initial & return
- \_\_\_ Place on record & return
- \_\_\_ Place on record
- \_\_\_ Per conversation
- \_\_\_ Advise status

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

ADDRESS ONLY  
"CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION"  
IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO  
FILE LRB:CLC:lp  
AND DATE OF THIS LETTER

May 31, 1950

~~CONFIDENTIAL -~~  
~~BY SPECIAL MESSENGER~~

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of April 5, 1950 in which I requested certain information be submitted to this office regarding persons appearing on the list mentioned therein and to your letter of April 10, 1950 in reply thereto.

The Loyalty Review Board has decided not to review these cases further at this time, in view of the fact that they are presently the subject of study by the Tydings Subcommittee. Accordingly, please regard my request in letter of April 5, 1950 that information be forwarded directly to this office as withdrawn.

It will be appreciated if any additional information concerning the cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee be forwarded as usual directly to the Investigations Division of the Civil Service Commission.

Very truly yours,

Seth W. Richardson  
Chairman  
Loyalty Review Board

*Committee 2 the State Department*

*Delivered by instructions from Mr. W. G. ... 12-4-50*

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F. B. I.  
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53 JUL 5 1950

*Stanley*

*5-17*

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744 6-1, 1

- TO:  Director  
 Mr. Ladd  
 Mr. Clegg  
 Mr. Glavin  
 Mr. Harbo  
 Mr. Nichols  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Tracy  
 Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. Carlson  
 Mr. Callahan  
 Mr. Nease  
 Miss Gandy  
 Personnel Files Section  
 Records Section  
 Mrs. Skillman

- |             |       |
|-------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson  | _____ |
| Mr. Ladd    | _____ |
| Mr. Clegg   | _____ |
| Mr. Glavin  | _____ |
| Mr. Nichols | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen   | _____ |
| Mr. Tracy   | _____ |
| Mr. Harbo   | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr    | _____ |
| Tele. Room  | _____ |
| Mr. Nease   | _____ |
| Miss Gandy  | _____ |

See Me For Appropriate Action  
 Send File Note and Return

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Clyde Tolson

June 1, 1950

Honorable Millard E. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I wish to express my appreciation for the very prompt manner in which you made available the transcript of the testimony through May 26.

I think it is vital for the Bureau to receive a copy of this testimony to insure that any information requiring investigative action may have prompt attention.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
JUN 1 4 11 PM '50  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED READING ROOM  
JUN 1 3 54 PM '50  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
F B I

*W. J. ...  
State Dept*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Belmont*

RECEIVED  
JUN 2 3 53 PM '50  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

LBN: LH

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INDEXED 114

121-23278-173

~~11-7587-1665~~

MAILED TO  
JUN 1 1950

✓

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: June 1, 1950

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FBI SURVEY OF THE SECURITY AND INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, APRIL, 1947

Tolson	✓
Ladd	✓
Clegg	✓
Glavin	✓
Nichols	✓
Roach	✓
Tracy	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Nease	✓
Gandy	✓

You will recall that in April, 1947 at the request of Mr. Fred B. Lyon, State Department, the Bureau conducted a survey of the then Security and Investigative Division of the State Department in which a complete study was made of certain procedures in the Investigative Division, together with recommendations for certain changes. u

In connection with this survey, Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, Chief, Security Division, State Department, informed Mr. Roach today that Senators Lodge and Green of the Tydings Subcommittee have received knowledge of this survey and have inquired of the State Department of the action they have taken on the recommendations made by the FBI. Mr. Nicholson informed Mr. Roach that a number of the recommendations were placed into effect while some were not. He stated that the Senators want to see the report, together with the State Department's explanation of what they have done by way of conforming with the recommendations. Mr. Nicholson's question is whether the Bureau has any objection to the copy now in the possession of the State Department being shown to the Senators. He advised that the State Department would like to do this if the Bureau had no objections. u

RECOMMENDATION:

It would seem that there would be no objection to the State Department disclosing the recommendation made by the Bureau when compiling the answers that they must give to the Senators, however, there appears to be no valid reason why the State Department should turn over our survey report to Senators Lodge and Green for their perusal. If you concur, Mr. Roach will so inform Mr. Nicholson of the State Department. u

RRR:mk

RECORDED - 36

INDEXED - 36

490

*Mr. Nicholson Barant's*

*informed*

*6/5/50*

*121-23278-174*

*62-10711-1016*

*Jayne*

*I think it is up to the State Dept - Jayne. Certainly we have no objection. - RBG*

*6/12/50*

*H.*

7-101-1 JUSTICE

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. Belmont

DATE: June 2, 1950

FROM : C. E. Hennrich

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE;  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

To advise that the transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which is now available through the Criminal Division is incomplete and inadequate for our purposes and that a formal request for the complete transcript is being made of Senator Tydings.

*Tracy*

BACKGROUND:

A memorandum from Mr. D. M. Ladd to the Director dated May 24, 1950, in which it was suggested that inasmuch as the transcript of the testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was available through the Criminal Division, it be obtained and photostated. It was also recommended that should such prove incomplete or otherwise inadequate for our purposes, a formal request then be made of Senator Tydings for the official transcript. To these suggestions the Director indicated his agreement.

At 5:00 P.M. on May 25, 1950, Mr. William E. Foley of the Criminal Division was personally contacted by Special Agent Emory M. Gregg. Mr. Foley advised that as yet the Department has been unable to obtain the complete transcript but did have printed copies of the transcripts of April 20, 1950 and April 25, 1950, which concerned the testimony given by Louis Budenz in both public and executive session. It was noted that the testimony for these two days alone consisted of three bound volumes indicating that the complete transcript will be extremely large.

The transcripts of testimony presented on April 20, 1950 and April 25, 1950, were obtained from Mr. Foley for the purpose of being photostated; however, upon being reviewed they were found to be inadequate for our purposes and were returned to him at 10:00 A.M. on May 26, 1950. By memorandum dated May 23, 1950, Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney advised that the Department had been informed that the proceedings before the Committee are not being printed for approximately one month, at which time the Department would receive a copy of available transcripts.

EMG:mm

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INDEXED - 53

121-23278-175

152-91723-56

JUN 7 1950

EMG

EMG



Inasmuch as the transcripts obtainable through the Criminal Division are incomplete, Mr. D. M. Ladd has personally requested of Senator Tydings a copy of the official transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

ACTION:

None, the above is for your information. Upon receipt of the transcript, a photostatic copy will be made for transmittal to the Baltimore Office for their information.

ADDENDUM:

On May 29, 1950 twenty volumes of the transcript of testimony before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were received and are currently being reviewed.

June 6, 1950

6:05

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Peyton Ford called again regarding the chart prepared by the State Department and stated he had just had a call from Mr. Fisher, the General Counsel at the State Department, who advised that they wanted to say that they have been advised that the Department of Justice did not evaluate this material; that it was evaluated by the State Department. I stated as far as I knew that was absolutely correct but I did not see any necessity for them using our name at all; that obviously they made the chart and in making it they of course must have evaluated the material. I commented that the only danger in making a statement and in mentioning the FBI in it is that we have not yet seen the material from which they made the chart, and though we never reach a conclusion in our reports, we are not infallible and before a statement is issued quoting us we would have to see the reports from which the chart was prepared. Mr. Ford thought it would be a good idea to tell Mr. Fisher that the State Department did the evaluating and that the Justice Department didn't and I agreed. I stated if there was any question of the FBI having evaluated any report then certainly they should bring this to the attention of our liaison section, but I did not feel it was up to us to check into the material that went into the chart as we did not know what went into it. I commented to Mr. Ford that I felt it was up to the State Department to do this checking as they had prepared the chart. I further added that as far as I knew this chart has never been distributed and I did not know why they had prepared it. Mr. Ford commented that he thought Mr. Panuch prepared it.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 3:00  
DATE 6-7-50  
BY Lew

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Legg
- Malvin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

cc - Mr. Nease

JEH:EM

121-23278-176  
39717-1583  
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INDEXED - 74  
JUN 8 1950

52 JUN 1950

June 6, 1950

5:16 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

*Am 11 1*

Mr. Peyton Ford called and stated he had been talking to the Attorney General regarding the allegation that there were eleven Communists in the State Department and commented that eight were now out of the Department and three remained. Mr. Ford stated he had been requested to find out who these three were. I told Mr. Ford I did not know who they were and I assumed we would have to make inquiry of the State Department. Ford then said he understood that McCarthy said he was not going to give this information to the Committee and it was not exactly clear what he was going to do with it; that ~~he~~, McCarthy, had commented if anyone should have it he thought the FBI should have it. I then told Ford that of course I could ask Senator McCarthy but I doubted the wisdom of this. I also asked Ford if McCarthy was still referring to the chart and Ford stated he apparently was. *U*

*Joseph*  
I thereupon informed Ford that this ~~chart~~ chart was prepared in the State Department; that they have a chart exactly like McCarthy described and that it was prepared from material received from all branches of the Government including the FBI reports. I stated, however, that though I had not seen this chart it was actually prepared by the State Department which would indicate that McCarthy was getting his information out of that Department because no one else has such a chart in his possession. I also told him that our material, which is included in the chart, is not identified as such and that they cannot tell us what is in the chart that came from the Bureau. Mr. Ford then advised me that McCarthy is stating that for the first time in history the FBI is evaluating evidence and I stated I did not know what he based that on. I further stated that the State Department is prepared to issue a press release that they have received no such document as described by McCarthy from the FBI. I commented that of course we said we could neither approve or disapprove any release; that it was up to them what they say. However, I said as to these three names I could give McCarthy a call and ask him or I could try to secure this information from the State Department. Mr. Ford thought we should try to find out from the State Department and I told him I would check with them. *U*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*G.P. 9*

*cc-Mr. Nease*  
*JEH:EH*

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME <i>3:05</i>
DATE <i>6-7-50</i>
BY <i>Law</i>

Very truly yours, *121-23278-177*  
*1510 E.H.*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED - 38  
INDEXED - 38

JUN 8 1950

*53 JUN 9 1950*

June 6, 1950

4:26 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Peyton Ford called to inquire if I knew anything about a  
subject to which Senator Joe McCarthy was referring on The Hill.  
I stated I had heard about this but did not know what McCarthy was  
talking about and I had issued instructions to see if we could get a  
line on it in our files but so far we have found nothing. Mr. Ford  
stated he would like to know if we heard anything about it and I  
told him I would keep him advised.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc-Mr. Nease

JEH:EH

SENT FROM	D. O.
TIME	1:25
DATE	6-7-50
BY	<i>Leah</i>

121-23278-178

RECORDED

13

*C/S*

22 JUL 5

*cc - Mr. Nease in the  
file of McCarthy*

*U*

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

June 6, 1950

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

DIRECTOR, FBI

CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY CONCERNING  
FBI CHART ON COMMUNISTS ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO STATE DEPARTMENT

Senator McCarthy, on the Senate floor today, stated in substance that  
~~three or four years ago, May 15, 1946 or 1947, the FBI performed a function~~  
~~entirely outside of its jurisdiction when it supplied to the State Department,~~  
~~with evaluation, charts and diagrams purportedly showing Soviet agents, Communists~~  
~~and fellow travelers in the State Department. This chart, according to Senator~~  
~~McCarthy, contained 124 names broken down as follows:~~

- 20 Communist Agents
- 13 Other Communists
- 14 Communist Sympathizers
- 77 Suspects

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF DeClass  
DATE 4-27-78 Bpp

After receiving this information, the State Department called the Bureau  
and stated that they proposed issuing a press release stating, in effect, that  
they had no knowledge of a chart or diagram having been received from the FBI, as  
mentioned by Senator McCarthy. They further advised that a check of the Security  
Office of the State Department reflected that such a chart in the detail mentioned  
by Senator McCarthy, in fact, had been prepared by the State Department from  
information received from various sources, some of which data undoubtedly came from  
the FBI.

In discussing the press release with the Bureau, Mr. Samuel D. Boykin,  
assistant to Deputy Undersecretary John E. Pearifoy, desired to know if the  
Bureau approved or disapproved the release. Mr. Boykin was told that the Bureau  
neither could approve nor disapprove it, and that this was a matter that the  
State Department must handle in their discretion.

With reference to Senator McCarthy's statement that only three of the  
one hundred and twenty-four persons mentioned on the chart are presently employed  
in the State Department, Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, Security Division, State  
Department, advised that they have been able to identify only one person whose  
name appears on the chart as still being an employee of the State Department,  
namely, Clarence J. Nelson, who is employed in the Communications Section.  
Mr. Nicholson stated that another individual who may be one of the three referred  
to by Senator McCarthy is D. Zablowdowsky, who although no longer employed in the  
State Department, was one of those named by Senator McCarthy to the Tydings  
Committee. Mr. Nicholson advised the Bureau that this is only a possibility.  
The third individual mentioned cannot be identified by the State Department from  
their records at this time.

The above information is submitted pursuant to your request.

Mr. Peyton Ford  
Deputy Attorney General

(The above was obtained by Mr. R. R. Roach from  
Mr. Samuel D. Boykin and Mr. Donald L. Nicholson,  
of the State Department, 6/6/50.)

RRR:tlc

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909

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JUN 7 1950

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: June 6, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*

SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY CONCERNING  
~~FBI~~ CHART ON COMMUNISTS ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO  
STATE DEPARTMENT

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

In connection with the speech of Senator McCarthy today, alleging that the FBI performed a function outside of its jurisdiction when it supplied to the State Department, with evaluation, charts and diagrams purportedly showing Soviet agents, Communists, Communist sympathizers and suspects employed in the State Department, a check of Bureau records fails to reflect that such a chart was transmitted to the State Department by the Bureau in May 1946 or 1947. Inquiries by Mr. Roach at the State Department developed that the State Department itself had made up a chart from various sources listing individuals under the exact breakdown given by Senator McCarthy. Mr. Nicholson, of the State Department, advised Mr. Roach that the information from which this chart was compiled by the State Department came from several sources, including the FBI. However, at this time he was unable to advise as to which information came from the FBI.

The attached memorandum to the Attorney General has been prepared, reflecting the information available on this matter.

A check is being made to determine whether the Bureau investigated Clarence J. Nelson or D. Zablowdowsky, and if so, whether copies of reports were given to the State Department.

ADDENDUM:

June 7, 1950

Our files reflect that Clarence John Nelson, telegrapher of the State Department, was investigated under the Hatch Act in 1942 and under the Loyalty Program in 1949. Copies of reports under the Hatch Act were sent to the State Department, and under the Loyalty Program, to the Civil Service Commission for transmittal to the State Department. On January 9, 1949, a disposition was received from the Loyalty Review Board that Nelson was retained.

AHB:tlc

Attachment

We investigated one David Zablowdowsky, who was employed with OSS. This investigation was conducted in 1943 under the Hatch Act. It is not known whether this is the individual referred to by Mr. Nicholson as D. Zablowdowsky.

Mr. Roach is at the State Department this morning, checking this further, and also attempting to get concrete information to

121-23278-178X1

~~162-39749-1591~~

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JUN 12 1950

*DL*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

to determine on what information the State Department made up its chart and just what information emanated from the FBI. Mr. Roach is endeavoring to ascertain whether the State Department may have used information from the Gregory Summary (forwarded to the State Department in March, 1946) and other information of this nature in drawing up its chart.

*It is very important  
to determine this.*

*Bob ✓*

*d.*

*memo to file  
6/9/50  
CR*







the FBI. Boykin added that Mr. Bannerman denied the statement attributed to him by Mr. Klaus and indicated Mr. Klaus made a misstatement of facts when he prepared his report. The chart which was prepared by the State Department carries a caption that it was prepared in the Reproduction Branch of the State Department and bears the title, "Top Secret, U.S. Department of State, Preliminary Survey of the Communist Infiltration, Prepared May 15, 1946." On the chart the employees were divided into various groups and categories. Senator McCarthy charged that three persons mentioned, whose names appeared on the chart, were still employed by the State Department. The State Department has been able to identify only two; namely, Clarence Nelson and Serban Wallinarascu. As it was indicated in the memorandum of June 6, 1950, the name of David Zablowsky, who is no longer employed by the State Department, may or may not be the third person in view of the fact that he was on a list that Senator McCarthy supplied to Senator Tydings.

RECEIVED  
F. B. I.  
DIRECTOR

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: June 7, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
CONCERNING FBI CHART ON COMMUNISTS  
ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO STATE DEPARTMENT

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

With reference to my memorandum to you of June 6, 1950, Mr. Roach has made a check at the State Department and obtained the following information:

The material used by McCarthy on the floor of the Senate yesterday originated from the State Department in a report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus on August 3, 1946. A copy of this report is undoubtedly in the hands of Senator McCarthy as numerous excerpts were used in his speech yesterday. The report is in the form of a survey made by Klaus for Mr. Joseph Panuch, a former Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Administration. The material used by McCarthy from this report and particularly that dealing with the chart that the FBI allegedly prepared appears on Page 29 (copy of report attached) and reads, "FBI has prepared a chart now in the possession of Mr. Bannerman which purports to show a number of 'agents', 'Communists', 'sympathizers' and 'suspects' in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. The tabulation shows, agents - 20, Communists - 13, sympathizers - 14, and suspects - 77."

The report continues on page 30 (pages 29 and part of 30 were produced by McCarthy on the floor although he continued to read from the report.) and sets forth the verbatim text of material appearing in the press this morning, that is, "It turned out that the FBI had produced no convincing proof that any person was an actual agent. In other words, the FBI had made no case to show espionage or a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act or similar legislation in any case. The word 'agent' was, therefore, being used by the FBI or by CON-to mean simply a suspect in espionage investigation, and etc."

"No proof of actual Communist Party membership has been produced by the FBI. The word Communist, therefore, was used merely to describe cases of such close affiliations as to lend credence to hypothesis that the person in question was a member --, a fact still to be proven."

The report continues on page 31, "The foregoing cases presumably comprised the total of questionable employees of each security category now in the Department -- i.e. questionable in the opinion of the FBI." The statements by Senator McCarthy that the FBI did not trust the State Department has for its basis the comments of Mr. Klaus appearing on page 32 and 33 which states in substance that the FBI did not freely give information to the Chief Special Agents Office when, in fact, we did give it to Mr. Fred B. Lyon's Office.

RRR:eb

Attachment

51 JUN 20 1950

350

Letter to AG  
cc - Peyton #ord 121-23278-178x2  
RECORDED - 25  
INDEXED - 26  
JUN 12 1950

There are attached copies of the prepared speech used by McCarthy yesterday on the floor together with a copy of pages 29 and a portion of page 30 which Senator McCarthy distributed together with his prepared speech.

In view of the fact that Mr. Klaus made the definite statement in his report that the FBI had prepared a chart, Mr. Samuel S. Boykin, assistant to Mr. Peurifoy, informed Mr. Roach he talked to Klaus and asked him why he had made such a statement when, in fact, the chart in question was prepared by the State Department and carried a very bold heading that it was so prepared. Klaus, according to Boykin, alibied out of this by stating that Mr. Bannerman (the head of the Security Division and now with CIA) had told him, Klaus, that the chart was prepared by the FBI. Boykin further informed Mr. Roach that Bannerman denies this and that Klaus simply made a misstatement of facts when he prepared his report.

Mr. Roach observed the chart in question which was prepared by the State Department and it was noted that it very plainly states that it was prepared in the Reproduction Branch of the State Department and carried the title "Top Secret, U. S. Department of State, Preliminary Survey of the Communist Infiltration, Prepared May 15, 1946." The chart is approximately four by six feet in size and is the regular organizational chart of the State Department with various names written on it with lines drawn to the respective division in which the employees were working. The employees were divided into two groups: (1) Soviet Underground Intelligence Connections. (2) Amerasia. There are 4 charts in all, each purporting to be the same but with various and different notations with reference to names appearing thereon. None of the charts appeared to be a finished product but appeared to be work sheets. The employees are broken down into categories of agents, Communists, sympathizers and suspects. Of the agents (20) and Communists (13), the State Department has compiled lists (attached). They have not as yet been able to compile lists on the sympathizers (14) and suspects (77). They are presently working on this.

With reference to the charges that Senator McCarthy made that three persons mentioned in the chart are still on the rolls of the State Department, they, the State Department, have been able to identify only two, namely, Clarence Nelson and Serban Vallimarascu. The name of David Zablowsky may or may not be the third person in view of the fact that he was on a list that McCarthy supplied to Senator Tydings but is not now employed by the State Department.

The State Department is presently checking their files against the names that they have to determine the information used in drawing up the chart. They cannot at this time state whether the information came from the FBI, from their own or other sources.

Mr. Samuel S. Boykin informed Mr. Roach that the State Department desires to issue another press release stating in substance that the State Department has contacted the Bureau and the Bureau has assured them that the Bureau did not prepare such a chart and that the Bureau made <sup>no</sup> evaluation placing the various employees in the categories named. Mr. Boykin wanted to know if the Bureau had any objections to this statement. In this regard it is believed that the Bureau should not make any comments, one way or the other, and we should refer such inquiries to the Assistant to the Attorney General Peyton Ford who informed the State Department yesterday that the Bureau did not submit such a chart to the State Department. If you concur Mr. Boykin will be so informed.

The State Department has asked that the attached report prepared by Klaus entitled Survey of the Departmental Personnel Security Investigations be returned to them after we have finished with it.

make copy of it

OK

revised handled

OK

Nicholson, State Dept, advised in absence Boykin 6/8/50

OK

Send substance of this memo

D. A. G.

*Ch...*  
*Mag 15, 1946*

AGENTS:

1. Borah, Woodrow W (ARI)
2. Dunaway, Philip (ORI)
3. Eastman, C. (FLC)
4. Greenberg, Michael (ESP)
5. Helpern, Maurice (ARI)
6. Hilmer, Lucien (ESP)
7. Hiss, Alger (PA)
8. Keeney, Mary Jane (ESP) ✓
9. Levitan, David, (ESP)
10. ✓ Lewis, James (PD)
11. Miller, Robert (RP) ✓
12. Nertman, P. Bernard (ESP)
13. Rogers, Marvin (ARI)
14. Scott, Helen (INP)
15. Smith, H. Bowen (ESP)
16. Soraco, Theresa (ARI)
17. Tobias, M (FLC)
- ✓ 18. Vallimarascu, Serban (EAI)
19. Wheeler, Donald (EAI)
20. Wood, Minter (OIC)

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~~7849~~

1946

COMMUNISTS:

1. Chaiken, William (OCD)
  2. Drosdeff, L. (MI)
  3. Elchibegoff, Ivan (ESP)
  4. Hawes, Bess (OIC - NY)
  5. Kinkead, Robin (OIC) San Francisco
  6. Lowenberg, R. (IC - San Francisco)
  7. Marzani, Carl (PN)
  8. Nelson, Clarence (DC)
  9. Robinsen, Jay (SP)
  10. ~~Taylor, Jeanne (PN)~~ *Root Korikow*
  11. ~~Mark~~ Vucinich, Alexander (EAI)
  12. Wilhelm, M. (PL)
  13. Zableqdewsky, David (PN)
- Taylor, Jeanne*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

121-23278-178X2

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 \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_ ( )

- See Me \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- For Your Recommendation ( )
- What are the facts? ( )
- Remarks:

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*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

*[Large handwritten 'X' mark over Tolson and Clegg]*

*[Handwritten 'AB' and 'S' next to Belmont]*

*[Handwritten '9/15/48' next to Mohr]*

*[Handwritten 'Stanley' and 'Gandy' at the bottom]*

98577

As the Senate will recall nearly four months ago, I gave it a brief resume of what was in the files on some 81 individuals. At that time I carefully explained to the Senate that there would be no way for me to reproduce for it on any of those individuals all of the material contained in the files. I explained, as the Senate knows, that those files have been worked up over a period of years by thousands of trained investigators at a cost of millions of dollars to the American people.

At the time I made that talk one of the Senators suggested that I should not give the Senate this information unless and until I could individually produce all of the proof in the files. With this I disagreed. I felt that knowing the extremely dangerous nature of the material in the files, I had a duty to bring this information to the attention of the Senate.

No man could at this time duplicate and bring together all of the vast amount of information painstakingly gathered by the F.B.I., the C.I.A., Army Intelligence, Navy Intelligence, etc. Therefore, I was faced with the choice of giving the Senate the information in the files, knowing that it would be difficult beyond words to prove the charges unless the President would cooperate with the Congress and make available to it all of the necessary files.

Since that time, the Administration, with the benefit of its entire paid press staff, has concentrated on trying to convince the American people that unless I, without the benefit of the files, can prove the charges which were based almost solely upon those files that then there are no disloyal people in government.

I have some information today of a nature which I think should be of considerable interest to the Senate. It is based upon State Department files. It is information which has never been brought to the Senate or to the American people.

We find that about 3 or 4 years ago, I say 3 or 4 because the file refers to the date of May 15, 1947 -- however, my information indicates that this may be a typographical error and should be May 15, 1946 -- however, for the time being we will refer to it as 1947 -- we find on that date the F.B.I. performed a function which as far as I know they have never performed since. Apparently becoming disturbed

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by the situation in the State Department, the Bureau sent over to the State Department on that date a detailed chart listing what they considered as Soviet agents, communists, communist sympathizers, and suspects. As far as I know this is the only time that the F.B.I. has attempted to evaluate the material gathered by it; otherwise, it has been as you know merely a fact finding body, submitting the proof to the Attorney General or to whoever else required it.

The submission of the list of Soviet agents, communists, etc., to the State Department by the F.B.I. met with such little favorable activity on the part of the State Department that as far as I know the Bureau has never submitted a like chart since that date.

I have photostated page 29 and part of page 30 of the report, which shed some light on this chart. It shows for example on May 15, 1947, there were in the State Department a total of 124 agents, communists, sympathizers, and suspects, in the opinion of the F.B.I. During the two months period between the time that chart was submitted by the F. B. I. and the time this report was made, only 18 of these individuals were gotten rid of, leaving in the State Department 106 whom the F. B. I. had named.

You will note that at the time this report was made there were on the payroll of the State Department, according to the F. B. I.'s evaluation of the information in its own files, 11 agents, 10 communists, 11 sympathizers, and 74 suspects, making a total of 106. Normally it could be assumed that the least that the State Department would have done when they were notified by the F. B. I. on May 15, 1947, that the State Department had on its payroll 20 communist agents, that the least it would have done would be to suspend all of those men, pending a complete and thorough investigation. Certainly there was no reason why 106 of the 124 named by the F. B. I should be found on the State Department's payroll two months later.

With that lack of interest on the part of the State Department it is understandable why the F. B. I. became disgusted with the Department. Incidentally, this report also shows that the F. B. I. did not furnish all of its information in regard to suspected individuals to the Department, apparently not trusting the State Department to that extent, which is certainly understandable when they found the Department failed to discharge communist agents named by the Bureau.

It should be mentioned that the report points out that the F. B. I. did not produce for the benefit of the State Department legal cases of espionage covering those listed as agents. It also points out that no proof of actual communist party membership was produced by the Bureau on those listed as communists. It was a case of the Bureau evaluating the information which it had obtained and deciding they were communists, agents, etc.

At least 3 of those listed as communist agents by the F. B. I. three years ago are still holding high positions in the State Department. For any one who says McCarthy must give the proof that those men are communist agents, let me tell you now that will be impossible for me individually to do. I am willing to rely upon the evaluation made of those individuals by the F. B. I. When the Bureau sends a chart to the State Department saying these men are agents of the communist party, I am satisfied that they unquestionably either are agents or so close to the category of agents, that under no circumstances should they be retained in the Department.

The Senate will note that the number listed by the F. B. I. as agents, communists, suspects, etc., and retained by the State Department was 106. The Senate will also recall that I first gave the committee 81 names and later on an additional 25, making a total of 106. I want to make it clear, however, that the fact the State Department retained 106 named by the F. B. I. and the fact that I gave the committee a list of 106 is merely a coincidence. The 106 names on the F. B. I. list are not identical to the 106 names which I gave to the committee. The 3 mentioned whom the F. B. I. labeled as communist agents and who are still in the State Department are, of course, on the Bureau's list and on my list.

Let me make it clear when I point out that 3 of the individuals listed as agents by the F. B. I. are still working in the State Department - that this means a minimum of 3. It will be impossible for me to give you the total number at this time. You will note that I am not discussing the number listed by the F. B. I. as communists, sympathizers and suspects who are still working in the Department. I hope to be able to give the

Senate a complete picture of how many of the total of 106 agents, Communist sympathizers, etc., are still on the State Department's payroll and in what, if any, branch of the government those who were permitted to resign are still working.

The names of those 3 whom the Bureau said were agents on May 15, 1947 and are still in the Department, are available to the Senate or to the committee. Those names are included among the 106 names that I gave to the committee.

If the committee desires more specific information as to those 3 agents it may have it. However, I think it would be reasonable to insist that the committee subpoena and obtain the F.B.I. chart mentioned in this report and then investigate not merely the 3 that I have been able to run down, but the entire 106 the Department insisted on retaining and also find out where the 18 who were allowed to resign are now employed.

And keep in mind, those men listed as Communist agents were listed as such by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The proof was not dug up by McCarthy. The proof was dug up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

And in my book when the Federal Bureau of Investigation says these men are Communist agents -- when the F.B.I. sends over a formal report to the State Department saying we have the evidence; those man are Soviet agents of Communist Russia, that to me is proof. In my book that is proof despite all the screaming and squealing of those who say, "McCarthy you should not expose them because you are injuring those poor people; you are smearing them."

98581

~~SECRET~~

is considerable doubt whether the report was really derogatory on a security basis.

While this does not apply to Departmental personnel, the fact should be noted as demonstrating a further reliance upon FBI by the Department. Presumably, this check is made by FBI as a matter of accommodation, not of duty. No control is exercised by the Department over the investigation.

(e) It is important to note that the Department is entirely and practically exclusively dependent on FBI for the type of information which comes from surveillance, wide coverage, and the use of unusual methods of interrogation and investigation. CSA appears to have neither the experience nor the facilities to do that type of work and it is apparently not used by any one in that type of work. FBI is the sole repository of such information, therefore, as the identity of Communist Party members, of sympathizers and fellow travelers, of espionage cases, and of undisclosed foreign agents.

(d) FBI has prepared a chart, now in the possession of [name blanked out] which purports to show a number of "agents", "Communists", "sympathizers", and "suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. The tabulation shows

Agents-----	20
Communists-----	13
Sympathizers -----	14
Suspects-----	77

~~SECRET~~

[words blanked out] states that by July 12 (the date of my interview), the number had been reduced to the following:

Agents-----	11
Communists-----	10
Sympathizers-----	11
Suspects - about --	74

Since a considerable number of the persons, so characterized came with the interim agencies, such as FEA, OWI, and OSS, continued reduction in force might dispose of more of these.

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Effast 3-25-50)

AV:ELMER

X Honorable Willard B. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

A.B.±

Dear Senator Tydings:

This is in reply to your letter of March , 1950, in which you have asked for the production before your Subcommittee of the investigative files relating to those Government employees who are or have been employed in the Department of State and against whom charges of disloyal have been made before your Subcommittee by Senator McCarthy. The question raised by your request is a question of grave concern, and I have given very careful consideration to the response contained herein.

In March of 1948 I issued a directive to all officers and employees in the executive branch of the Government directing that all reports, records, and files relating to the Employee Loyalty Program be kept in strict confidence, even in instances where subpoenas were received. As you know, this decision was clearly within my power to make, and I made it only after the most careful consideration and after I had satisfied myself beyond any doubt that any other decision would have resulted in the collapse of the Loyalty Program itself and would have rendered it a vain and useless gesture. At that time I issued a release in which I pointed out the long standing precedents regarding the production of confidential files and the reasons for my decision. I referred, among other things, to a letter from former Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, dated April 30, 1941, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, declining to furnish that Committee with certain reports of the Federal

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JUL 6 1950

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Handwritten signature

Bureau of Investigation, which letter was written with the approval and at the direction of President Roosevelt. That letter forcefully pointed out the serious consequences that would have resulted from compliance with the request of the House Naval Affairs Committee. Among other things, Attorney General Jackson stated:

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 gravest 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 exonerate the individuals, the use of particular or selected reports might constitute the gravest injustice, and we all know that a correction never catches up with an accusation.

These three elements--the serious prejudice to the effectiveness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an investigative agency, the resulting embarrassment and danger to confidential informants, and injustice and unfairness to innocent individuals--led me to the inescapable conclusion that the single most important element in an effective and at the same time just and fair loyalty program was the preservation of all files in connection therewith in the strictest confidence. I cannot overemphasize this point.

During the last month I have been reexamining with utmost care this entire problem, and in this connection, I have asked the Attorney General, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Mr. Seth Richardson

Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, to give their careful consideration to this matter. They have unanimously advised me that disclosure of loyalty files would be contrary to the public interest and would do much more harm than good. The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a report to the Attorney General has outlined the very serious consequences that would result from any such disclosures. The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation stated:

1. The public disclosure of FBI reports will reveal investigative procedures and techniques. If publicized, criminals, foreign agents, subversives, and others would thus be forewarned and seek ways and means to carry out their activities, thus avoiding detection and hampering the efficiency of an investigative agency. The underground operations of criminals and subversives already are most difficult of detection and I do not believe the security of the nation would be furthered by applying any additional shackles to the FBI.
2. For the past 25 years, the FBI has represented to the American public that the FBI would maintain their confidences. To make public FBI reports would be to break confidences and persons interviewed in the future might be even more reluctant to furnish information. In recent months, on numerous occasions, some citizens, shirking their responsibility, have refused to furnish information on the grounds that it might be misused and have gone so far as to decline to furnish information, even in applicant investigations, claiming they would do so only if forced by a subpoena.
3. A public disclosure of FBI reports would reveal the identity of sources of information and in some cases at least, would place in jeopardy the lives of confidential sources of information.
4. Disclosure of information contained in FBI reports might result in an injustice to innocent individuals, who find themselves entwined in a web of suspicious circumstances, which can be explained only by further investigation, and disclosures might be made under circumstances which would deny the aggrieved to publicly state their positions.

5. A public disclosure could warn persons whose names appear in FBI reports of the investigation and serve as an effective means of enabling them to avoid detection, to approach witnesses, to bring about the destruction of evidence, or permit them to flee the country.
6. Public disclosure of FBI reports could contribute to blackmail of persons investigated or could result in degrading persons who have made a mistake or fallen prey to false propaganda.
7. Disclosure might reveal highly restricted information vital to the national security and of considerable value to a foreign power.
8. FBI reports set forth full details secured from a witness and if disclosed could be subject to misinterpretation, quoting out of context, or used to thwart truth, distort half truths, and misrepresent facts.

It is my desire, however, that any charges of disloyalty made before your Subcommittee with respect to any individual be given the most thorough and complete investigation, and it is my purpose to cooperate with your Sub-committee to the greatest extent possible, bearing in mind at all times my responsibility to take care that the investigative activities and efficiency of the Federal Bureau of Investigation remain unimpaired, that innocent people--both those under investigation and those who have provided information--not be unnecessarily prejudiced, and that the effectiveness of the Employee Loyalty Program as a whole not be interfered with. I have, therefore, asked Mr. Seth Richardson, Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, to have the Board arrange for a complete and detailed review as soon as possible of all cases in which charges of disloyalty have been made before your Sub-committee (including a re-examination of such cases heretofore reviewed by the Board), and have asked him to give me a full and complete report in each case after review. This review will include all reports



of loyalty investigations made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and files of the State Department and the Civil Service Commission relating to these cases, as well as all other evidence of disloyalty made available to the Loyalty Review Board, including, of course, any evidence produced before your Sub-committee.

For your information, I am attaching hereto a list of the members of the Loyalty Review Board.

Sincerely yours,

Harry S. Truman

COPY: MLW



TO : Director, FBI  
FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington Field  
SUBJECT: SETH RICHARDSON  
LOYALTY HEARING BOARD  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: June 6, 1950

On May 24, 1950, DON SURINE, former FBI Special Agent and currently employed as an investigator on the staff of United States Senator McCARTHY, furnished the original of the enclosed communication pertaining to captioned subject, which was recently received by Senator McCARTHY.

Enclosed herewith are three photostatic copies of this communication which is self-explanatory. The original of this document has been returned to SURINE.

In furnishing this document, SURINE requested that Senator McCARTHY and he be fully protected in the event investigation is initiated or re-opened on the basis of this communication.

These enclosures are submitted for the information of the Bureau and no investigation is contemplated by this office on the basis of this document unless the Bureau advises to the contrary.

Enclosures (3)

cc: WFO 100-20548

121-0  
FJD: BGS

*Handwritten: McCarthy*

*Handwritten: 61*

*Vertical stamp: JUN 7 1950*

121-3278  
NOT RECORDED  
82 JUN 27 1950

*Handwritten: JUN 20 1950*

Dear Congressman:

Tell Senator McCarthy to subpoena a certain letter sent to Seth Richardson, Chairman, President's Loyalty Board about five or six weeks ago by the Protestant War Veterans Organization there in Washington, D. C., but which is being suppressed by the Attorney General. It names names and unmask for the first time the super spy organization that has its agents in every department of this government in the halls of Congress, where ever you, Clare, are being spied upon from every angle.

This private gestapo, with over sixty thousand paid and unpaid agents and whose budget for the last six months of 1949 exceeded 6 million dollars was named in this dynamic letter with the THREAT that unless the Department of Justice took the proper action, they, the Protestant Veterans would take the necessary action and go into open court and THERE PROVE their charges and this letter is suppressed by this so-called "Loyalty Board".

You just think that over

While I cannot sign my name, you know me well for I am a well-known newspaperman, who is preparing a series of articles on this stinking setup.

If Seth Richardson denies he has this letter, then ask the Attorney General for it was too damn hot for Richardson, but it is made to order for McCarthy.

An American

121-23278

ENCLOSURE

~~121-3-22~~

FROM .

DO-7

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 \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten initials and marks over the list]*

*Looks like  
like a planted  
story.*

*Laughlin - J*

- See Me \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- Note and Return \_\_\_\_\_ ( )
- For Your Recommendation ( )
- What are the facts? ( )

Remarks:

*Riley -*

*Stanley -*

*W. J. [unclear]*

RECORDED - *Mar*

INDEXED - *121-23298-180*

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

58 JUL 1 0 1950

ENCLOSURE 

121-23278-180

# Stewart Alsop

## The Artful Dodger

WASHINGTON

TRUTH IS OFTEN COMPLEX. An untruth, on the other hand, can be made easy to understand, and can be tailored to fit the headlines. This is one of the major secrets of the technique of the artful dodger, Sen. Joe McCarthy.

Consider his latest thunderbolt hurled at the State Department. McCarthy produces a photostat, which includes a "chart" of subversives in the State Department, ostensibly provided for the department by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1946.



Ives

Twenty "Russian agents," as well as large numbers of other subversives, are named in the chart. McCarthy asserts—and no one denies it—that at least three of these "Russian agents" are still employed in the State Department.

McCarthy waves his photostats and shouts that if the FBI says so, "that to me is proof . . . despite all the screaming and yelling."

Heads are shaken. Even some of McCarthy's more sensible colleagues, like Sen. Irving Ives, are impressed. And although it can be demonstrated that this is just another dollop of McCarthy's poisonous nonsense, it is hopeless to expect this fact to catch up with the original distortion.

The photostats McCarthy waved on the Senate floor consisted of about a page and a half of a report of more than 100 pages prepared within the State Department in 1946.

★ ★ ★

THE HISTORY OF this report is interesting. It was prepared on orders of Joseph Panuch, then in charge of the State Department's security branch, by one of Panuch's assistants, Samuel Klaus. Panuch ordered this over-all report for a simple reason—the whole State Department security setup was in a frightful mess.

Security agents had been recruited helter-skelter, with little regard for ability or experience. Thus the security branch was staffed with a gaggle of amateur Hawkshaws. They spent their time spying on each other and on high officials whom they happened to dislike.

Three of these Hawkshaws were particularly incompetent, and particularly eager to make a name for themselves. These three put their heads together and produced the chart of which McCarthy is now the proud possessor. They dredged up the names of 124 State Department employes, and on the basis of the kind of tittle-tattle and poison-pen venom which always comes into the possession of any security agency, they divided these names arbitrarily into four categories—"Russian agent," "Communist," "sympathizer" and "subversive."

When Klaus was gathering material for his report, he came upon this chart. He asked the men who had prepared it where they got it; and, perhaps because they regretted their over-eagerness, he was assured that it had been provided by the FBI.



Hoover

In good faith, Klaus included this statement in his report to Panuch. He also included in his report some pretty scathing criticism of the FBI, which presumably sprang from his belief that the FBI had been responsible for this fantastically amateurish "evaluation."

The FBI had nothing to do with the chart, which was strictly the brain-child of the eager beavers in the State Department.

If this were not the case, McCarthy's revelation would be highly embarrassing to the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover, whom McCarthy professes to admire intensely. Hoover has repeatedly stated that the FBI never evaluates information.

The chart did contain the names of some genuine security risks, who were subsequently discharged or allowed to resign. Many of the others were found, after exhaustive investigation, to be entirely innocent.

★ ★ ★

AS FOR THE THREE amateur Hawkshaws, all three were soon eased out of the security branch. It is an interesting footnote to the whole affair that it was these three who prepared the "derogatory" report on their own superior, Panuch, after tapping Panuch's telephone wires. This report explains why, in McCarthy's original list of 81 Communists, Panuch figures as a hero in Case No. 14 (for firing suspected homosexuals) and as a potential subversive in Case 41.

That is the real story of McCarthy's thunderbolt. The trouble is that the story is a trifle complicated and cannot be crowded into headlines.

The fact that the FBI had nothing to do with the chart, a fact which McCarthy himself could easily have ascertained by the simple expedient of a telephone call, is lost in the shuffle.

And the further fact that McCarthy's whole case therefore crumbles into just so much more poisonous nonsense is lost also. So this must be considered another round for McCarthy.

Yet others have tried the game of playing the American people for boobs before, and failed in the end. There are now, at last, beginning to be signs that this will happen again.

'Of Course You Know the Account Isn't in My Name'



# Eleanor Roosevelt

## Norway's F.D.R. Statue Is Tribute to U.S.

OSLO, NORWAY

THE CROWD waiting for the king and the royal party to arrive for the ceremonies of unveiling the monument to Franklin D. Roosevelt was large and enthusiastic. As I stood listening to our national anthem, I realized anew what a beautiful site has been chosen for this statue. It stands over the quayside looking down the fjord. The speeches were fine and warm and I think there was a full realization by all the people present that this statue symbolizes their gratitude not to one man alone, but to the people of the United States of America, to President Truman and Congress. And to the ideals for which they stand—continuing to give cooperation and support to attain peace and justice which men in the United States military services fought for during the late war, side by side with their allies.



Mrs. Roosevelt

On Tuesday morning we did some sight-seeing while Elliot and the children did a little shopping for me as well as for themselves, choosing some distinctive Norwegian handicraft work as souvenirs.

I have been sent a very beautiful book by Mr. Halfdan Arenberg on the Norwegian folkcraft which I am delighted to have. Also a book on cooperatives in Norway by O. B. Grimley which I am sure will be a valuable background for understanding the economy of this nation.

The sight-seeing was extremely interesting. We saw the old Viking ships which were found buried in clay and remarkably well preserved. One with beautifully carved bow and stern was evidently used by a queen. In those days the custom was apparently to build a kind of house behind the mast and bury the dead king or queen, surrounded by the royal household possessions, in the ship. When you look at these open ships and their oars you wonder how they ever reached Greenland and the coast of North America. You wonder, in fact, how these men built such strong and beautiful ships with the few tools they had at that time.

★ ★ ★

WE SAW also a church which has recently been renovated after being closed for a year and a half. This is now the cathedral. The carvings on the altar and the pulpit and around the organ are of the somewhat baroque period but extremely interesting and beautiful. The modern frescoed ceiling, the modern glass, and the great bronze doors are very fine. There is an old stone embedded at the right side of the door which is very ancient carving, and much of the stone used in building the church came from the old church which dated back a great many hundreds of years.

This is the celebration of the 900th year since the founding of the city of Oslo, and so they have an exhibit of the shipping which has existed in the city from the earliest days. It is interesting to see the models of the Viking ships, the old sailing ships and the gradual change to the ships of today, with their modern machinery and equipment.

Half of the Norwegian merchant marine was destroyed in the last war, but they are back again in their place as the third largest merchant marine force in the world. Six thousand of their sailors died in the war. Today there is a lack of personnel in the service, so they are trying to encourage young people to enter the navy. And indeed it is a very worthwhile career. In many parts of the world they maintain homes for Norwegian sailors.

# Irving Pflaum

## McCarthy and the Smear

THE "PHONEY 'LIBERAL' PRESS" is, according to Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.), "smearing" him.

The dictionary defines "smear," in the sense McCarthy means as "to befoul, obscure, obliterate and defame . . ."

My objective today is the opposite. I wish to clarify the senator's Friday speech in Milwaukee.

McCarthy blamed Sec. of State Dean Acheson for our \$90 million loan to Poland in April, 1946. Appealing, I judge, to Mid-western Polish-Americans, McCarthy charged:

It was Acheson who placed the guns, the whips, the blacksnakes and the clubs in the hands of those Communists. It was Mr. Acheson who furnished them with bullets to keep a Christian population under Soviet discipline . . . who helped put uniforms on the masters of prostrate Poland."

For \$50 million of our 1946 loan, McCarthy explained, had been made available for Poland to buy surplus U.S. war property abroad. The other \$40 million was for the specific purchase of locomotives and coal cars, to move Poland's surplus coal to other countries then terribly in need of it.

In return for this loan, Poland's 1946 coalition government pledged "free and unfettered elections" which, if held, were expected to reduce Communist influence. Elections were held, but the Communists gradually dominated the country anyway.

So Acheson, then Undersecretary of State, can reasonably be charged with exchanging cash for useless promises. James Byrnes, then Secretary of State, and President Truman shared the mistake. But do the facts justify McCarthy's charge that "Acheson placed guns, etc., in the hands of (Poland's) Communists"?

They do not. McCarthy's words constitute the kind of "smear" that McCarthy claims is directed at him.

For Soviet Russia was in 1946, as she is today, quite capable of arming Poland's Communists without our assistance. The loan which Acheson approved was intended to reduce Soviet-Communist power in Poland, not to extend it.

★ ★ ★

TO ACCUSE A MAN OF doing the opposite of what he intended is to "befoul, obscure, obliterate and defame."

McCarthy might have said that in 1946 Acheson had been mistaken, and was deceived. But McCarthy used typical Communist-Fascist smear tactics.

Fascists and Communists always whine that they are victims of the methods they regularly employ against others. So, apparently, does Sen. McCarthy.

# John Dreiske

## Postcard Electioneering

IF YOU HAVE THE IDEA that Municipal Judge John Gutknecht is not campaigning actively as the Democratic nominee for probate judge in Cook County just because he is on a European tour, dismiss the thought.

The judge is continually postcarding precinct captains back home in Cook, and it's all according to plan. From Rome, the captains who are of Italian extraction or operate in Italian-American population centers hear from the judge.

From Israel, the cards go winging to the captains of the Jewish faith. And so it goes. It would be hard to find a spot on or near the continent where some Chicago race group would not have a homeland tie. And the judge knows his Chicago.

THE COOK COUNTY PROGRESSIVES will meet to nominate candidates on June 19. Shortly thereafter they will launch a drive for the necessary 115,000 signatures on petitions for a place on the ballot for county offices.

Normally, the job of judging whether the petitions are acceptable is up to an electoral board composed of the state's attorney, county clerk and county judge. But County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki and Clerk Richard J. Daley are candidates for re-election and so the law says they cannot serve. They must give way to the two senior Circuit Court Judges.

From the Progressive point of view, this doesn't afford any great relief. The two judges would also be Democrats. The oldest Circuit judge in point of service is Democrat Kickham Scanlon. Tied for second in seniority are Harry Fisher and Thomas J. Lynch. Fisher has served on electoral boards before.

IMPORTANCE OF THIS party affiliation, of course, has to do with the general belief among politicians that Democrats would rather the Progressives were not on the ballot and that Republicans would rather they were. Presumably the citizen who would vote for a Progressive candidate would be inclined to vote Democratic if he had no other place to go on the ballot.



McCarthy



Gutknecht

The Director

May 15, 1950

Mr. D. M. Ladd

EXECUTIVE BRANCH, U. S. GOVERNMENT  
(Names identified by Senator McCarthy)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE:

To recommend that the attached memorandum concerning the individuals identified by Senator McCarthy before the Tydings Subcommittee be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford pursuant to his request to be advised regarding the dissemination of information in the Bureau's files and the results of investigations regarding these persons to the Department of State.

BACKGROUND:

You will recall that in my memorandum of May 9, 1950, which is attached, I pointed out that Clive Palmer had called at my office on the evening of May 9, 1950, and left a memorandum listing the names of the 81 individuals named in the subpoena of the Senate Subcommittee. Mr. Palmer advised that Peyton Ford had been in conference all afternoon with Senator Tydings; that Senator Tydings insists that he wants a letter signed by the Attorney General listing the dates of reports on loyalty cases sent to the Civil Service Commission, as well as information on the individuals who were the subjects of preliminary inquiry loyalty investigations, but which were discontinued upon receipt of information that the employees had left the government service. Palmer further indicated Tydings also desired any cases where no investigation was conducted because no derogatory information was available be listed. According to Palmer, Senator Tydings suggested that a cutoff date of February 20, 1950, be set and that nothing be listed thereafter. Palmer was advised by me that the Bureau would not prepare any such list until we received a memorandum from the Department in writing listing exactly what it was that the Department wanted. It was also suggested that the Bureau not use a cutoff date, but include everything up to the present time. You noted on my memorandum, "I concur

The attached memorandum dated May 10, 1950, from Peyton Ford requests the following specific information concerning the names included on the "subpoena" list received from the Senate Subcommittee: The Attorney General wishes to prepare a letter to Senator Tydings listing first those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted, attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission; further, in cases where a loyalty investigation was never instituted because of the absence of derogatory information in the Bureau's files or because it was learned prior to the institution of the investigation that the individual had left the service, or where investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals left the service, information is desired regarding what transpired in this respect. Peyton

Attachment

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

CHS:NRJ:man

JUN 30 1950

Original cannot be located and is not on record. When original is received in Files Division it will be filed either with this copy or may be given a new serial.

6/9/50 678

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JUN 20 1950  
JUN 20 1950

0 Comm. records create in the State Department



Ford further pointed out that there may have been, with regard to some of these individuals, memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during, or following the loyalty investigation, or in cases in which no loyalty investigation has been made. He stated it is desired that the Bureau make appropriate identifying reference to any such memoranda. Peyton Ford, as indicated above, stated it is not necessary to include any material submitted subsequent to February 20, 1950.

All references in the Bureau's files have been reviewed concerning the names set forth on the "subpoena" list furnished by Clive Palmer, together with other individuals who have been identified by Senator McCarthy, and the information requested by the Department has been set forth in the attached memorandum dated May 15, 1950, to Mr. Peyton Ford.

You will observe that the material being furnished to the Department is divided into Parts I, II, and III. Part I pertains to the individuals identified on the "subpoena" list. In Part II, there is furnished for the Department's information material relating to additional individuals not identified on the "subpoena" list, but who were identified previously by Seth W. Richardson in a letter to the Bureau dated April 5, 1950. Part III consists of photostatic copies of transmittal letters requested by the Department.

In connection with the review of our files, in addition to reports and memoranda specifically relating to the individuals identified on the subpoena list, it was found that collateral references to these individuals were located in other reports and communications transmitted to the Department of State in some instances. As a general rule, these incidental references have not been included in the memorandum to the Department. In this same connection, you will recall that in the past confidential memoranda have been supplied to the Department of State in connection with the Gregory case, as well as investigation concerning underground Communist activities of government employees. In these memoranda in many instances, numerous individuals were involved and information from highly confidential sources was included. In such memoranda, where one of the persons named by McCarthy is mentioned collaterally, we have not listed the Gregory summary or the summary on the underground Communist activities of government employees, since it is felt that to do so would undoubtedly cause the Subcommittee to request copies of the confidential memoranda which at the time were not specifically given to the State Department regarding the individuals concerned with this request.

The review of the references on the individuals in question also revealed in various instances oral information had been furnished to the Department of State. This oral dissemination of information has been noted in the memorandum to Peyton Ford inasmuch as it may have been made a matter of record in the files of the State Department. For us to delete such information might create an erroneous impression that the Bureau is withholding material.

ACTION

That the attached memorandum be forwarded to Mr. Peyton Ford.

3012

June 6, 1950

5:38 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. LADD  
MR. NICHOLS

I called Peyton Ford and told him the State Department had identified one of the three persons previously mentioned; that of course this was speculation but they believed he was Clarence J. Nelson. I stated I had not heard of him; that he was a teletype operator and is on the rolls of the State Department at the present time. I also informed Mr. Ford that it was possible that the second individual could be David Zablowsky who is no longer on the rolls of the State Department. I further advised that they had no idea who the third individual was and that this was the best information they had at the present time. However, I stated the State Department does admit there is a chart of the character McCarthy is talking about.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. H.*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Director noted on the original:  
"What do our files show on  
Nelson and Zablowsky."  
H.

cc-Mr. Nease

JEH:EH

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SENT FROM D. O.  
 TIME 6-7-50  
 DATE 6-7-50  
 BY *Law*

RECORDED - 34  
INDEXED - 34

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62-3711-1337

*J. E. H.*

FOR THE PRESS

MAY 20, 1950  
No. 529

98671

Received from the State Department  
via communication channels  
Date 5/22/50

CAUTION  
FUTURE RELEASE  
NOTE DATE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

FOR RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M., E.D.T., SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1950.  
NOT TO BE PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED, QUOTED FROM OR  
USED IN ANY WAY.

The Department of State today made public the following analysis of the speech delivered by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in Chicago, May 6, 1950, on "Communism in Government":

1. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: Senator McCarthy referred to the Department of State's files being examined by the Tydings Subcommittee as "skinny-ribbed bones of the files", "skeleton files"; "These purged files"; "phony files"; "1947 and '48 files instead of 1949 and '50".

The Facts. The files transmitted to the Tydings Subcommittee are the full and complete State Department files current as of the date transmitted. They contain all information relevant to the determination of employee loyalty or security. Under the Federal Employees Loyalty Program, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the agency charged with responsibility for conducting investigations into the loyalty of State Department personnel.

A representative of the Department of Justice has been present at the meetings of the Tydings Subcommittee. The files were viewed by a representative of the Department of Justice before they were turned over to the Subcommittee. The files made available to the Subcommittee contain the material collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and transmitted to the State Department.

2. Senator McCarthy said in Chicago: "Now from page 37 of the House Report I quote the following: '...almost anyone and everyone in the State Department had access to the files'"

The Facts. The report to which Senator McCarthy referred is a report of the House Appropriations Committee investigators, dated January 27, 1948, which accompanied the list of 108 cases which were the basis of Senator McCarthy's speech of February 20, 1950. Senator McCarthy misquoted this report.

The report said: "... most everyone and anyone in the Division has access to the files ..."

The Division that the House investigators were talking about was the Division of Security. That is the division charged with the physical and personnel security program of the Department and the Foreign Service, and it is therefore essential that its staff have access to the files when needed.

Senator

121-23278 182

Senator McCarthy, by substituting "the State Department" for "the Division of Security", crudely misquotes the language of the report in order to give an entirely false impression: namely, that any and everyone in the Department has access to the files; whereas as a matter of fact such access is strictly limited to employees of the Division when required and to a very small number of employees outside the Security Division, such as the members of the Loyalty Security Board. Senator McCarthy substituted the entire State Department for the Division of Security, a crude misquotation for the purpose of giving an entirely false impression. It is not only a misquotation, it is a quotation out of context, a quotation over two years old made without reference to the facts as they exist at the present time.

- 3. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "Tell them to take the list of names which I have given ... the Secretary of State ..."

The Facts. Despite Under Secretary of State Peurifoy's reiterated requests since February 11, 1950 that Senator McCarthy furnish the Department with a list of names of the "205" or "57" accused State Department employees, Senator McCarthy has never furnished the Department or the Secretary of State such a list of names.

- 4. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: Describing the Federal Loyalty Program, Senator McCarthy said, "First of all, it permits each Department to investigate its own people. Those doing the investigating know little or nothing of communist techniques, even less of about how to conduct an investigation..."

The Facts. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is the agency charged under Executive Order 9835, issued over three years ago, with responsibility for conducting loyalty investigations under the Federal Loyalty Program.

- 5. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: Describing loyalty investigations, Senator McCarthy said, "In dozens of cases, in dozens of cases -- for instance, recommendation from Agent Hiss on State Department employees was all that was needed to completely clear them -- like accepting a recommendation from Dillinger in hiring a bank clerk."

The Facts. There is not a single instance of this.

- 6. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "You will recall a former State Department employee by the name of George Wheeler recently retired behind the Iron Curtain after making typical communist name calling statements damning and cursing the United States. This man, George Wheeler, who had been assigned tremendously important work by the State Department had first been given a completely clean bill of health by the Loyalty Board even though his file would have convinced anyone who could add two and two that he was a full fledged communist."

The Facts: At no time has the case of George Wheeler ever been considered by a security or loyalty board of the Department of State. Mr. Wheeler was one of a group of former FEA employees in Germany who, in September 1945 were transferred temporarily to the rolls of the State Department. In February 1946 the whole group was transferred to the War Department.

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and in fact Mr. Wheeler's transfer to the War Department was even earlier -- in December 1945. During his brief time on the State Department pay roll, Mr. Wheeler's case was under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission. All these facts were set out in a departmental press release a month before Senator McCarthy made his misstatements.

These facts were also contained in the Department's analysis of Senator McCarthy's April 20th speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in which the Department pointed out twelve glaring McCarthy inaccuracies. Senator McCarthy on May 15 replied to the Department's statement by citing two alleged inaccuracies in the Department's analysis of his speech. He was silent as to the remaining ten. Of the two so-called inaccuracies he cited, one pertains to the case of George Wheeler. As to George Wheeler, Senator McCarthy said that the Department should "admit that Wheeler was on the pay roll and given an absolutely clean bill of health by whatever Government Loyalty Board cleared personnel for the State Department." Two comments may be made thereon: first, as of the date of Mr. Wheeler's brief employment with the Department the present loyalty program, under which the Department's loyalty board was established, was not in existence; second, Senator McCarthy's implication was that the Department's Loyalty Board was at fault. Even Senator McCarthy should see the irrelevancy of his attributing to the State Department matters under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission.

7. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: <sup>Table</sup> "Mr. Service, you will recall, was picked up by the FBI in connection with the Amerasia case... The papers carried the story that J. Edgar Hoover, who is not noted for over-statements, that J. Edgar Hoover stated that this is a 100 per cent air-tight case of espionage."

The Facts. On May 1, 1950, Deputy Under Secretary of State Peurifoy in a letter to Mr. Peyton Ford, The Assistant to the Attorney General, asked whether Mr. Hoover, in fact, made any similar statement. Mr. Ford, on May 8, 1950, replied: "You are advised that Mr. Hoover did not make the statement which has been attributed to him."

The exchange of correspondence is attached. (See pp. 8, 9)

8. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "...the State Department which is about to hear the case of Service is now busily giving Mr. Service's lawyer the secret documents which the President has denied the Senate, this so that he can properly defend Mr. Service."

The Facts. The Department has categorically denied this. Mr. Service has been furnished copies of documents which he himself had prepared for the Department in the course of his duties as a foreign service officer.

Relevant excerpts from a letter of May 4, 1950 by General Conrad E. Snow, Chairman of the Department's Loyalty Security Board, to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Herald Tribune, are attached. (See page 9)

9. Senator

9. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "First take the case of Philip Jessup, the State Department's Ambassador at Large. Now, here was really a great joiner, especially Communist front organizations...organizations which the President's own Attorney General and Congressional committee have labeled as agents of the Communist Party."

The Facts. In view of Senator McCarthy's repeated assertions the Department wrote to Mr. Morgan, Counsel of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, investigating Senator McCarthy's charges, to see if Senator McCarthy had supplied them with any information to back up these charges. Mr. Morgan replied that Senator McCarthy has not supplied any such material. The only documentary material supplied to the committee concerning the organizational affiliations or associations of Ambassador Jessup was provided by Senator Hickenlooper, a photostat of one letterhead of the American Law Students Association listing Professor Philip Jessup of Columbia University on the Association's "Faculty Advisory Board." The American Law Students Association is not listed by the Attorney General and does not appear on the list of "Citations by Official Government Agencies" issued in 1948 by the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities.

The correspondence with Mr. Morgan is attached. (See pp. 10 and 11.)

Dr. Jessup testified, before the Subcommittee, that he had joined no Communist-front organizations, whereas the organizations to which he did belong included the following:

- The American Legion (He is a former commander of Utica Post #229)
- The American Philosophical Society
- The Foreign Policy Association
- The American Bar Association

On April 6, 1950 the Utica Post #229 passed a resolution condemning Senator McCarthy's attack upon their past commander, Philip C. Jessup. A copy of this resolution is attached. It will be noted that a copy of it was sent to Senator McCarthy with the admonition that "his reckless and despicable conduct in this instance cannot be condoned by any right-thinking American and should never be repeated if he hopes to retain a shred of public respect." (For copy of resolution, see pp. 11 and 12)

10. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "Jessup... was largely in charge of a publication known as the Far Eastern Survey, the publication of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; that he was in charge while it was spewing forth the perfumed Communist Party line sewage...."

The Facts. Senator McCarthy grossly exaggerated Dr. Jessup's relationship with "Far Eastern Survey" based on the single fact that in 1944 Dr. Jessup served on the Research Advisory Committee of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Senator McCarthy's allegation that "Far Eastern Survey" followed the Communist Party originates in discredited contentions made by one Alfred Kohlberg in 1944. The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations investigated Kohlberg's charges. In a document circulated to its members, it was demonstrated that Kohlberg had ignored the overwhelming number of facts that did not support his contention. The document showed, among other

this

things, that Kohlberg had quoted, in connection with "Far Eastern Survey, and other publications, from less than 2 per cent of the articles published and from less than .002 per cent of the books published. In April 1947, the membership of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations in a vote of 1163 to 66 overwhelmingly repudiated Kohlberg's charges as "inaccurate and irresponsible."

11. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "I have brought with me photostatic copies of checks representing thousands of dollars of Communist money paid to Jessup's organization." As documentation he provided photostats of two checks signed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field totalling \$3,500.

The Facts. This is another repetition of a refuted charge made by Senator McCarthy many times before. Senator McCarthy repeats it although it has already been refuted. The inference is that the Institute of Pacific Relations had been "bought" with Communist money. At that time, Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, President of the University of California, was Chairman of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; Mr. Francis Harmon, Vice President of the Motion Picture Export Association, was Treasurer; and Mr. William R. Herod, now President of the International General Electric Company, was Chairman of the Finance Committee.

Mr. Juan Trippe, President of Pan American Airways, and Mr. Henry Luce, of Time and Life, were sponsors of a drive during that period for funds on behalf of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Mr. Field's contributions, according to Senator McCarthy's own figures, totalled only \$3,500, as compared with a total expense for the two-year period of approximately \$200,000. About half of the amount was met by contributions from the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation. Generous donations by large industrial concerns made up a large portion of the remainder.

12. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "Mr. Lattimore, as the nation knows, has long been referred to as the architect of the State Department's Far Eastern policy, the architect whose shadow lingers over the corpse of China."

The Facts. Senator Tydings asked Secretaries Hull, Byrnes, Marshall and Acheson whether this description was true or false. They all replied that it was false. These letters were made public by Senator Tydings on April 29, 1950. The person responsible for long and repeated use of the term "architect of the Far Eastern Policy" is Senator McCarthy who employed the term in his testimony before the Subcommittee.

13. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "...so that you will have a full picture of the extent to which Lattimore shaped our dismal policy of failure in the Far East, I call to your attention a secret document which he furnished to the State Department in August of 1949, a document which the State Department itself labeled as a guide for Ambassador at Large Jessup..."

The Facts. This is another repetition of a refuted McCarthy charge.

The

The Department publicly and fully explained in press conferences on March 31, that Owen Lattimore was one of a group of 31 persons who submitted written memoranda in response to requests made in August, 1949, by Ambassador Jessup. These memoranda were used as background material by a consultants' committee consisting of Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Mr. Everett Case, and Ambassador Jessup in their study of United States foreign policy in the Far East. (Mr. Lattimore's memorandum was never singled out, or labeled as a guide for Ambassador Jessup.) Mr. Lattimore as director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins, was also one of 25 private individuals participating in a round-table discussion on October 6, 7, and 8, 1949 arranged by the Office of Public Affairs for the purpose of exchanging views with informed private citizens on United States foreign policy toward China. The 31 who submitted memoranda were:

Former Consul General Joseph W. Ballantine,  
now at Brookings Institution  
Professor Hugh Borton, Columbia University  
Former President Isaiah Bowman, Johns Hopkins University  
Dr. A. J. Brumbaugh, American Council on Education,  
Washington.  
Former Ambassador William Bullitt  
Former Under Secretary Castle  
Former Consul John A. Embry  
Professor Rupert Emberson, Harvard University  
Dr. Charles B. Fahs, New York City  
Professor John K. Fairbank, Harvard University  
Dr. Huntington Gilchrist, New York City  
Professor Carrington Goodrich, Columbia University  
Former Under Secretary Grew  
Colonel Robert A. Griffin,  
former Deputy Administrator, ECA China  
Former Ambassador Stanley K. Hornbeck  
Roger Lapham, Former Administrator, ECA China  
Professor Kenneth S. Latourette, Yale University  
Professor Owen Lattimore, Director of the Walter Hines  
Page School of International Relations, John Hopkins  
University  
Oliver C. Lockhart, Export-Import Bank of Washington  
Walter H. Mallory, Council on Foreign Relations  
Professor Wallace Moore, Occidental College, Los Angeles  
Professor Edwin O. Reischauer, Harvard University  
C. A. Richards, Economic Cooperation Administration  
Former Minister Walter S. Robertson, Richmond, Virginia  
Dr. Lawrence K. Rosinger, New York, New York  
Mr. James Rowe, Washington  
Mrs. Virginia Thompson (Adloff), New York City  
Professor Amry Vandenbosch, University of Kentucky  
Professor Karl A. Wittfogel, Columbia University  
Professor Mary Wright, Stanford University  
Admiral Yarnell

The following, including Mr. Lattimore and some others of the 31, attended the Round Table at the Department October 6, 7, and 8 to discuss Far East Policy:

Joseph W. Ballantine, The Brookings Institution,  
Washington, D. C.  
Bernard Brodie, Department of International Relations,  
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut  
Claude A. Buss, Director of Studies, Army War College,  
Washington, D. C.



- Kenneth Colgrove, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.
- Arthur G. Coons, President, Occidental College, Los Angeles, California.
- John W. Decker, International Missionary Council, New York, New York.
- John A. Fairbank, Committee on International and Regional Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- William R. Herod, President, International General Electric Company, New York, New York.
- Arthur N. Holcombe, Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Benjamin H. Kizer, Graves, Kizer, and Graves, Spokane, Washington.
- Owen Lattimore, Director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Ernest B. MacNaughton, Chairman of the Board, First National Bank, Portland, Oregon.
- George C. Marshall, President, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.
- J. Morden Murphy, Assistant Vice President, Bankers Trust Company, New York, New York.
- Nathaniel Peffer, Department of Public Law and Government, Columbia University, New York, New York.
- Harold S. Quigley, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Edwin O. Reischauer, Department of Far Eastern Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- William S. Robertson, President, American and Foreign Power Company, New York, New York.
- John D. Rockefeller, III, President, Rockefeller Brothers' Fund, New York, New York.
- Lawrence K. Rosinger, American Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, New York.
- Eugene Staley, Executive Director, World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, California.
- Harold Stassen, President, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Phillips Talbot, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
- George E. Taylor, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
- Harold M. Vinacke, Department of Political Science, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

All of the memoranda and all of the views above referred to were of course submitted in confidence by their authors, and the Department could not expect these people to be frank unless it respected that confidence. The Department would not and did not, however, in any way interfere with publication of any memorandum by its author. In fact, the substance of Mr. Lattimore's article was published in an article which he wrote for the January 1950 issue of The Atlantic magazine.

14. Senator McCarthy said at Chicago: "But let me give a brief resume of the official Communist Party program for Asia -- there is no secret about that. Number 1, destroy the armies of Chiang Kai-shek. Number 2, get the United States out of Korea. Number 3, force the withdrawal of United States forces from Japan; and number 4, prevent the formation of a Pacific Pact against Communist aggression.

"Now

"Now, what does Lattimore tell Jessup our policy in Asia should be? Listen to this if you will: Number 1, Abandon Chiang Kai-shek; number 2, get out of Korea; number 3, withdraw United States forces from Japan; and 4, deny the need of a Pacific Pact."

The Facts. This is another repetition of a refuted McCarthy charge.

The United States' record and policy in the Far East, as it relates to the points made by Senator McCarthy may be summarized as follows:

(1) The United States poured tremendous amounts of aid into China in efforts to bolster the government of Chiang Kai-shek.

(2) The United States has led the fight for a free, democratic Korea; has taken its case to the United Nations; and, since the establishment of this government, has contributed substantial economic and military support.

(3) The United States as the principal occupying power in Japan will not enter into any peace treaty which makes impossible adequate protection of United States' security interests in the Western Pacific.

(4) The United States has publicly indicated that it would look with sympathy upon a regional alliance of Pacific nations, provided the impetus for such an association came from the nations themselves.

Following is the material referred to on pages 3 and 4:

Exchange of correspondence between Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, and Mr. Peyton Ford, Assistant to the Attorney General, (referred to on page 3):

May 1, 1950

Dear Mr. Ford:

In his address on April 20, 1950 to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at the Hotel Statler in Washington, Senator McCarthy said:

"One of those arrested was John S. Service. He was never convicted; he was never tried; he was never indicted.

"J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, publicly stated at the time of the arrests that this case was a 100-per-cent air-tight case of espionage. At the time the case broke John S. Service was picked up by the FBI, Mr. Hoover made that statement, and he seldom errs on the side of overstatement, as you well know."

The Department of State is naturally interested in whether or not this statement of Senator McCarthy is an accurate one. As a result, I would appreciate it if you would inform the Department as soon as possible whether the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation made any statement similar to that attributed to him by Senator McCarthy.

Sincerely yours

JOHN E. PEURIFOY  
Deputy Under Secretary

The Honorable

Peyton Ford,

The Assistant to the Attorney General.

98575

May 8, 1950

John E. Peurifoy, Esquire  
Deputy Under Secretary  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Peurifoy:

This is in reply to your letter dated May 1, 1950, inquiring as to the accuracy of a statement alleged to have been made by J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the time of the arrest of John S. Service and other suspects involved in the so-called "Amerasia" case. You are advised that Mr. Hoover did not make the statement which has been attributed to him.

Yours Sincerely,

PEYTON FORD

The Assistant to the Attorney General

EXCERPTS FROM GENERAL SNOW'S LETTER TO THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE  
(Referred to on page 3)

Because of the reputation of the New York Herald Tribune for fair and objective reporting, I am taking the liberty of calling your attention to the headings of two articles which appeared in your issues of May 3 and 4, respectively, regarding the conduct of the John S. Service case by the Loyalty Security Board of the Department of State, of which I am Chairman . . . .

Nor is it true that Mr. Service is being given any illegitimate advantage in the matter of access to papers. Mr. Service has not been given and will not be given access to the loyalty or personnel files which were gathered by the FBI and other investigatory bodies and which were refused by the President to the Senate Committee. Mr. Service is entitled, however, as a matter of elementary fairness to see and put in evidence, any reports or other papers in the files of the State Department which were prepared by him or in connection with the missions on which he served, which may be material to his defense. Action by the Department of State is necessary to permit him to show them to counsel. To date, the only confidential documents on which this action has been taken are documents actually written by Mr. Service himself. This is all there is to that part of the story.

The Loyalty Security Board of the Department of State is a judicial body set up for the purpose of giving to an employee accused of disloyalty, or of being a security risk, a fair hearing. While under the regulations he has no opportunity to confront and cross-examine witnesses who have given confidential information to the Board, or even to see a transcript of their statements, he is advised of the substance of the accusations, and must be given a fair opportunity to defend himself, not only by his own testimony, but also by the production of any witnesses or of any documentary evidence that may tend to establish his innocence of the accusations. The Board has an obligation to give him the fullest opportunity to prepare and present his defense.

Exchange

Exchange of correspondence between Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, and Mr. Edward P. Morgan, Chief Counsel, Foreign Relations Subcommittee Investigating the State Department:  
(Referred to on page 4)

May 16, 1950

Dear Mr. Morgan:

In connection with the analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors forwarded on May 12, 1950 to the Society by Assistant Secretary Barrett, Senator McCarthy has stated, as quoted on May 15 by the Associated Press:

"The State Department also states that Jessup belonged to no Communist front organizations. I gave photostatic proof to the committee that he was affiliated with five organizations listed by the Attorney General or congressional committees as fronts for the Communist Party.

"He was a director of one of the worst of such organizations named by the Attorney General, namely the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

At Atlantic City on the same day he said:

"... Now, the thing they forget is that I have presented to the Committee photostats showing that he belonged, that he was affiliated with not one, but with five Communist front organizations; and that he not only belonged to, but was a Director of one of the worst of the lot, named as such by the Attorney General..."

In view of these assertions of Senator McCarthy, it would be very much appreciated if you could make available to this Department copies of the photostats which the Committee has received from him.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY

Mr. Edward P. Morgan,  
Chief Counsel,  
Foreign Relations Subcommittee,  
The Capitol.

May 17, 1950

Mr. John E. Peurifoy  
Deputy Undersecretary  
U.S. State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Peurifoy:

Reference is made to your letter of May 16, 1950, referring in turn to the remarks, as quoted by the Associated Press, of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy relative to Dr. Philip Jessup, as follows:

"The State Department also states that Jessup belonged to Communist front organizations. I gave photostatic proof to the committee that he was affiliated with five organizations listed by the Attorney General or congressional committees as fronts for the Communist Party.

"He was a director of one of the worst of such organizations named by the Attorney General, namely the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy."

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". . . Now, the thing they forget is that I have presented to the Committee photostats showing that he belonged, that he was affiliated with not one, but with five Communist front organizations; and that he not only belonged to, but was a Director of one of the worst of the lot, named as such by the Attorney General. . . ."

Relative to your request for photostatic copies of the material stated to have been turned over to the subcommittee by Senator McCarthy, you are advised that after a careful and diligent search of our files, we find no record of any material having been turned over to the subcommittee by Senator McCarthy indicating that Dr. Jessup has been associated with Communist front organizations.

For your information, however, in the course of Senator Hickenlooper's examination of Dr. Jessup, he offered in evidence, at page 530 of the transcript, a photostat of a letterhead of an organization known as the American Law Student's Association on which "Prof. Philip Jessup" of Columbia University is listed on the "Faculty Advisory Board", along with other named individuals. The Subcommittee has been supplied no other documentary material concerning organizational affiliations or associations of Dr. Jessup.

After hearing of Senator McCarthy's statements referred to above, I immediately called his office requesting the photostatic material to which he referred. Again on May 16, 1950, I called Senator McCarthy personally, advising that the subcommittee had not been supplied the photostatic material concerning Dr. Jessup to which he had referred and requested that he supply the same for our record. As yet, I have not been supplied the photostats in question.

Should they be received by me, I shall be glad to make copies thereof available to your office.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD P. MORGAN  
Chief Counsel  
Subcommittee Investigating  
the State Department.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ATTACK UPON PAST COMMANDER PHILIP C. JESSUP  
ADOPTED AT A REGULAR MEETING OF UTICA POST #229 AMERICAN LEGION,  
HELD ON APRIL 6TH, 1950 (Referred to on page 4)

WHEREAS, Utica Post #229 American Legion is proud to number among the list of its Past Commanders a distinguished comrade, charter member, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, whose public devotion and continued helpfulness to our period of many years is a source of great satisfaction to Utica Post and to its entire member-

WHEREAS.

WHEREAS, the sterling character, splendid reputation, and unquestionable loyalty and patriotism of Past Commander Philip C. Jessup, both privately and in his public capacity as U.S. Ambassador-at-Large, have recently been subjected to scurrilous, unprincipled, and wholly unjustifiable attack by one Joseph McCarthy, who in so doing has sullied the office of U.S. Senator which he presently holds,

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that Utica Post \$229 American Legion and its entire membership shall and do strongly resent, condemn and decry the unprincipled, unjustified, unsportsmanlike, un-American and intolerable conduct of Senator Joseph McCarthy in his wanton attempt without proof or reason to smear and destroy the good reputation and high standing of so devoted and patriotic a citizen as our esteemed and valued friend and comrade, the Honorable Philip C. Jessup, U.S. Ambassador-at-Large; and be it further

RESOLVED, that Utica Post \$229 American Legion and its members in meeting duly assembled feel privileged at this time to reaffirm their continued trust and confidence in, their esteem and devotion to, and their lasting friendship for a distinguished public servant, a loyal patriot, and a great citizen, the Hon. Philip C. Jessup, a Past Commander of this Post; and be it further

RESOLVED that this resolution be inscribed upon the Minutes of this meeting, that a copy thereof be delivered to our comrade, Ambassador Jessup; that a second copy be delivered to the public press; and that a third copy be mailed to Senator McCarthy with the admonition that his reckless and despicable conduct in this instance cannot be condoned by any right thinking American and should never be repeated if he hopes to retain a shred of public respect.

\* \* \*

The Director

June 9, 1950

D. M. Ladd

COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR McCARTHY)  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE: To furnish you summaries of information contained in Bureau files concerning Clarence John Nelson, David Zablodowsky and Serban Vallimarescu whom the State Department has named as being possibly identical with three individuals mentioned by Senator McCarthy in his speech in the Senate on June 6, 1950.

BACKGROUND: You will recall that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy made a speech in the Senate on June 6, 1950, in which he referred to a chart alleged to have been prepared by the Bureau purportedly showing the number of "agents," "Communists," "sympathizers" and "suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. Senator McCarthy made the statement that three persons listed in the chart are still on the rolls of the State Department. In your memorandum dated June 6, 1950, to Mr. Tolson, Mr. Nichols and myself you pointed out that you had advised Mr. Peyton Ford of the Department that the State Department had tentatively identified two of the three persons mentioned by Senator McCarthy as Clarence J. Nelson and David Zablodowsky but had no idea as to who the third individual was. In your memorandum you penned the notation: "What do our files show on Nelson and Zablodowsky?"

You will also recall that on June 7, 1950, as reflected in my memorandum to you, State Department officials advised Mr. Roach of the Liaison Section that they have been able to identify two of the individuals named by Senator McCarthy, namely, Clarence Nelson and Serban Vallimarescu. The same officials stated that David Zablodowsky may or may not be the third person.

With regard to Clarence J. Nelson, who has been employed by the State Department since 1938 as a telegrapher, this individual has been investigated on three separate occasions by the Bureau. Nelson was first investigated at the request of the State Department during May and June, 1940, and a copy of the report reflecting the results of the investigation was forwarded to the State Department on July 26, 1940. Nelson was again investigated by the Bureau during the period from March to June, 1942, and copies of the reports covering that investigation were likewise forwarded to the State Department at that time for consideration under the Hatch Act. By letter dated October 24, 1944, the State Department recommended that the case concerning Nelson be closed. A full field loyalty investigation was conducted regarding Nelson from June through August, 1948. Copies of the loyalty reports were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on August 26, 1948, and by letter dated January 9, 1949, the Commission advised that Nelson was being retained.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment  
OVA:js

121-23278-183

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David Zablodowsky, mentioned by the State Department, is undoubtedly identical with David Zablodowsky, a former employee of the Office of Strategic Services. On December 2, 1942, a Hatch Act investigation was instituted concerning David Zablodowsky, then a Senior Economics Editor, Research and Analysis Branch, Presentation Division, Editorial Section, Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D. C. Copies of reports containing the results of the investigation were transmitted to the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations on March 16, 1944. By letter dated March 6, 1945, to Honorable Herbert E. Gaston, Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations, Lieutenant Colonel O. C. Doering, Jr., Office of Strategic Services, advised that David Zablodowsky was being retained. A preliminary loyalty inquiry was instituted on March 21, 1950, to determine whether Zablodowsky is currently employed by the Federal Government. It was ascertained from the Civil Service Commission that he is not an employee, having left his employment with the Department of State in 1945.

Based upon a request from the State Department, the Bureau initiated a Security investigation regarding Serban Vallimarescu on May 29, 1946. The investigation was discontinued when Vallimarescu resigned from his position on September 23, 1946. Copies of reports containing pertinent information were furnished the State Department on October 4, 1946, and December 11, 1946. On May 14, 1948, at the request of the State Department, an investigation of Vallimarescu was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America) and copies of reports reflecting the results of the completed investigation were transmitted to the State Department by letter dated July 16, 1948.

**ACTION:** None. Summaries on Clarence J. Nelson, David Zablodowsky and  are attached for your information.

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JUN 9 1950

DAVID ZABLODOWSKY

Background

David Zablodowsky was born in New York City on February 1, 1903, and attended Columbia University, New York City, from September, 1921 until June, 1927, and from September, 1938 until June, 1940, receiving A.B. and M.A. degrees. He also attended the International School (League of Nations) Geneva, Switzerland, from June, 1925 until September, 1925. Zablodowsky was employed as Editor of the Viking Press, Inc., New York City, from March, 1928 until May 20, 1940 and as general manager and editor of Modern Age Books, Inc., NYC, from May 20, 1940, until September, 1942. He entered on duty as a Sr. Economics Editor, Research and Analysis Branch, Presentation Division, Editorial Section, Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D. C., on September 21, 1942. In 1942 he was residing at Park Street and Trowbridge Road, Vienna, Virginia, having previously lived at Mount Airy Road, Croton-on-Hudson, New York. In January, 1944, he was residing at 418 S. Lee Street, Alexandria, Virginia. (101-5828)

A list of persons notified to the Secretary of State under the International Organization Immunities Act (approved December 29, 1945) as of November 1, 1946 carried the name of David Zablodowsky, Deputy Special Services Officer, Hotel Taft, New York. (62-77787-1816, pg. 62)

The name "David Zablodowsky (American) Presentation Officer, Hotel Taft, New York, New York" is contained in a list of United Nations Organization personnel as of May 1, 1947. (62-77787-2532, pg. 179)

Investigation by Bureau

On December 2, 1942, a Hatch Act investigation concerning David Zablodowsky, an employee of the Office of Strategic Services, was instituted based upon information received from New York T-1 (former Confidential Informant Robert M.) to the effect that Zablodowsky was "a fanatical and important Communist" who had been extremely clever in hiding his Communist affiliations in recent years. The informant claimed to have received information that Zablodowsky was working "sub rosa" for the Communist Party and also had several dealings with Robert Wohlforth, then chief investigator for the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. (101-5828-5)

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~~Classified by [redacted]~~  
~~Exempt from automatic declassification~~  
~~Date of declassification [redacted]~~  
DPG/OLC 4/12/78

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FOR REVIEW  
BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: 2-21-80 ORK/jel~~

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During the investigation New York T-2 [redacted] advised that he had known Zablodowsky personally for many years and had known him to be a member of the Communist Party and to be "a Communist of the vicious type," based upon a statement he overheard Zablodowsky make in 1936 to another person indicating he would meet him at the Party Fraction Meetings. The informant stated it was common knowledge at that time that Zablodowsky was a member of the Communist Party. It was his recollection that Zablodowsky was known as the "Communist Party whip in the Book and Magazine Guild." New York T-3 [redacted] and a former member of the Communist Party, stated he was personally acquainted with Zablodowsky as both were members of the Book and Magazine Guild and that Zablodowsky had looked after Communist Party interests in the Guild. He advised that he had taken it for granted that Zablodowsky was a Party member although he had never seen his Communist Party membership book. Mr. Eugene Lyons, Editor of the American Mercury, and Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, writer, advised that Zablodowsky had the reputation among editors, authors and newspapermen of being a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Lyons and Mr. Stolberg had previously characterized Zablodowsky as "a member of the Communist Party" in articles they had published. New York T-4 [redacted] stated he was aware of a story to the effect that Zablodowsky was used as a mail drop for one A. Rubins, an admitted OGPU Agent although he had no information to prove this. According to New York T-18 (technical surveillance on [redacted]) Zablodowsky was well acquainted with [redacted] member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and head of International Publishers, Communist Party publishing house. A number of other informants stated they believed Zablodowsky was a Communist sympathizer. (101-5828-5, 6)

Investigation at Washington, D. C., disclosed that the records of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, indicate David Zablodowsky was a member of the Editorial Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism and had contributed to the "Daily Worker" on August 19, 1933. These files reflect that one Genevieve Lisitzky, 243 West 11th Street, Manhattan, New York, signed a Communist Party election petition for 1939 - 1940. Genevieve Lisitzky is the maiden name of Zablodowsky's wife. It was determined that the CSC had previously conducted an investigation of Zablodowsky, during the course of which he was variously described as "liberal," "pro-Communist," and "a person who refused to publish anti-Communist books." Zablodowsky was interviewed by a representative of the CSC and admitted he was acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Robert Minor whom he described as Communist leaders. He stated that he, Zablodowsky, was probably a member of the American League Against War and Fascism and was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. When interviewed on January 5, 1944, at the Washington Field Office, Zablodowsky denied membership or

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activity in the Communist Party. He advised that he had been a member of the Committee for Struggle Against War and its successor, the American League Against War and Fascism. Zablodowsky stated he had served in an editorial capacity on the magazine "Fight", published by the American League Against War and Fascism. He advised that he believed his membership had terminated prior to the time the organization became known as the American League for Peace and Democracy. (101-5828-12, 15) U

On March 16, 1944, copies of reports reflecting the results of the Hatch Act investigation were transmitted to the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations. By letter dated March 6, 1945, to Honorable Herbert E. Gaston, Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations, Lt. Colonel O. C. Doering, Jr., of the Office of Strategic Services advised that David Zablodowsky was being retained in his position with the Office of Strategic Services. (101-5828-19) U

Other Subversive Information in Bureau Files

The "Guild News" for January, 1940 attacked an article in the New York Herald Tribune of November 29, 1939, written by Benjamin Stolberg, former Communist, who said that the Communists had captured the Book and Magazine Guild along with the American Federation of Teachers and the American Newspaper Guild. Stolberg went on to say that the Book and Magazine Guild had delayed publication of his book, "Inside the CIO" because David Zablodowsky, a Communist Party member of the Guild, was employed as an Assistant Editor by the Viking Press. In answer to the charge by Stolberg, the "Guild News" quoted Harold Guinsburg, President of the Viking Press, as stating that Zablodowsky had said he was never a Communist. (61-10490-146) U

On December 2, 1940, Mr. Harvey Wolf, 3938½ South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, California, an admitted former member of the Communist Party, advised that one David Zablodowsky, was among a number of individuals who were engaged in Communist activities. He advised that they occupied positions on the "intellectual front" and rendered a most valuable service as propagandists. Wolf stated that these individuals traveled back and forth across the continent, supporting and taking part in Communist front meetings and the program of the Party politically. (39-915-684) U

A memorandum dated January 5, 1942, set forth information concerning conversations between Alexander Trachtenberg, Secretary and Treasurer of International Publishers, New York City and Edward I. Aronow, a New York City attorney, concerning the campaign then being U

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conducted by the Communist Party to free Earl Browder, as obtained by the New York Office. In these conversations, references were made to "the old man" and his interest in the campaign to free Browder and that "the old man" was to carry the matter to the "chief executive". It was subsequently ascertained that "the old man" was Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah. It was also pointed out that one David Zablajosky (phonetic), possibly identical with David Zablodowsky, editor of the Viking Press was reported to have had a conference with "the old man" allegedly with reference to the freedom of Earl Browder. (61-2115-69) U

In August, 1942 the Office of Censorship furnished information to the effect that in a letter dated August 4, 1942 signed "David Zablodowsky" from Modern Age Books, Inc., 245 5th Ave., New York, New York, to Bodo Uhse, Cerrada De Londres 15 Dep. 15, Mexico, D. F., it was stated that the last of Uhse's manuscripts had been sent and that the stories had been handed to Maxim Lieber. The Office of Censorship advised that its records indicated that Uhse was formerly a Fascist and was at that time a "Communazi," associated with Margarita Nelken, an agent gaining admission for German Fifth Columnists to Mexico. (62-62736-2-12147) U

On December 11, 1942, former Confidential Informant Robert M. advised that Vera Brailowsky had admitted to him in 1936 that she was a member of the Communist Party and had told him that David Zablodowsky was also a Party member. (100-198347-3) U

In September, 1944 MID advised the NY Office that David Zablodowsky was well known as a Communist, gave free support to the Soviets during the Moscow trials, and had been a scrupulously adherent fellow traveler for over 10 years. (121-51-19) U

Alexander Gregory-Graff Barmine, New York City, a former Red Army officer and Communist Party member, while employed by the Office of Strategic Services prior to December 1, 1944, reportedly advised his superior, a Mr. Ullman, that David Zablodowsky, OSS employee, was a member of the Communist Party and was formerly a mail drop for the OGPU. In this connection, it is to be noted that, when interviewed during the course of the Hatch Act investigation regarding Zablodowsky, Barmine stated he did not know Zablodowsky personally but knew him by reputation and advised that from his knowledge and experience in the Soviet Union it was his firm conviction that Zablodowsky, as Vice President and General Manager of Modern Age Books, Inc., had to be a member of the Communist Party. He stated he had once seen a directive or circular promulgated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moscow to the effect that executives of Communist Party publishing houses, wherever located throughout the world, had to be members of the Communist Party. He furnished no information at that time to indicate that Zablodowsky had been a mail drop for the OGPU. (74-1333-3221, pg. 276) U

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The Washington Times Herald for February 27, 1945, stated that Representative Dewey Short read to the House the Communist connections of David Zablodowsky, Senior Economic Editor for the Office of Strategic Services. According to the article, he noted that Zablodowsky had been a member of the Editorial Board of the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, branded as subversive by Attorney General Biddle. It was further stated that OSS knew of Zablodowsky's background but accepted the decision of the CSC declaring him eligible for employment in the government and that Zablodowsky had said he was not and had never been a Communist. (61-7557-A) U

An article in the Washington Times Herald on August 22, 1945, concerning the Office of Strategic Services stated in part: "David Zablodowsky, contributor to the Daily Worker, official Communist daily, and member of the Editorial Board of 'Flight', official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, is Senior Economic Director. Zablodowsky was cited by former Attorney General Biddle as subversive." (62-64427-A) U

In a letter to the Bureau dated February 25, 1946, Mrs. Margaret Dunne, 62 First Street, New York, New York, described David Zablodowsky, Office of Strategic Services, as a Communist. (100-0-21264) U

On June 12, 1946, the Department of State advised that Presentation Associates, Inc., was composed largely of officers of the Department of State and that practically every person concerned with it was identified as being either a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. The Department of State advised that David Zablodowsky was reported to be spending considerable time at Presentation Associates Inc., during official government hours and that he had consistently been reported as a member of the Communist Party. It was later learned that the Certificate of Incorporation for Presentation, Inc. listed David Zablodowsky as a stockholder. (100-345490-1, 2)

Confidential Informant Z advised that in a letter mailed to Mary Jane Keeney, suspected Russian espionage agent, on August 9, 1946, Daniel Melcher, 476 N Street, S. W., Washington, D. C., mentioned that David Zablodowsky was with the United Nations in NYC. (65-56402-1638X, pg. 72) S

On January 31, 1947, and April 24, 1947, the Military District of Washington furnished information to the effect that an informant had advised that David Zablodowsky was among former OSS officers who were members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (100-7060-370, 378; 100-7660-4314X) U

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A document prepared by Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, 222 West 23rd Street, NYC, for the National Industrial Conference Board, NYC, and made available on March 1, 1947, reflects that David Zablowsky was an assistant to Alger Hiss at the San Francisco Conference which organized the United Nations. This document states in part, "Zablowsky has a long Party line record. During the Hoover administration he was Editor of the Bulletin of the American Committee for Struggle Against War which became the American League Against War and Fascism and still later the American League for Peace and Democracy. In 1933 and 1934 he was Editor of 'Fight', the official organ of this Communist front which was cited as subversive by Attorney General Francis Biddle. Throughout the thirties he was as busy as a bee in various Communist dominated enterprises. He was on the Editorial Board of the Office Worker, official organ of the UOPWA, the Communist dominated CIO Office Workers Union. He was also the moving spirit in the Book and Magazine Guild, another Communist dominated union in the publishing field. Later he became the Editor of Modern Age Books, a decidedly left wing publishing firm. During the war Zablowsky was with the OSS, where he was an active member of the Communist 'fraction' - - General 'Wild Bill' Donovan, head of the OSS, had the wild idea that he needed both Communists and Fascists in his outfit and that he knew how to handle them. For a time in between, Zablowsky was with the Office of Intelligence Collection and Dissemination of the State Department. He is now working on the United Nations in company with a number of other American leftwingers." (62-39749-828) U

An article captioned, "Marzani Film Bares State Department Red Cell" in the New York Journal American for June 1, 1947 stated that a large group formerly holding top secret positions in the State Department helped produce the movie, "Deadline for Action," authored and directed by Carl A. Marzani and which was being investigated as a link in the Red transmission belt. According to the article, the picture was produced by Presentation Inc. and stockholders included David Zablowsky. It was stated that Zablowsky was a regular contributor to the "Daily Worker". (100-350706-2) U

An article in the July 23, 1947, issue of the New York Journal American reflects that Walter S. Steele, Chairman of the National Security Committee of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, in testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities listed "David Zablowsky, formerly with OSS, a contributor to Red publications" among outstanding examples of Communists and Communist sympathizers serving in the Armed Forces during World War II. (100-2267-A) U

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When interviewed in March, 1949, regarding Alger Hiss, Ralph Toledano, anti-Communist author, advised that he was informed that David Zablodowsky was placed into the United Nations and into the State Department upon the recommendation of Alger Hiss. (74-1333-2998)

A summary prosecutive report dated March 30, 1949, prepared by the New York Office regarding Alger Hiss contains personal history and background data regarding Jay David Whittaker Chambers as related by him. He stated that while attending college he used to eat his lunch with a group including one David Zablodowsky. Chambers related that from these individuals he had his first exposure to Marxist ideas. He advised that they had long and violent arguments in which they had tried to convert him to Marxism. Chambers noted, however, that all of the members of this group were not "Socialists" to the same degree. (74-1333-3221, pg. 229)

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During the period from May 16, 1949, to July 28, 1949,

New York, who requested his name be kept confidential, advised that David Zablodowsky headed the Printing Division where Abraham Zusevitch Nadel was employed. Nadel had been observed on a number of occasions in 1948 conversing with Valentine Alkseevich Gubitchev, Russian national and United Nations employee. On three occasions Gubitchev was noted passing material to Nadel. (65-58488-11)

In September, 1949, Mr. James B. Donovan, New York Attorney, stated that while in OSS he was aware of a certain left wing element in the organization which assumed great powers at the San Francisco Conference because of their association with Alger Hiss. He named David Zablodowski among those he thought were Communists in this group. (74-1333-3877)

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CLARENCE JOHN NELSON

Background:

Clarence John Nelson was born June 10, 1897, at Ludington, Michigan. He served in the United States Navy from January 1918, until honorably discharged in September, 1921. From 1921 to 1938, he was employed as a telegrapher at Detroit, Michigan, Washington, D. C., New Orleans, Louisiana, Chicago, Illinois, Lincoln, Nebraska and Grand Rapids, Michigan. From September, 1924 to March, 1927, he also attended the National College of Chiropractic at Chicago receiving a PH.C. degree on March 30, 1927. Nelson practiced Chiropractic in the vicinity of Ludington, Michigan, in the early 1930's.

Nelson has been employed by the Department of State, Washington, D. C., since August 22, 1938, and served for about ten months commencing in January, 1945, with the State Department in London, England. He is currently employed as a telegrapher in the Division of Communications and Records at the State Department, Washington, D. C., and resides with his wife at 4023 Kansas Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. (State Department records and Loyalty Form, 121-11044-1,5)

Investigations by Bureau:

The Bureau commenced an investigation concerning Clarence John Nelson at the request of the State Department on May 25, 1940. The State Department reported that Nelson, who was then employed as a telegrapher in the State Department, had attempted to distribute the "Daily Worker" on two or three occasions. This investigation was discontinued on June 8, 1940, upon the request of the State Department. A report prepared on the investigation completed prior to the request for discontinuance, a copy of which was furnished to the State Department on July 26, 1940, reflects that H. C. McMakin, a telegrapher employed by the U. S. Navy at Washington, D. C., said that he had observed "Bolshevistic literature" in a trunk owned by Nelson and stored in the attic of McMakin's home. McMakin stated that in his opinion, Nelson was a radical and did not believe in the American flag. John L. Bishop, an employee of the Navy Department, Washington, D. C., also stated that he felt that Nelson was inclined to be radical. Bishop was unable to furnish specific information in this regard. (65-12813-1,34)

Nelson was again investigated by the Bureau during March-June, 1942. This investigation was instituted under the character "State Department - Special Inquiry," but was converted into a Hatch Act investigation.

Source of Information A of the Grand Rapids Office

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CMN:cg *Cg*

[Redacted]

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Hofman stated that Nelson did not indicate any radical tendencies as of 1917, but that during the course of the next thirteen years, when he and Nelson were engaged in similar jobs as telegraph operators, he noted that Nelson developed a strong radical Communist attitude. He characterized Nelson as a "soap box" type of agitator for Communist principles. (77-18892-12 pg 1, 2)

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Source of Information B of the Grand Rapids Office [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he had known Nelson since 1932, when the latter lived in Ludington, Michigan. According to Swarthout, Nelson was a known Communist while living in Ludington and was a ring leader and organizer for the local young Communists. (77-18892-12 pg 2)

Source of Information C of the Grand Rapids Office [redacted]

[redacted] described Nelson as one who preached disgruntled, dissatisfied, anti-democratic doctrines. In Barber's opinion, Nelson's statements could be described as either Socialistic or Communistic. He stated that Nelson was active in Ludington during the early 1930's as an organizer of local young Communists who were seeking higher wages on the WPA and holding meetings to secure volunteers to fight for Loyalist Spain. (77-18892-12 pg2)

Sources of Information A, B and C stated they did not know whether or not Nelson was actually a member of the Communist Party while residing at Ludington, Michigan.

Confidential Informant T-1 [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he met Nelson in 1937, while both were employed by J. C. Satch and Company, stock brokers at Battle Creek, Michigan. He said that he had spent numerous evenings in the company of Nelson and his wife and had heard Nelson discuss social and political problems. This informant stated that Nelson admitted having made many "soap box" speeches in his youth prior to 1937. The informant added, however, that he had no present knowledge indicating Nelson's association with any radical group or organization. (77-18892-11)

Confidential Informant T-1 of the Denver Office [redacted]

[redacted] also characterized Nelson as a "soap box" orator. He stated that Nelson had books on Karl Marx and Communism in his library and that on one occasion Nelson had tried to talk the informant into going to Russia with him to work as a telegrapher, stating that they would get \$400 a month in Russia and would be ranked next to professional men. Informant said that Nelson gave the general impression "Russia is a little bit better place to go than the United States." Confidential Informant T-2 of the Denver Office [redacted] stated that Nelson had told her in 1936, that he intended to vote for Earl Browder for president. This informant stated that on one occasion Nelson gave her a book to read on Russia. She was unable to recall the name of the book but remembered that it pictured Russia as an ideal country. (77-18892-6)

Confidential Informant T-2 of the Washington Field Office [redacted]

[redacted] of Nelson, stated that he received the publication "In Fact" (cited by HCUA as "Communist front") as of March, 1942. She added that Nelson believed in Russia and that Communism was not as bad as some people painted it. (77-18892-4 pg 2)

Nelson was interviewed by Bureau Agents on August 3, 1942. He executed a signed statement in which he denied membership in or activity on behalf of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League or any other organization advocating the overthrow of the Federal Government. (77-18892-13)

Copies of the reports prepared during the investigation conducted during March-June, 1942, were furnished to the Department of State. In a letter dated October 24, 1944, the Department of State recommended that the case be closed without further action and added that Nelson's superiors in the State Department "have no reason whatever to be suspicious of the man or his work."

The Bureau conducted a loyalty investigation concerning Nelson during June-August, 1948. The loyalty investigation was predicated upon information furnished by Confidential Informant Washington T-1 [redacted]

[redacted] to the effect that Nelson "liked Communist people better than Americans" and that he had observed a number of books in Nelson's trunk which appeared to be "Communist propaganda." Substantive information developed in the earlier investigations was incorporated in the loyalty reports. In addition, the loyalty investigation developed information to the effect that Nelson had been active in the Workers Alliance in Michigan and was generally described by fellow employees, neighbors and friends as a person who often expressed anti-capitalist views and one who liked to argue in order to show his knowledge and to make himself appear important.

Mr. T. J. Barber, Chief of Police at Ludington, Michigan, stated during the course of the loyalty investigation, that Nelson was one of the original WPA workers in the Ludington area. He said that Nelson was generally reputed to be one of the active members of the Workers Alliance (cited by the Attorney General as Communist), an organization which grew up within the WPA and which had the reputation of being a Socialistic organization. Chief Barber added that he was well-acquainted with Nelson and said that Nelson had never advocated any disloyal policies in his presence and that he personally had no proof that Nelson was a member of the Workers Alliance. Mr. Edward Larson, City Manager, Ludington, Michigan, stated that he was Assistant Engineer on local WPA projects while Nelson was employed on the WPA. Larson recalled that Nelson was a close associate of Oscar Peterson who headed the Workers Alliance

at Ludington. Mr. Desiree Smith, a pool room proprietor at Ludington, recalled that in the early 1930's Nelson and his friends were in the habit of visiting his establishment for coffee after meetings of their organization which Mr. Smith believed was the Workers Alliance. On these occasions, according to Smith, Nelson carried a brief case and it was Mr. Smith's belief that Nelson was Secretary of the organization. Smith added that he had never heard Nelson advocate any policies which he considered to be disloyal. (121-11044-35)

Frederick Falkenberg, Jr., an employee of the Public Buildings Administration, San Francisco, California, executed a signed statement in which he said that he had been acquainted with Nelson while he, Falkenberg, was employed as a member of the Guard Force at the State Department, Washington, D. C., in 1940. Falkenberg said it was common talk among the Guard Force as well as the employees of the State Department that Nelson was a Communist. Falkenberg was unable to recall specific information in this regard, except a conversation which he had had with Nelson in which the latter had stated he thought we needed a change in Government. Falkenberg said he asked Nelson if he meant a Communist government and according to Falkenberg, Nelson replied in the affirmative. (121-11044-27 pg 1).

A number of fellow employees of Nelson at Washington, D. C., stated that he had often expressed anti-capitalist views saying that wealthy people kept the middle class down. A number of these associates were of the opinion that Nelson held Communist leanings and based their opinions on his anti-capitalist statements. None of these individuals furnished any information indicating Nelson's activity in the Communist Party or related organizations. (121-11044-5)

State Department files contained a copy of a report on a hearing afforded Nelson by the State Department on June 12, 1947, in which Nelson said that he abhorred Communism and considered it more dangerous to our way of life than Nazism. During the State Department hearing, Nelson said that he had seen the "New Masses" and the "Daily Worker" on occasion but that he was not a subscriber or regular reader of these publications. (121-11044-5)

Copies of the reports prepared during the loyalty investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on August 26, 1948. In a letter dated January 9, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board advised that Nelson was being "Retained."

[redacted] aka [redacted] Summary

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 05-17-2013  
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Background

[redacted]  
was born [redacted] Prior to 1940, Constantin Vallimarescu was Rumanian Minister to Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, and [redacted] obtained his secondary education at the Lycee Francais in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He attended Harvard College during the school years 1940-41 and 1941-42, receiving an A.B. cum laude in October, 1942. From July 17, 1943, to October 31, 1945, he served in the United States Army, being relieved of active duty as First Lieutenant October 31, 1945. On September 17, 1943, while serving in the United States Army, [redacted] was granted United States citizenship in the U. S. District Court, District of Columbia, receiving Certificate [redacted]

Following his release from active duty in the Army, he was transferred to a position in the Strategic Services Unit of the State Department, where he was employed until September 23, 1946. At that time he resigned his position with the State Department.

On May 2, 1945, [redacted] who was born [redacted] Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that his wife, an alien, arrived in the United States January 10, 1946, and that on July 2, 1946, she was granted a re-entry permit in view of her intention to accompany her husband, beginning August 16, 1946, on a trip to Oslo, Norway, where they were to visit her husband's parents. It is noted that Constantin Vallimarescu, [redacted] at that time was a Rumanian diplomat stationed at Oslo, Norway. Passport records indicate that Vallimarescu's trip did not begin until October, 1946.

Upon his return to the United States, he was again given employment in the State Department as a Research Analyst. On June 7, 1950, he was still a State Department employee.

Investigations by Bureau

I. Internal Security Investigation

During May, 1946, Mr. Fred Lyon of the State Department, through Liaison channels, requested the Bureau to conduct an investigation concerning [redacted] who was then employed in the European Section, Political Branch (Division of Europe, Near East, and Africa, Intelligence Office, Research and Intelligence) Strategic Services Unit, as an Analyst, Grade P-3.

~~CLASSIFIED DECISIONS DERIVED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRM) DATE: 2-21-80 ORK/wel~~

Classified by 2969  
Exempt from automatic declassification  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

#2  
wel

721-23276-183

ENCLOSURE

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DPG/DLC 4/12/78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Basis for Lyon's Request

Mr. Lyon furnished the Bureau an intra State Department memorandum dated May 6, 1946 which related in substance the following information in the nature of a series of circumstances he believed might be indicative of disloyalty on the part of [redacted]

[redacted] was handling all secret and confidential information concerning Rumania in his section and had access to top secret material which came into his branch in the State Department. In December, 1945, [redacted] attended a cocktail party at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, accompanied by a female employee of the State Department whom he had invited. [redacted] carried a manila envelope with him to the party which was being held in the suite of Lieutenant General Vladimar Stoichev, Bulgarian Military Representative in the United States. [redacted] reportedly laid the manila envelope on a chair at the party and it was subsequently retrieved by General Stoichev. The female employee subsequently heard [redacted] say to General Stoichev: "What do you think of my home work?"

[redacted] guest reported to State Department officials that she had met one Boyan Chukanov, Bulgarian Press representative in the United States, who was most gracious to her and was inquisitive as to her employment.

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In January, 1946, the Strategic Services Unit was making plans to send two undercover representatives to Bucharest. One of the persons to be sent was [redacted]. In February or March, 1946 [redacted] was successful in obtaining admittance, utilizing his State Department pass, to the section of the Strategic Services Unit building reserved for X-2 staff members. The female employee previously mentioned worked there as did [redacted]. [redacted] was not entitled to enter this restricted section of the building. He had a luncheon engagement with the female employee and insisted that [redacted] accompany them. He also insisted that they eat at a particular restaurant, a request which Mr. Lyon said appeared unusual.

The two employees who were to go in undercover capacity to Rumania subsequently were granted admittance permits by the Soviet Military authorities there with unusual speed. The reversal of prevailing Soviet policy of delay in issuing such permits was taken by the State Department officials as a possible indication that the two agents might have been identified. The issuance of these permits apparently occurred the latter part of April or early May, 1946. About the middle of May, 1946, [redacted] at 6:15 P.M., a rather odd hour, tried to reach [redacted] by telephone at the Strategic Services Unit Office. He was advised [redacted] was no longer with that organization. The State Department memorandum indicated that [redacted] had not seen [redacted] at any time after the luncheon mentioned above and did not subsequently endeavor to contact him, although [redacted] was still in Washington.

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It appeared to the State Department that [redacted] may have been making the call to [redacted] as an agent for someone else to determine whether [redacted] was still an employee of the Strategic Services Unit. The State Department memorandum asserted that there might have been some connection between this telephone call and the

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rapid extension by Soviet Military authorities of the admittance permits to [redacted] and the other Strategic Services Unit undercover agent. It pointed out that [redacted] has a reputation at the State Department for not being security conscious and that he is regarded somewhat of a "play boy," spending only a bare minimum of time at his desk. (100-345176-2)

Results of Internal Security Investigation

As a result of Mr. Lyon's request, the Washington Field Office by letter dated May 29, 1946, was ordered to institute an immediate Internal Security R investigation concerning [redacted]. This investigation is reported in file 100-345176.

It was determined that the female employee of the State Department, who was the source of the information relating to [redacted] contact with Lieutenant General Vladimir Stoichev, was [redacted] an employee of the Strategic Services Unit at the State Department. She said upon interview that [redacted] had escorted her to the Shoreham Hotel during December, 1945, where they had attended a cocktail party in the lounge. Upon arrival, [redacted] discovered that General Stoichev was in the group, as was Bayon Chukanov, the Bulgarian Press representative in the United States. She said that [redacted] had given her the impression that he was anti-Soviet and that during the course of the party at the Shoreham Hotel he took her aside and told her he suspected that Bayon Chukanov was a "Red."

During the party, [redacted] explained to [redacted] that he had to leave for a short time and go home and get some papers for General Stoichev. [redacted] who lived only a short distance from the hotel, returned in a very short time with the papers, which were contained in a manila envelope. He left the envelope on a chair and asked [redacted] to dance. When the party broke up those in attendance repaired to General Stoichev's suite at the Shoreham. Upon arrival there [redacted] remembered the envelope had been left on a chair in the cocktail lounge. She reminded [redacted] who returned to the lounge and brought the envelope to General Stoichev's suite.

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[redacted] asserted that there was not the slightest attempt at secrecy on the part of [redacted] and General Stoichev. As for Bayon Chukanov, [redacted] said that he seemed to take a fancy to her and shortly after this cocktail party he invited her to lunch. She accepted his invitation and lunched with him at the Madrilion Restaurant. She said he called her several times after this but owing to her position in the State Department she felt she should not be consorting with such a man as Chukanov and therefore declined his invitations.

[redacted] related that she had become acquainted with [redacted] at Bucharest where she was stationed from November, 1944, to June, 1945. During this time [redacted] consorted chiefly with the French diplomatic group. She saw him and conversed with him occasionally and she added he did not give her the impression

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that he was pro-Soviet. She recalled that she had first met [redacted] in Bucharest. This was about Christmas time in 1944. She believed that [redacted] had come to Bucharest from Istanbul where her father held some position of influence on behalf of the Rumanian Government.

The Washington Field Office reports set forth the allegations received from [redacted] background information concerning [redacted] and the results of surveillances and auxiliary investigation concerning the subject. According to the reports of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 22, 1946, and November 13, 1946, no suspicious activities on the part of Vallimarescu were noted. The investigation included an examination of [redacted] personal effects. From these personal effects it was determined that [redacted] address book contained a number of entries, among them being the name [redacted] and the name Free World, 55 West 42nd Street, New York, New York.

Concerning the name [redacted], it is noted information was received in an anonymous letter during 1941 that on [redacted] was one of three international Communists who was reportedly coming to the United States from France in 1941. (100-22951-1)

A search of the files of the Boston Office during the Internal Security - R investigation of [redacted] revealed that in May, 1943, [redacted] an agent for the John Hancock Life Insurance Company, Somerville, Massachusetts, Branch Office, advised that [redacted] a student at Tufts Medical College was the son of the famous [redacted] of the French Army. Information was received from a highly confidential source that [redacted] had signed his name to a scroll of greeting to the Soviet Army, which scroll emanated from Tufts College. The date this information was received is not set out in the Boston report. (100-345176-6)

In connection with "Free World," [redacted] an official of "Free World Association," advised in 1943 that this organization, an affiliate of "Free World, Incorporated," and the "Free World Association," as "viewed from the outside, seems to be dedicated to the destruction of the Axis and the construction of international cooperation," but that "its double goal is directed toward putting this Association in the service of Russia, if not here in the United States, then in Europe during its period of reconstruction." [redacted] further stated that these organizations were dominated by [redacted] (123-3010-4)

The Internal Security investigation of [redacted] was discontinued upon receipt of a State Department memorandum dated December 19, 1946, which advised that [redacted] had resigned from the State Department effective September 23, 1946, and which stated that further investigation was not desired by the Department of State. It is noted that a copy of the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated August 22, 1946, was furnished to the State Department on October 4, 1946, and that Special Agent [redacted] report dated November 13, 1946, was furnished to the State Department on December 11, 1946.

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II. Voice of America Investigation

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On May 14, 1948, at the request of the State Department, we initiated a Voice of America investigation concerning [redacted]. This investigation did not develop any derogatory information relating to the loyalty of [redacted] but on the contrary a number of persons who were interviewed described him as being anti-Communist. Copies of reports reflecting the completed investigation were transmitted to the State Department by letter dated July 16, 1948, and this letter called the State Department's attention to the data contained in the reports of Special Agent [redacted] which had been furnished to the State Department during 1946. (123-749)

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Other References to [redacted] in Bureau Files

On November 26, 1948, [redacted] and her attorney appeared at the New York Office and related the following information. [redacted] a citizen of Rumania, from October, 1946, to January, 1948, had been employed in the Rumanian Embassy at Washington. In January, 1948, after a change of government in Rumania, she was recalled but refused to return to Rumania and applied for status as a political refugee. On September 28, 1948, [redacted] and on the same day she was married she received a telephone call from an unidentified man asking her for fifty dollars and telling her that if she refused the money he would reveal certain information about her past to her husband. Her husband also received telephone calls from an unidentified man who told her husband the same thing. Later she received a series of letters in a similar vein.

Following this series of events a man unknown to her husband but later identified as [redacted] appeared at her husband's office and told him about an affair that [redacted] had had prior to her marriage.

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[redacted] said that she had known [redacted] through mutual friends and that she knew he was employed by the United States State Department assigned to the Rumanian desk in its New York office. She said that [redacted] was doing everything he could to break up her marriage and had told her: "I will see that you are deported."

[redacted] said she turned over all of the letters to Inspector Broderick of the Post Office Department in New York City, who had interviewed [redacted] and had secured handwriting specimens from him. She said Inspector Broderick then advised her that [redacted] did not write the letters. 4

It is noted that [redacted] is identical with [redacted] a member of the Rumanian Delegation who had been for a time an espionage suspect. The information concerning her is set forth in the case entitled "Rumanian Mission, Internal Security - R - Rumanian." This investigation was negative as to espionage activity on the part of [redacted] (9-16654-1)

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It is noted that the allegations that [redacted] endeavored to  
blackmail [redacted] appear in a subsequent Voice of America investigation  
involving [redacted] wherein [redacted] was given as a reference. b6  
(123-3010-6) b7C

Constantin Vallimarescu, [redacted] subsequent to  
resigning his position as Rumanian Minister to Argentina, was the leader of the  
Free Rumanian Movement in the Argentine. In 1947 Constantin Vallimarescu resigned  
as Rumanian Minister to Norway and in 1949 he and Marie, his wife, left New York  
City for Uruguay. It is noted that Bureau files contain no information that  
Constantin Vallimarescu has been engaged in subversive activities and allegations  
have been made that he is anti-Communist. (40-4893; 102-119-327) u

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

98670

1950

- \_\_\_ Mr. Tolson
- \_\_\_ Mr. Clegg
- \_\_\_ Mr. Glavin
- \_\_\_ Mr. Ladd
- \_\_\_ Mr. Nichols
- \_\_\_ Mr. Rosen
- \_\_\_ Mr. Tracy
- \_\_\_ Mr. Harbo
- \_\_\_ Mr. Belmont
- \_\_\_ Mr. Carlson
- \_\_\_ Mr. Winterrowd
- \_\_\_ Mr. Pennington

Mr. Tolson	Mr. Waikart
Mr. Ladd	Mr. Jones
Mr. Clegg	Mr. [unclear]
Mr. Glavin	Mr. H. L. Edwards
Mr. Nichols	Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen	Mr. Mohr
Mr. Tracy	Mr. Gauthier
Mr. Harbo	Mr. Renneberger
Mr. Belmont	Mr. Nease
Mr. Mohr	Miss Gandy
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

- \_\_\_ Mr. Waikart
- \_\_\_ Mr. Jones
- \_\_\_ Mr. H. L. Edwards
- \_\_\_ Mr. McGuire
- \_\_\_ Mr. Mohr
- \_\_\_ Mr. Gauthier
- \_\_\_ Mr. Renneberger
- \_\_\_ Mr. Nease
- \_\_\_ Miss Gandy

- \_\_\_ Miss Holmes
- \_\_\_ Miss Dougherty
- \_\_\_ Telephone Room

- \_\_\_ Records Section
- \_\_\_ Personnel Files
- \_\_\_ Reading Room

- \_\_\_ For Your Info.
- \_\_\_ Note and Return
- \_\_\_ File
- \_\_\_ Return With File
- \_\_\_ Def. Record-Route

- \_\_\_ Please Initial
- \_\_\_ See Me
- \_\_\_ Call Me
- \_\_\_ Recopy
- \_\_\_ Def. Record-Return

*Stanley*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd *Pl*

FROM : A. H. Belmont *AB*

SUBJECT: Charges of Senator Joseph McCarthy  
Bureau Prepared Chart on Communists in State Department

DATE: June 9, 1956

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Samuel S. Boykin, State Department, contacted Mr. Roach this morning and stated that he had talked to the Director last night concerning a proposed State Department release at 12:00 noon today. He stated that the Director approved in substance a release which would state that the charts were not prepared by the FBI and that the State Department had verified this with the FBI and the Department of Justice. The release further stated that the FBI did not evaluate the material as it did not prepare it.

Mr. Boykin stated he wanted to call this to Mr. Roach's attention, but stated he had previously cleared it with the Director.

**ACTION:**

None. This is for your information.

RRR:mls

*WPK*  
 Right but I also told him  
 to admit Klaus was a liar.

RECORDED  
*BR*

121-23278-184  
 JUN 22 1956  
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*WPK*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-60056

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUNE 9, 1950  
No. 614

98668

The Department of State has already characterized as absolutely false the statement by Senator McCarthy that a photostat which he produced on the Senate floor June 6 constituted proof that three men individually listed by the FBI as Communist agents in 1946 are still working for the Department.

It has pointed out that the Senator's charge was based upon the completely erroneous belief that a 1946 chart referred to in the photostated document, a chart purportedly evaluating Departmental personnel in terms of Communist "agents", "Communists", "sympathizers", and "suspects", was prepared by the FBI.

Furthermore, the Department has stated that the chart in question was not prepared by or received from the FBI, but was merely a working document prepared in the Department's Security Office as a basis of further personnel investigations in 1946.

The Department has also stated that no persons purportedly identified on that chart as Communist "agents", "Communists" and the like are now employed by the Department except those whose loyalty has since been thoroughly checked, evaluated, and reviewed under the President's Loyalty Program.

Since the issuance of this statement to the press by the Department, on June 6, 1950, a thorough review of the chart and report in question, together with a careful inquiry into the circumstances of their preparation and the status of personnel involved, has been made by the Department.

The following analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech is based upon the facts developed by that study:

1. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The Bureau (FBI) sent to the State Department on that date (May 15, 1946) a detailed statement listing what they considered as No. 1, Soviet agents; No. 2, Communists; No. 3, Communist sympathizers; and No. 4, suspects."

The facts: As previously stated by the Department, neither the chart itself nor the report of August 3, 1946 in which Senator McCarthy has cited a reference to the chart, was prepared by, or sent to the State Department by, the FBI, and this has been verified to the Department of State both by the Department of Justice and by the FBI. On the contrary, the chart and the report were prepared within the Department of State itself. The chart was prepared on May 15, 1946 and the report on August 3, 1946.

The Department of State itself, after consultation with the writer of the report, with the former Security Officer under whose direction and in whose office the chart was prepared, with certain of his then subordinates familiar with the chart, and with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and after reviewing working papers which are still in our file, has conclusively determined that the chart was not prepared or furnished by the FBI, but was prepared as an investigator's working document in the Department of State in 1946 and by employees of the Department of State. Interview with the writer of the report, who is still in the Department, and the Security Officer with whom he had a conversation about the chart established that the writer of the report drew from his conversation with the Security Officer the unintentionally erroneous conclusion that the chart was prepared in the FBI.

2. Senator

2. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The function of the FBI is merely that of a fact-finding body ... This is the only time it has been brought to my attention that the FBI has departed from its function and said, 'We will evaluate our own evidence in our files and give it to the Department'. Apparently, the reason was that they must have been seriously disturbed by what they had in their files..."

The Facts: This statement is patently false. In the first place, as previously stated, the chart in question was not prepared or submitted by the FBI to begin with. Information from the FBI was included with information from other agencies -- OSS, Civil Service, etc., in the files which the State Department personnel consulted in drawing up the chart; but there was no FBI evaluation of the State Department employees.

In the second place, since the FBI had nothing to do with the preparation of the chart, it obviously could not have talked to itself in the manner described by Senator McCarthy about the "evaluation" of "evidence" concerned. Since the issuance of the State Department's first statement in this connection, the FBI has verified to the Department the fact that it not only had nothing to do with the preparation of the chart but that it also had nothing to do with evaluating the personnel indicated on the chart as purported "Agents", "Communists", etc., or in any other way. Thus, Senator McCarthy's assertion that the FBI took unprecedented action in the matter is utterly unfounded, and his inference that the FBI took such action because it was "seriously disturbed" by the contents of its files is pure fantasy.

3. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The submission of the list of Soviet Agents, Communists, and so forth, to the State Department by the FBI met with such little favorable activity on the part of the State Department that, so far as I know, the Bureau has never submitted a like chart since that date."

The Facts: Though the chart in question had not been submitted to the Department by the FBI back in 1946 or at any other time it was, as a matter of fact, a working list of Departmental personnel on whom the Department's Security Officer at that time (May 15, 1946) had received allegations which, in the opinion of the Security Officers by whom the chart was prepared, warranted further investigation. Virtually the entire activity of the Security Officer and his top men at that time was directed toward the utilization and full development of the leads and information received from the FBI, from departmental investigation and other sources, particularly relating to the people listed on the 1946 chart. Moreover, on the basis of the findings and recommendations contained in the "Secret" report in which the chart was referred to, energetic steps were taken toward an improved Security set-up of the Department, including the successful direction of such investigations as that leading in 1946 to the firing, followed by trial and conviction, of Carl Marzani.

4. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "This (the language of the report) is not the language of McCarthy; it is the language of the State Department's top investigators."

The Facts: The language was not the language of any one of the Department's "investigators"; it was the language of an administrative officer of the Department, assigned by Assistant Secretary Russell, in charge of the Department's security program, to undertake, on a highly confidential basis, a study in Washington of the operations of the Department's organization in 1946 for dealing with problems of personnel security.

Senator

5. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The man who makes this report says in effect, 'The only way we are going to get rid of the other Communists is accidentally by a reduction in the force.' ... From all the information we have been able to obtain, none of the men who were labeled by the FBI have been fired, but were allowed to resign..."

The Facts: The writer of the report said no such thing directly or by implication. His report dated August 3, 1946 in fact was intended to, and did, explore the means for making existing security procedures more effective, especially against the penetration of foreign intelligence agencies into the Department of State. His reference to reduction in force as a factor in eliminating persons named on the chart was factual - but it did not exclude other methods. Such other methods, including resignation - which the Senator himself contradictorily names as the only method - and firing, where investigation supported this action, were effectively employed. No case today remains unresolved.

6. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "The FBI wisely refused to submit top secret information to the State Department on these dangerous individuals ... apparently not trusting the State Department to that extent ..."

The Facts: The FBI has never refused to make available to appropriate officers of the State Department through established liaison channels information concerning State Department personnel.

7. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "At least three of those listed as Communist agents by the FBI three years ago are still holding high positions in the State Department. Those names are included among the 106 names that I gave to the (Tydings) committee ... Those names I have checked and I know the persons are working in the State Department ... I ... have the proof that those men are working in the State Department as of this very moment."

The Facts: This statement is absolutely false. The Department of State has in its possession the working chart itself dated May 15, 1946. Of the 20 persons hypothesized on the chart as "agents", there is only one who - after thorough reinvestigation including a full FBI investigation, and clearance under the Department's Loyalty and Security procedures - is still in the employ of the Department. That one does not hold a "high position"; his grade is GS-9. Furthermore, that one is not on the list of 106 Senator McCarthy gave the Tydings Subcommittee.

8. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "You will note that I am ... only referring today to those who are listed as Communist agents. I hope to be able to give the Senate a complete picture of how many of the total of 106 agents, Communist sympathizers, and so forth, are still on the State Department's payroll..."

The Facts: Any person among those listed on the old 1946 working chart referred to by Senator McCarthy who is still employed in the Department of State has been the subject of careful investigation and has been cleared for security after thorough study of his case either by the Division of Security, acting with the benefit of the FBI's information, or by the Loyalty Security Board of the Department. Each loyalty decision by the Department's Loyalty Board has been post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board, and in no case was the recommendation of the Department's Board changed.

9. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "Take, for example, case No. 1, which I presented on the Senate floor, the name has not yet been made public, so we shall not use it now. The committee has the name. In that case the Loyalty Review Board made what is known as a post-audit, and, after looking at the post-audit, they said, 'We are not satisfied with the finding.' They sent it back to the State Department Loyalty Board, and that Board said 'The case is closed.' That man is still on the State Department payroll."

The facts: Once again, Senator McCarthy's alleged quotations are not quotations -- they are typical misstatements. The Loyalty Review Board did not advise the Department of State that they were "not satisfied with the finding" in this case; they did make a procedural recommendation, and thereafter the case was not "closed". On the contrary, appropriate action was taken by the State Department Loyalty Security Board, and clearance in this case was again post-audited by the President's Loyalty Review Board. The Loyalty Review Board has in no way criticized or changed the final action and findings of the Department's Loyalty Security Board.

10. Senator McCarthy told the Senate on June 6: "... In the Office of War Information, Mr. Owen Lattimore ... went to bat for one Communist ... who had been officially turned down by the Loyalty Board ... and another Chinese who had been rejected by one member of the board..."

The facts: As the Department pointed out in its analysis of the Senator's Rochester, New York, speech on May 25, he now appears to be reduced to an attempt to divert attention with 1943 Civil Service Commission clearances for Office of War Information employment of two Chinese.

As for Mr. Owen Lattimore, both Mr. Lattimore himself and the Department of State have repeatedly reiterated that he is not an employee of the Department.

At Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, Senator McCarthy asserted in a speech:

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

The next day, he said he had the names of "57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party" allegedly working in the Department. Later he talked in terms of a "big three" and of 81 security risks of various sorts. He told the Tydings Committee to investigate 106 cases. Eventually, he said he would stand or fall on his ability to prove that there was one "top Soviet espionage agent" in the State Department.

And then, on June 6, we hear of 106 names on a four-year-old working chart and three "agents" purportedly still at large in the Department of State.

But the record - the facts - speak for themselves: Senator McCarthy has utterly failed to show that there is a single Communist or pro-Communist in the State Department. His numbers change; his credibility does not.

# New Charges By McCarthy Called 'False'

Senator Says State  
Dept. Has 3 Branded  
Soviet Agents in '46

By Alfred Friendly  
Post Reporter

Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) told his Senate colleagues yesterday that a minimum of three persons tagged as Soviet "agents" by the FBI four years ago are still in the State Department.

He said he knew their names and that the individuals were still holding high position.

Last night the State Department said McCarthy's statement was "absolutely false."

McCarthy's new information, he indicated, came from a 1946 document prepared by a State Department investigator who made reference to an FBI "chart" of categories of "Communist agents, Communists, Communist sympathizers and suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1946.

## Photostats Released

McCarthy made public photostats of two pages of the report, which summarized the alleged FBI tabulation as showing that on that date the totals were:

Agents	20
Communists	13
Sympathizers	14
Suspects	77

The State Department's comment on McCarthy's newest deluge of numbers of alleged subversives in its ranks read in part:

"The Senator based his charge upon the completely erroneous belief that the FBI prepared a chart referred to in the photostatic document which purportedly evaluated departmental personnel in terms of 'agents,' 'Communists,' 'sympathizers' and 'suspects.'

"1. No such chart was ever re-

ceived by the State Department from the FBI.

"2. The Department of Justice has informed us that no such chart was ever prepared by the FBI.

"3. The chart in question was merely a preliminary document prepared by one of the State Department's security officers as a basis for further investigation.

"4. No persons purportedly identified on that chart as Communist agents, Communists and the like are now employed by the State Department except those whose loyalty has since been thoroughly checked, evaluated and reviewed under the President's Loyalty Review Board."

The department promised it would issue a further statement on the subject. In the meantime, officials indicated that the document was a working paper of an investigator, comprising listings of all people under suspicion, or against whom charges had been leveled.

The photostat that McCarthy circulated, however, included a passage in which the State Department investigator and author of the document said, "FBI has prepared a chart, now in the possession of (name deleted) which purports to show a number of 'agents' . . ."

The investigator, however, apparently seriously questioned the FBI classifications, for he said:

"It turned out that the FBI had produced no convincing proof that any persons was an actual agent. In other words, FBI had made no case to show espionage or a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act or similar legislation, in any case. The word 'agent' was therefore being used by the FBI . . . to mean simply a suspect in espionage activities.

"No proof of actual Communist Party membership had been produced by the FBI. The word 'Communist,' therefore, was used merely to describe cases of such close affiliations as to lend credence to a hypothesis that the person in question was a member—a fact still to be proved."

McCarthy added that the word "sympathizer" was also subject to further of such qualifications and the word "suspect" was apparently an all-inclusive one and "it might or might not include anything significant."

0-18

Tolson ✓  
Ladd ✓  
Clegg ✓  
Glavin ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tracy ✓  
Harbo ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Nease ✓  
Gandy ✓

*J. Laughlin*

Nevertheless, McCarthy told the Senate, if the FBI classed a man as an agent or Communist, he was willing to accept its judgment.

"That to me is proof," he said. "In my book that is proof despite all the screaming and squealing of those who say, 'McCarthy, you should not expose them because you are injuring those poor people; you are smearing them.'

Senator Knowland (R., Calif.), commenting on the disclosure, said the material was "by far the most significant direct evidence" so far presented in the controversy over McCarthy's charges of "Communist infestation" of the Government in general and the State Department in particular.

Knowland said the special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigating McCarthy's accusations would be "derelict" in its duty if it did not at once use its subpoena powers to obtain the original documents, including the FBI chart referred to.

He added that unless the persons named by the FBI were discharged, "it seems to me there may be a case for impeachment somewhere along the line."

*— We ought to  
run this down  
find out who in  
State Dept. wrote  
this criticism of  
FBI + what it is  
based on.*

Wash. Post  
Wash. News  
N.Y. Mirror  
Date: JUN 7 1950

7-21-23 2278-185  
JUN 22 1950  
to Mr. [unclear] JPK

*RR  
6/2/50*



Senator Ives (R., N. Y.) rose to compliment McCarthy for his "effective presentation" and "constructive approach" in connection with his new material. It was much more effective, Ives said, than "coming here and naming names."

He chided McCarthy gently for not having enough faith in the desire of the other 95 Senators to root out subversives, Ives insisted they were as eager to do so as was McCarthy.

But he went on to compliment McCarthy highly for his "new approach" and to wish him good luck in it.

Last Thursday Ives joined six other Republican Senators in a vehement blast, clearly directed at McCarthy, against smear tactics and irresponsible accusations while protected by congressional immunity for libel action.

Two days later, however, in Ives' presence, the Young Republicans of his State unanimously indorsed McCarthy's campaign and "the spirit in which it was brought."

Earlier yesterday, even before Ives complimented McCarthy on the Senate floor, he declared that there was "accumulating evidence that the Administration is trying to whitewash the State Department" on the Communist charges.

The White House, meantime, deferred action yesterday on a reported plan to name a non-partisan citizens commission of three outstanding persons to review the files of some or all of the persons McCarthy has accused.

The plan, anticipated in press reports, came up for debate yesterday in connection with McCarthy's speech. McCarthy himself referred to the idea disdainfully, calling it a "trumped up" device, which would simply render "another whitewash."

Senator Mundt (R., S. Dak.) took a more hopeful view, but insisted such a commission could not return a report that would win the confidence of the American people and of Congress unless it was bipartisan in nature and unless the Republicans were selected by the Republican members of Congress, and not by the President.

And all Republicans who spoke insisted that the full files on all the cases must be made available to it, and that they should have been made available long since to the special Senate investigating subcommittee.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: June 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*

SUBJECT: CHARGES OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
CONCERNING FBI CHART ON COMMUNISTS  
ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
(Washington Post news item of 6-7-50)

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Nease	_____
Gandy	_____

Reference is made to the attached newspaper article which appeared in the Washington Post on June 7, 1950 setting forth criticisms by the State Department of FBI investigations as quoted from a State Department document in the possession of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. You commented on this by stating: "We ought to run this down. Find out who in State Dept. wrote this criticism of FBI & what it is based on. H."

This matter was covered in my memorandum to you of June 7, 1950 from information obtained by Mr. Roach in the State Department that the newspaper article reflects the direct quotations by Senator McCarthy from the State Department report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus of that Department on August 3, 1946. This report of 'Klaus' (a copy of which the Bureau has now obtained) was in the form of a survey he made of the Security and Investigative Branch of the State Department in which he criticized their operation and also that of the FBI. As previously pointed out, numerous statements of fact were totally erroneous in this report, particularly those in which Klaus states that the FBI prepared a chart.

In view of the total unreliability of Klaus, plus his antagonistic attitude toward the Bureau over a number of years, it is not believed advisable that we should interview him at this time. If you feel however that some action should be taken in this matter, it is believed that it would be more effective, as far as the Bureau is concerned, to prepare a letter to either Under Secretary Webb or Deputy Under Secretary Peurifoy protesting the statements made by Klaus in his report which has resulted in the erroneous newspaper comment.

ATTACHMENT

*HRB:mk*

*I suggest  
protest  
to Webb*

*6/9*

*Just agree*

*RECORDED  
OK*

*121-23278-185*

JUN 22 1950

34

*See to Hon. James E. Webb  
6-14-50  
RW*

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 69

June 14, 1950

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable James E. Webb  
Under Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909

ON 4/12/78 DLR/PC

Dear Mr. Webb:

Recent newspaper articles have come to my attention containing statements made by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, wherein he quoted excerpts from the State Department report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus of your Department which referred particularly to an alleged "FBI Chart."

The comments made by Mr. Klaus in his report concerning this alleged "FBI Chart", as they appeared in the newspapers, were completely erroneous. This Bureau did not send any such chart to the State Department, and, of course, made no evaluation of information as was indicated in the report. The author of the report took occasion to criticize the FBI in this report. This Bureau does not claim to be infallible; however, it appears that, if the State Department had any questions concerning the report, the matter should have been discussed with us at that time. I want to point out that the erroneous statements made by Mr. Klaus were highly embarrassing and prejudicial to the FBI.

As you are aware, this Bureau cooperates fully with your Department through established liaison channels. I thought you would be interested in knowing the true facts in this matter, and they are being furnished to you for whatever action you may deem desirable.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RWL; OHB; hke; smk

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER  
JUN 15 1950  
COMM-FBI

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

- lson
- ltd
- egg
- avin
- chols
- sen
- acy
- rbp
- lr
- le. Room
- agg
- ndy

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

RECEIVED  
SPECIAL AGENT  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

②  
Did we  
make any such  
charts?  
K

Tolson ✓  
Ladd ✓  
Clegg ✓  
Glavin ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tracy ✓  
Harbo ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Nease ✓  
Gandy ✓  
Laughlin ✓  
Cass Stanley ✓

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont  
FROM : V. P. Keay

DATE: June 20, 1950  
4:15 p.m.

SUBJECT: Comments re State Department

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Pennington ✓  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

About one week ago, a letter was addressed to Undersecretary of State James E. Webb, marked Personal and Confidential, concerning the alleged FBI chart which was mentioned by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. This chart was mentioned by the Senator as coming from a State Department report.

The Bureau letter to Undersecretary Webb advised him that the alleged "FBI chart" was contained in a report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus of the State Department and that the comments made by Mr. Klaus were completely erroneous. Mr. Webb was advised that the Bureau did not send a chart to the State Department.

Special Agent R. W. Lawrence of the Liaison Section telephoned from the State Department at 4:10 p.m., this afternoon, and advised that Assistant Secretary of State Peurifoy has requested the use of this letter at his appearance before the Tydings Committee tomorrow morning, June 21, 1950. Special Agent Lawrence is awaiting a telephonic answer so that Mr. Peurifoy can be advised concerning this matter.

OHB:mIs  
ADDENDUM: A tickler copy of the letter in question is attached. Inasmuch as this represents the position of the FBI, it is recommended that clearance be given for Peurifoy to use it as he sees fit. AHB:tlc

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

JUN 30 1950

of he uses it he must use the whole letter

6/20

Tolson ✓  
 Ladd ✓  
 Clegg ✓  
 Glavin ✓  
 Nichols ✓  
 Rosen ✓  
 Tracy ✓  
 Harbo ✓  
 Belmont ✓  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

② Did we  
 make any such  
 checks?

K

*J. L. ...*  
*Chas. Staley*

ADD 2 AMERASIA (1241P)

3. TYDINGS SOUGHT TO SPEED UP CONCLUSION OF THE COMMUNIST INVESTIGATION BY ORDERING A SUNDAY NIGHT CUT-OFF DATE ON SENATORS' EXAMINATIONS OF THE 81 LOYALTY FILES. THE COMMITTEE HAS HAD ACCESS TO THE FILES, LOCATED IN THE WHITE HOUSE CABINET ROOM, FOR ABOUT TWO MONTHS.

TYDINGS REVEALED THAT HE HAD REQUESTED THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE FBI TO INVESTIGATE MCCARTHY'S OFF-REPEATED ALLEGATIONS OF FILE TAMPERING. THE WISCONSIN SENATOR HAD TERMED THE RECORDS "DENUDED LOOSE LEAF FILES" FROM WHICH DAMAGING INFORMATION HAD BEEN REMOVED. TYDINGS SAID THAT THE RESULTS OF A FILE-BY-FILE EXAMINATION WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO HIM BY THE DEPARTMENT TODAY AND THAT THE REPORT SHOWED:

- "1. THE FILES ARE INTACT;
- "2. THE FILES HAVE NOT BEEN RAPED;
- "3. THE FILES HAVE NOT BEEN SKELETONIZED OR TAMPERED WITH."

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S LETTER, TYDINGS SAID, WAS SIGNED BY PEYTON FORD, ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. TYDINGS DECLINED TO MAKE THE TEXT PUBLIC ON GROUNDS THAT IT CARRIED THE NAMES OF THE THUSFAR PUBLICLY UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS COVERED BY MCCARTHY'S "81 CASES," LAID BEFORE THE SENATE IN FEBRUARY.

TYDINGS REPORTED THAT IN MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF THE CASES "FULL FIELD INVESTIGATIONS" HAD BEEN CONDUCTED AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST BY THE FBI.

"I HAVE BEEN ADVISED BY FBI AGENTS THAT ALL OF THE MATERIAL GATHERED BY THE FBI TOUCHING ON THE LOYALTY OF THE EMPLOYEES IN QUESTION HAS BEEN SENT TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND ARE PART OF THE FILES WHICH OUR COMMITTEE HAS EXAMINED," TYDINGS SAID.

6/21--JW1259P

*Memo to Hill*  
*6-22-50*  
*CKH/meg*

*Is this correct?*

*121-23718-186*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: June 22, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: STATE DEPARTMENT FILES ON INDIVIDUALS NAMED BY SENATOR MC CARTHY LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

### PURPOSE

To advise you regarding check of Bureau files relative to dissemination of information to State Department on the cases mentioned by McCarthy and to inform you that we have made no examination of the State Department files to ascertain whether they have been tampered with as alleged by Senator McCarthy nor have we advised Senator Tydings that all of the material gathered by the Bureau touching on the loyalty of the 81 individuals in question has been sent to the State Department and is a part of the files which the Tydings Subcommittee examined.

### BACKGROUND

The United Press news tickler yesterday carried a statement that Senator Tydings had revealed he had requested the Justice Department and the FBI to investigate Senator McCarthy's allegations of State Department file tampering and that the results of a file-by-file examination were made available to Tydings by the Justice Department and showed that the files were intact, had not been raped and had not been skeletonized or tampered with. The press release reports Senator Tydings as referring to Justice Department letter signed by Peyton Ford, the text of which Senator Tydings declined to make public on grounds that it carried the names of the thus far publicly unidentified individuals covered by Senator McCarthy's 81 cases. Senator Tydings is also quoted as stating, "I have been advised by FBI Agents that all of the material gathered by the FBI touching on the loyalty of the employees in question has been sent to the State Department and are part of the files which our Committee has examined."

With respect to the comment by Tydings concerning a request of the Justice Department and the FBI to investigate Senator McCarthy's allegations of State Department file tampering and Senator Tydings comment that the result of a file-by-file examination had been made available to him by the Justice Department, you noted, "Did we make any such check?"

11 You may recall that by memorandum of May 10, 1950, Peyton Ford furnished us with a list of the 81 individuals whose names were included on a "subpoena" list received from the Tydings Subcommittee. In this memorandum Peyton Ford advised us that the Attorney General wished to prepare at the earliest possible moment a letter to Senator Tydings listing, first, those individuals in the group on whom loyalty investigations were conducted and attaching copies of the Bureau's transmittal letters or memoranda to the Civil Service Commission. It was also pointed out in Mr. Ford's memorandum that in the group of 81 cases there undoubtedly would be cases in which a loyalty investigation was never instituted or cases in which investigations were instituted but later discontinued because the individuals

*Committee on this State Dept.*

62-39749-1  
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121-23878-186

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EX-34

CHS:NRJ/lhs

350

*all I [unclear] [unclear]*

had left the Government service; that it was desired the Bureau list these individuals with an indication of what transpired in this respect and that we also make identifying reference to any memoranda forwarded to the State Department prior to, during or following the loyalty investigation in those instances where a loyalty investigation had been conducted and also in those instances where no loyalty investigation had been made.

In accordance with this request of Mr. Peyton Ford, we prepared a brief setting forth the material he had requested and furnished it to him under date of May 15, 1950.

This brief which was furnished to the Department to assist the Attorney General in preparing a letter to Senator Tydings is probably the basis for Senator Tydings' comment since it is noted he alludes to a letter received by him signed by Peyton Ford. However, it is noted that Tydings is reported as stating that the results of a file-by-file examination were made available to him by the Department and that this report showed that the files were intact, had not been raped, had not been skeletonized or tampered with. The only files that we have examined are the Bureau files and we have made no file-by-file examination of the State Department's files in connection with this matter for the purpose of determining whether they contained all the material which has been furnished to the State Department by the Bureau concerning the 81 individuals in question.

With further reference to this particular matter, you may recall that by memorandum of May 9, 1950, I advised you that Mr. Peyton Ford had advised Mr. Nichols and me that he was going to assign Mike Horan from his office to review all of the State Department files which the President was making available to the Tydings Subcommittee prior to the time they were made available to the Committee for the purpose of blocking out the names of any confidential informants or sources which should be protected in Bureau reports. Mr. Ford requested the Bureau to make an Agent available to work with Mike Horan on this project. Both Mr. Nichols and I advised him that we could not do this; that the FBI should not be a party to reviewing the State Department files prior to the time they were made available to a Senate Committee by the President. Mr. Ford then suggested the Bureau might go through its own files, checking the material which has been sent to the State Department to see if there are any names which the Bureau desired blocked out as undesirable for the Committee to see and we again pointed out that this also would be impractical and unwise. It was suggested that in the event Mike Horan was going to make this review that if, during the review of the reports, he had any questions regarding any particular reports, he then contact the Bureau. You noted on my memorandum of May 9, 1950, "Right. I want no part to review of such files or the blocking out of information."

With respect to the comment attributed to Senator Tydings that he had been advised by FBI Agents that all of the material gathered by the FBI touching on the loyalty of the employees in question had been sent to the State Department and was a part of the files which the Tydings Subcommittee examined, you noted, "Is this correct?". We have never made any such comment to Senator Tydings.

ACTION

None. This is for your information.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : GUY HOTEL, SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

DATE: April 27, 1950

SUBJECT: SUB-COMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
 ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*Communist In The State Department*

Reference is made to my previous letter of this date concerning captioned matter. u

At the conclusion of the questioning by Chief Counsel MORGAN, Senator HICKENLOOPER took up the questioning of Mr. BROWDER. He first inquired as to whether BROWDER had ever been a member of the International Workers Order. The witness stated he had not but admitted having attended meetings and to have been very familiar with the organization. Senator HICKENLOOPER then brought up again the matter of Mr. BROWDER's contact with SUMNER WELLES at the time the latter was Undersecretary of State, regarding Chinese foreign policy. He was specifically asked why he had transmitted the information furnished to him by Mr. WELLES to Madame SUN YAT SEN. BROWDER stated that the understanding between him and Mr. WELLES was that he was to be permitted to publish the information and that he furnished it to Madame SEN with the hope she would publish it in China. u

Senator HICKENLOOPER then questioned the witness regarding the change in American foreign policy toward China, asking him if it were not so that the Communist Party had succeeded in having the American foreign policy changed to fit in with their own ideas. Mr. BROWDER stated that this was not so but that the State Department had changed it because of the necessity in the carrying on of the war and that the Communist Party apparently recognized the need for this line of action prior to the State Department. He did admit that the Communist Party policy as advocated was substantially incorporated into the policy of the United States. u

Senator HICKENLOOPER then questioned the witness as to whether or not he had ever conspired with anyone or attempted to secure the transmittal of confidential information from American Government sources to the Soviet Government or agents of that government. Mr. BROWDER denied that he ever had. He then asked him specifically if he had ever delivered any information or caused to be delivered any information to the Soviet Government or its agents to which question Mr. BROWDER issued a definite denial. u

Senator HICKENLOOPER then questioned him concerning his visit to Russia in 1946 but no new information regarding his trip was developed. He then questioned him about International World Communism and his views and the views of the Party regarding that situation, but BROWDER evaded the question by stating that the discussion would consume too much time, possibly running into years. u

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
 Earl  
 J. Laughter  
 J. W. [unclear]  
 J. [unclear]  
 B. A. S. B.  
 B. [unclear]  
 2 FEB 11 1950  
 M. [unclear]  
 G. [unclear]

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121-13947

JJC:JIF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11/30/79 BY SP-5 RJG/RA

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INDEXED - 72

JUN 23 1950

62-91923

121-13947-187  
 File ③ 121/6

*Handwritten initials:*  
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JUL 4 1950



Letter to Director, FBI  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR McCARTHY  
IGE

- 2 -

April 27, 1950

He was then asked concerning the advocacy of the Communist form of government in this country and was questioned as to whether such a directive had ever been received from the Soviet Government. BROWDER claimed that he did not advocate or believe in the Communist form of government for the United States and that it was contrary to STALIN's policy, stating that STALIN had only contempt for leaders of another country who would take orders directly from Moscow. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked him how he reconciled that with the MARSHAL TITO situation in Yugoslavia. Mr. BROWDER did not make any observation in regard to this.

Going back to his previous testimony that while in Russia in 1946, BROWDER had made an agreement with Soviet publishers to promote the sale of their books in this country, he stated upon questioning from Senator HICKENLOOPER that he had severed this connection with the Soviet publishers in July, 1949. He also denied upon questioning that he had ever received any instructions from Moscow on how to proceed in accordance with Communist Party doctrine and he denied that he had ever communicated with Russia as to what position Communists in the United States should take on certain issues. He stated he had sought consultation with the Communist Party of Russia relative to problems of the world and of America but that he had had no such contact with the Russian Government. BROWDER also stated these consultations did not amount to a conspiracy but only concerned political views and the furtherance of a program for progress. At this point BROWDER pointed out to the committee at the present time he is not a spokesman for any organization and therefore, did not feel he was in a position to speak concerning the official policies of the Communist Party.

He was then asked if during his tenure of office in the Communist Party, they had conspired to overthrow the Government of the United States and he denied that such was the case while he was a member or office holder in the Communist Party.

B-933  
He was then questioned concerning his acquaintance with ALGER HISS and he claimed he had never heard of HISS until FBI Agents contacted him and requested him to identify a photograph which he later learned was that of ALGER HISS. He claimed prior to this contact, he never saw nor heard of ALGER HISS before. He, upon questioning, also denied that he knew WHITTAKER CHAMBERS but admitted that he did know CHAMBERS was a Communist Party member in the early 1920s. He stated that CHAMBERS had disappeared

Letter to Director, FBI  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR MCCARTHY  
LGE

- 3 -

April 27, 1950

as far as he knew and he, therefore, surmised he was out of the Party. BROWDER then was questioned concerning the receipt of funds, or equivalent thereof, from the Communist Party of Russia, Russian Government or agents of either of these two groups. BROWDER stated that in connection with the Spanish Civil War, he received funds from sources abroad to help in the organization of the International Brigade; however, he refused to divulge the identity of the sources of these funds since he felt it would possibly involve someone in trouble in the year 1940 over something that had happened in 1937. He categorically denied he had ever received any funds from sources abroad for promoting the Communist Party program in the United States. When asked specifically if he had ever attended any conferences in the Russian Embassy in Washington, D. C., or in any of the Russian Consulates, with regard to Communist Party activities in this country, he claimed that he never had. He admitted upon questioning that he was acquainted with FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD and stated that he first met him in 1941. He denied that he had ever seen him in the Communist Party Headquarters in New York City and denied that he ever assigned him to any mission for the Communist Party or for the purpose of engaging in espionage activities. In this connection he also stated he had never requested any one to perform espionage activities on behalf of the Communist Party or the Russian Government.

*Handwritten: "Crowd?", "Heads", "Massing?"*

He was then asked if he had ever been in contact with one ~~CHUNG P. WOO (ph)~~. BROWDER admitted that he had been in contact with this individual, the last time being when the Chinese Delegation was en route to the United Nations Conferences in San Francisco, California. He refused to state what had been discussed at this meeting, stating the nature of the discussion was highly confidential. He refused to state whether ~~JOHN SERVICE~~ and ~~JOHN CARTER VINCENT~~ were present at this meeting. He also refused to admit knowing ~~PHILIP JAFFE~~ and would not state whether or not he was at the meeting above referred to. BROWDER claimed he felt he should have the permission of the man involved since the discussion concerned problems of a confidential nature dealing with the United States and that it was impossible to obtain the permission of the person involved, namely Mr. WOO. *Was.*

At this point BROWDER engaged in a tirade against "fishing expeditions" and "smear campaigns" and stated he would refuse to answer as to whether or not he knew individuals because if he admitted being acquainted, it would jeopardize their careers in public life.

*Handwritten: "Tung P. Woo"*

*Handwritten: "4"*

Letter to Director, FBI  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR McCARTHY  
LGE

- 4 -

April 27, 1950

In furtherance of this line of questioning, BROWDER also refused to state whether or not OWEN LATTIMORE was in attendance at the meeting previously referred to. With regard to JAFFE, however, he finally did admit under questioning that he had met JAFFE at a Communist Party meeting in New York City.

*Brent* / With regard to ~~J. PETERS~~, BROWDER characterized him as a minor functionary in the Party and stated he had not seen him in the Party circles for the past few years. He denied that he had ever requested PETERS to obtain espionage information for him and also denied he had received information from PETERS to engage in espionage activities. He denied he had ever received instructions from anyone to engage in the gathering of confidential information contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then referred to the previous testimony of BROWDER concerning his visit to China in 1927 and 1928. In answer to questioning, BROWDER stated that at the time he was Secretary of the Kansas City Trade Union and that while in China during that period he worked very closely with the Chinese Communists. He also stated in response to questioning that during the period from 1921 to present, he had made about eighteen or twenty trips out of the United States. When asked if he had ever declared his official connection with the Communist Party when re-entering this country from these various trips abroad, BROWDER stated he had not and he was not aware of any such requirement.

*Brent* / When questioned concerning ~~ELIZABETH TERRELL BENTLEY~~, BROWDER stated that he knew her but did not know her as a Communist, only as a secretary and employee. He claimed not to have any knowledge that she attended any policy meetings of the Communist Party and that to the best of his knowledge, she had never received any espionage assignments or furnished to him any information of a security nature. He further admitted that he knew ~~JACOB GOLOS~~, now deceased, and denied that he had been present at any meeting where Soviet representatives conferred with GOLOS or Miss BENTLEY.

Regarding his trip to Russia in 1946 after his expulsion from the Communist Party, USA, BROWDER stated in answer to a question by Senator HICKENLOOPER that he had had a conference with ~~MOLOTOV~~ during his stay in Moscow. He denied that he had been in contact, however, with any leaders of the Communist Party in Moscow as such, claiming that he had only seen MOLOTOV and another individual whose name sounded like ~~VLESOWSKI~~. He claimed

*No dissemination of this to AAF  
Miss Committee  
widened  
5/1/50*

*U*

Letter to Director, FBI  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR McCARTHY  
IGE

- 5 -

April 27, 1950

he did not wish to name any of the other individuals with whom he had been in contact during his visit to Moscow at that time.

When asked if he were acquainted with ABE FLAKER, he stated he recognized the name as being that of a union leader but would not elaborate further. He refused to state whether or not he knew FLAKER as a Communist. When asked if he knew DOROTHY KENYON and a Mr. HANSEN, he refused to answer, again lashing out at the Committee, labeling their inquiry a "smear". He also would not answer the question as to whether he knew these individuals to be Communists. He was then asked if he knew the following individuals:

NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER  
LUDWIG WILLMAN  
JOHN ABT  
NATHAN WITT  
ALBERT RYCE WILLIAMS

BROWDER refused to answer. He was then asked if he had attended any meetings at the "Daily Worker" or any other place where BUDENZ was present. He claimed that he could recall two or three meetings which were held at BROWDER's office where BUDENZ was in attendance. He claimed that staff members of the Communist Party were also present at these meetings and that the discussion concerned the work of Communists among members of the Catholic faith, which was a project that BUDENZ felt he could engage in with profit. BROWDER claimed he could not recall whether WILLIAM FOSTER or JACK STACHEL were present at these meetings. He was then asked if STACHEL had ever directed him to obtain secret information to which he replied in the negative. He also denied he had ever received any directive from Moscow instructing him to engage in the obtaining of secret information. With regard to BUDENZ's position as Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker", BROWDER claimed that in this position BUDENZ had nothing to do with policy but that his sole function was to act as a technical man.

Senator TYDINGS then began questioning the witness regarding his refusal to answer as to whether he had knowledge that HANSEN or KENYON were members of the Communist Party and he reluctantly stated as far as he knew, neither individual had any organizational connections as members or friends of the Communist Party.

Letter to Director, FBI  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR McCARTHY  
LGE

- 6 -

April 27, 1950

He was then further questioned about his meetings with individuals in the State Department and he stated that he had met with SUMNER WELLES who was then Undersecretary of State, once in 1942 and again in 1943. He stated the meeting in 1942 was in connection with a speech he, BROWDER, had made concerning the U. S. Foreign Policy in China and that it was at the request of Mr. WELLES that he contacted him, at which time, according to his story, Mr. WELLES had pointed out that he was in error in his complaints about personnel in the State Department and that he was not aware of the true situation. He further claimed that in 1943 he had contacted Mr. WELLES concerning a proposed trip to Mexico since he felt that in fairness to the State Department he should give them notice in advance. He further said at this time Mr. WELLES requested him not to make the trip to Mexico and that he did not go. He subsequently determined that the reason for the request was the fact that President ROOSEVELT was meeting with the President of Mexico in Monterrey at that time and had BROWDER pursued his planned itinerary, he would have passed through Monterrey at the time of the meeting. He further stated ROBERT MINOR, an official of the Communist Party was with him at the meetings with WELLES. When asked if he had ever cooperated with the Office of Strategic Services, he stated he did not cooperate personally but that he knew there were members of the Communist Party in this organization. BROWDER stated LAURLIN CURRIE was with SUMNER WELLES at the meetings. *first meeting.*

See 100-24628-2049  
He was then questioned by Senator TYDINGS regarding membership on the part of CARTER or SERVICE in the Communist Party and BROWDER, after much persuasion said that they, to his knowledge, never had any direct or indirect connection with the Communist Party.

The hearing was adjourned at 1:05 P. M. until further notice.

121-13947  
JJC:JIF

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD  
FROM : A. H. BELMONT  
SUBJECT: SENATOR MC CARTHY'S CHARGES AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT

DATE: June 29, 1950

Tolson ✓  
Ladd ✓  
Clegg ✓  
Glavin ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tracy ✓  
Harbo ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Nease ✓  
Gandy ✓

Mr. Roach has been informed in confidence by various officials of the State Department that the hearing of Senator McCarthy's charges against the State Department will be brought to a conclusion by Senator Tydings on or about July 15. The present plan is that Senator Tydings will take the floor of the Senate in a four-hour speech outlining the charges of McCarthy giving a summary of the results of the hearing, followed by recommendations. The recommendations, which Senator Tydings will allegedly make, will be in the form of a "whitewash" of the State Department and the charges placed against it by Senator McCarthy.

ACTION

None. This memorandum is prepared for your information.

RRR:lae

4

*WPK*

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121-23218-188

JUL 1950  
37

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

56 JUL 14 1950

TO: ✓ Director

- \_\_\_ Mr. Tolson
- \_\_\_ Mr. Clegg
- \_\_\_ Mr. Glavin
- \_\_\_ Mr. Harbo
- \_\_\_ Mr. Nichols
- \_\_\_ Mr. Rosen
- \_\_\_ Mr. Tracy
- \_\_\_ Mr. Q. Tamm
- \_\_\_ Mr. Mohr
- \_\_\_ Miss Gandy
- \_\_\_ Mr. Nease
  
- \_\_\_ Mr. Pennington
- \_\_\_ Mr. Winterrowd
- \_\_\_ Mr. J. A. Carlson
- \_\_\_ Mr. Hargett
  
- \_\_\_ Mrs. Henley
- \_\_\_ Miss Jess
  
- \_\_\_ Mrs. Davidson
  
- \_\_\_ Chief Clerk's Off.
- \_\_\_ Records Section
- \_\_\_ Personnel Files
- \_\_\_ Mechanical Sec.
- \_\_\_ Ident. Division
- \_\_\_ Technical Lab.
- \_\_\_ Reading Room

- |                          |            |
|--------------------------|------------|
| ___ Mr. Belmont          |            |
| ___ Mr. Laughlin         | Mr. Tolson |
| ___ Mr. Hennrich         | Ladd       |
| ___ M                    | Mr. Clegg  |
| ___ M                    | Glavin     |
| ___ Mr. Baumgardner      |            |
| ___ Mr. Keay             |            |
| ___ Mr. Stanley          | Mr. P. ... |
| ___ M                    | Mr. ...    |
| ___ M                    | Tele. room |
| ___ Mr. Ferris           | Mr. Nease  |
| ___ Foreign Service Desk | Miss Gandy |
| ___ Mr. Callan           |            |

- \_\_\_ See Me
- \_\_\_ Call Me
- \_\_\_ Appropriate action
- \_\_\_ Note & return
- \_\_\_ Send file
- \_\_\_ Bring up-to-date
- \_\_\_ Correct
- \_\_\_ Re-date
- \_\_\_ Please initial & return
- \_\_\_ Place on record & return
- \_\_\_ Place on record
- \_\_\_ Per conversation
- \_\_\_ Advise status

✓

D. M. Ladd - Rm. 5736  
Telephone Ext. 555

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1410023-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 3  
Page 44 ~ b6; b7C;  
Page 45 ~ b6; b7C;  
Page 46 ~ b6; b7C;

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

DATE: April 20, 1950

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
 ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH MC CARTHY  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. BUDENZ, in his testimony at 3:25pm, stated that he was appointed Editor of the Chicago "Daily Record" in 1937. He described this as an organ of the Communist Party in the midwest. He stated that this paper "folded up" after the STALIN - HITLER Pact. He stated further that BROWDER warned him at that time that he, BUDENZ, was to be made Editor of the "Daily Worker" in New York. He said that BROWDER mentioned that "you have no technical difficulties." In explaining this, he mentioned that BROWDER informed him that he was the only member whose record was clear and who did not have some question concerning his immigration status. U

In response to a question from Senator HICKENLOOPER, Mr. BUDENZ then mentioned that he met WILLIAM Z. FOSTER just prior to the time FOSTER left for Moscow to become a CP member. In response to another question as to when he met other big Communist functionaries, he replied that he had met BRIDGES in 1936, FIELD in 1937; that he had met STACHEL immediately after he joined the Party in 1935. U

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked if during his associations with the CP he had ever observed any of the functionaries telling untruths or lies. Mr. BUDENZ said that he had never observed any functionary ever lying to another functionary. U

Senator GREEN then asked Mr. BUDENZ if he had made his information available to the FBI. Mr. BUDENZ stated that he had and then remarked the FBI is one of the finest agencies in the US Government, I tell them everything, I am proud to have worked with them, and I give them as much time as I can. He then remarked that there were certain limitations to his time, that he had a teaching position at Fordham University, and that he had other private work which necessitated him spending considerable amount of his time and that accordingly, he had been unable to make available to the FBI the entire information which he had at his disposal. U

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked if Mr. BUDENZ could evaluate the worth of Mr. LATTIMORE to the CP, and Mr. BUDENZ stated that he would leave such an evaluation in the hands of the Senators and remarked - I have told my story to you. He was then asked if LATTIMORE was considered a valuable adjunct to the Communist cause in Asia. Mr. BUDENZ replied that LATTIMORE was so considered and that STACHEL and BROWDER had so indicated to him. U

Mr. BUDENZ was next asked the significance of the letters L and XL, which he had previously referred to in his testimony, and he explained that

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EX-117-3

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INDEXED - 13

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*[Handwritten signature]*

WASH FIELD LETTER TO DIRECTOR

RE: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

these initials were customary, that they were used by the Party in designating the identity of the person concerned if that particular person was in public life and his identity was not desired to be disclosed. Mr. BUDENZ was next asked if he knew of any occasions when LATTIMORE might have been used as a conduit for information from Asia to the CP, and he replied that he knew of no occasions, other than those that he had mentioned, namely, the times that he was informed by STACHEL and FIELD.

Mr. BUDENZ was asked if China was considered the vital spot as far as the CP was concerned, and he replied that it was and added that in the CP it was considered that American acquiescence of a Red China and a Red Poland must be obtained.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked if Mr. BUDENZ would say that the efforts in China on the part of the Communists were of the highest priority and he answered that that was true, and he remarked STALIN has said that wars aren't declared, they are made, and Mr. BUDENZ then stated that World War III was begun in 1945. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked if, in Mr. BUDENZ' opinion, did the Communists assign their most important men to the Chinese problem. Mr. BUDENZ stated that that was true, that GERHART EISLER had had that assignment before he went to Germany, where he today is attacking the US. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked if the US was a target for Communism, and Mr. BUDENZ answered that it was and that it had been since 1945 and then he added, in fact, since 1934, when the Communists formulated their policy - the plan then to drive the US out of the Philippines and out of the Pacific. Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked if Mr. BUDENZ knew that LATTIMORE was assigned to handle Communist activities on the West Coast. Mr. BUDENZ answered "that was where he worked" and then he said he was also Editor of "Pacific Affairs" during that time.

Mr. BUDENZ was asked if the Communist apparatus was divided into two classes and he said that he could best answer that question by comparing the Communist apparatus to a tree, for example, he said the roots could be compared to the underground and to such members as EISLER and PETERS, who sent WHITTAKER CHAMBERS to Washington to steal State Department documents. Mr. BUDENZ said the open Party could be compared to the trunk of the tree, and he mentioned that names like BROWDER and his own, who were open Party members, could be so classified in this regard. He stated that the men and women members of the CP could be compared to the branches, that through the branches their information was obtained and instructions issued from the roots.

Mr. BUDENZ was then asked if he knew of any instances where members of the CP had gone underground. He mentioned Dr. NORMAN BETHUNE (ph) from

WASH FIELD LETTER TO DIRECTOR

RE: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Canada, who he stated died in China during the Chinese civil wars. He said that after BETHUNE's death that BROWDER, in a meeting, stood up and announced that Dr. BETHUNE asked that upon his death he be counted as one in the Army of STALIN although during his whole lifetime his Communist affiliation had been purposely hidden. BUDENZ then named BELLA DODD as another example of an underground Communist worker, as well as FIELD.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked Mr. BUDENZ to explain who, in his opinion, was the most effective in the CP, the open member or the secret member. Mr. BUDENZ answered that both categories work for the great conspiracy, that both are equally effective, that they need the open membership to give semblance of a Party and that the underground is effective in espionage operations. He was then asked if it was a fair assertion to say that the American people had little knowledge of Communism, and he replied that that was true and then remarked, BROWDER always said that we are a small Party, nevertheless we exercise great influence.

BUDENZ was asked what his capacity was and he said he was an Assistant Professor at Fordham. He was then asked if he had told Fordham officials of his background and he replied that, although he had not told them in great detail of his background, he knew that the Fordham officials knew who he was and knew his background. Senator HICKENLOOPER then said that if BUDENZ were associated with Fordham, it gave a certain weight to his testimony but BUDENZ quickly replied that he would not connect Fordham with his testimony here and did not wish that Fordham University should be involved in this matter in any way. He said that he desired to stand on his own testimony. Senator HICKENLOOPER then said that BUDENZ has been a Government witness on a number of occasions and he presumed that the Federal authorities had vouched for BUDENZ. BUDENZ replied that perhaps this was true but that again he did not wish to stand upon this reputation but wanted his testimony on this day to be judged on its own merits. He was then asked if he could return Monday (presumably April 24th), but he replied it would be better if he could come back Tuesday, so an Executive Session was scheduled for 10:00 on Tuesday, presumably April 25th. At 4:10 pm, BUDENZ was excused and thanked by Senator TYDINGS for his testimony.

TESTIMONY OF BRIGADIER GENERAL ELLIOTT R. THORPE, US ARMY - RETIRED

At this point, over the vigorous objections of Senator LODGE, FORTAS, Counsel for LATTIMORE, was able to have Brigadier General THORPE sworn as a witness. Senator LODGE advised that he was told that if THORPE were sworn, Senator McCARTHY had a witness whom he wished to offer but this aspect was

WASH FIELD LETTER TO DIRECTOR

RE: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

not developed. FORTAS brought out that THORPE had to be heard today inasmuch as he had to leave town tonight. The testimony of THORPE was contained with in the form of a press release given by THORPE.

THORPE advised that he had been in the US Army for some 32 years; about one half of this time was spent in military intelligence and that he had served in military intelligence in the Pacific Ocean Area, the Philippine Islands, Netherlands East Indies and from 1942 until 1946 had been Chief of Counter-Intelligence Corps under General of the Army, DOUGLAS A. MacARTHUR in MacARTHUR's Pacific Command. A copy of this press release has been furnished to the Bureau.

Briefly, the release sets out that THORPE on three occasions caused an investigation to be made into LATTIMORE's loyalty and that he, THORPE, as a result of these investigations believed LATTIMORE to be a thoroughly loyal US citizen. THORPE, after the war, was Military Attache at Bangkok, Siam and served for a time at the Army Language School, probably in Monterey, California.

After THORPE finished his statement, he was interrogated chiefly by Senator HICKENLOOPER. THORPE said that he thought the investigations made under his direction were sufficiently thorough to clear LATTIMORE and he allowed LATTIMORE to see confidential documents in LATTIMORE's capacity as Adviser to General THORPE. In response to a question, THORPE said that LATTIMORE did not show partisanship for any country, other than the US. (At 4:25pm, Senator TYDINGS left, mentioning a previous engagement and gave his proxy to Senator GREEN.)

THORPE was then asked if he had found any personnel of the IPR to be subversive. In answer to this question, THORPE said not so much subversive in the sense that subversive means undermining the US but that there were a lot of people with IPR, "making a living." The rest of his answers to this question trailed off and was unintelligible.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked when LATTIMORE came out to the Orient, and General THORPE said in 1944 and in 1946, and that on these occasions, LATTIMORE was included in the general investigation made by General THORPE's section of the IPR and that he was also investigated as a general security matter.

THORPE was asked by Senator HICKENLOOPER if he, THORPE, had access to FBI files, and he said that he did not, nor did he turn over the results of his investigation to the FBI. General THORPE then said that he had a representative of his CIC Section with "HOOVER" and that the FBI had representatives with the General's CIC Section.

WASH FIELD LETTER TO DIRECTOR

RE: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

General THORPE was then asked by Senator HICKENLOOPER if the General had access, while investigating LATTIMORE, to the files of other US Government agencies. General THORPE was unable to give a complete answer to this question but said that he was not sure whether or not he did have access to other Government agency files but believed that he did not have access to such files.

Senator HICKENLOOPER then asked what sort of confidential documents LATTIMORE saw. General THORPE was unable to answer specifically but said that, in general, documents were classified all the way from "~~top secret~~" to "restricted." Senator HICKENLOOPER persisted and said that he presumed that LATTIMORE must have had confidential documents when he was advising the General and the General admitted that this was probably true that LATTIMORE did see confidential documents.

General THORPE said then that he did not favor recognition of Communist China and said that he considered Communism a great threat and that he had volunteered to appear at this hearing because he was concerned that innocent people were being labelled as Communists. General THORPE was then asked if he recalled a report that had been prepared by one E. HERBERT ~~NORMAN~~ (ph), which report was presumably sent to General WILLOUGHBY (General WILLOUGHBY was an AC of S, [ ] to General MacARTHUR). It was brought out that E. HERBERT NORMAN was a Canadian representative. General THORPE was unable to recall such a report and said that, to his knowledge, NORMAN did not file that report with him and further that he was not within the scope of WILLOUGHBY's command but reported to the Chief of Staff of General MacARTHUR. (It is noted that MacARTHUR's Chief of Staff was General RICHARD SUTHERLAND, and that General WILLOUGHBY, as [ ] was concerned with combat intelligence). b7D

General THORPE then advised that he had begun military intelligence work shortly after World War I. In response to a question, General THORPE said that LATTIMORE was an adviser of his during World War II and in part of the CIC Section. LATTIMORE's role as adviser to General THORPE was never entirely clarified. The General then said that he did not know very much about China and his interests were chiefly in Japan and Russia. The General said he would need a release from the Secretary of War before going into greater detail and Senator HICKENLOOPER then said that he wanted the whole relationship between LATTIMORE and CIC brought out.

It is noted that General THORPE lives in Minnesota but has a house in Rhode Island about which he is now concerned, and that he had flown in- to Washington, D. C. yesterday to appear today. He said that he felt it his public duty to appear.

WASH FIELD LETTER TO DIRECTOR

RE: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

FORTAS then said that he had assurance that after BUDENZ had finished, he would be able to present General THORPE and Senator LODGE asked him who had given him this assurance. FORTAS was unable to state with any clarity where this assurance came from but said he knew of no reason in law why he could not present his witness. Senator LODGE then said that he was no lawyer, that this was not a legal proceeding and that FORTAS was not in a court room. FORTAS finally admitted, after several questions, that on Wednesday, April 19th, he had spoken with Senator TYDINGS and FORTAS implied that Senator TYDINGS had told him that his witness, General THORPE, would be allowed to appear today. FORTAS then said that he wanted to subpoena FREDERICK V. FIELD, because a few days ago a commentator, unnamed, had said that BUDENZ in his testimony would link FIELD and LATTIMORE (FORTAS' statements were difficult to follow because he had no microphone).

FORTAS then tried to get into evidence an affidavit which he said was made by BELLA DODD, whom he described as a CP member and a member of the CP National Committee from 1944 until 1948. He also said that BELLA DODD was expelled from the CP in June, 1949. When asked why DODD did not appear, FORTAS said that he could not subpoena her. The affidavit was not allowed in evidence and FORTAS was not permitted to read it. The hearing adjourned at about 5:05 pm.

JOHN W. LLAN, ARK., CHAIRMAN  
 JAMES O. EASTLAND, M.  
 CLYDE R. HOEY, N. C.  
 GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO  
 HERBERT R. O'CONNOR, MD.  
 HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.  
 A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.  
 JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY  
 IRVING M. IVES, N. Y.  
 KARL E. MUNDT, S. DA.  
 MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
 ANDREW F. SCHOEPEL, KANS.  
 ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.  
 WALTER L. REYNOLDS, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate  
 COMMITTEE ON  
 EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE  
 DEPARTMENTS

June 27, 1950

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

70  
 Commitments in the State Department

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Some time ago it was publicly announced via a letter from Mr. Peyton Ford, Assistant U. S. Attorney General, that: (1) The F. B. I. had examined the 81 State Department loyalty files which the members of the Tydings Committee have been scrutinizing; and (2) that this examination by the F. B. I. disclosed that the files were complete and that nothing had been removed therefrom.

Last night Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio program, stated that this was not true; that the F. B. I. had not made an examination of the files in question.

I would, therefore, greatly appreciate knowing whether or not the F. B. I. actually has conducted any type of examination of the files in question and if so, whether your Department has actually found the files to be complete with nothing having been removed therefrom.

I very much dislike doing anything which may even remotely involve the F. B. I. in what has been developing into a rather unpleasant situation insofar as the present loyalty investigation is concerned. However, I very strongly feel there has been too much of an attempt on the part of some to hide behind the very excellent and well earned reputation of the F. B. I. For that reason, I believe the request for this information is a reasonable one.

Sincerely yours,

*Joe McCarthy*  
 JOE MCCARTHY  
 Joseph P. McCarthy

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,

Room 5744

6/28

1950

- TO:  Director
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carlson
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy
- Personnel Files Section
- Records Section
- Mrs. Skillman

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nease	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

*20 June but  
6/28*

See Me For Appropriate Action

Send File Note and Return

*Suggest Nichols  
clear with as,  
if available, or  
with Ford*

*at d. 121-23278-190*  
ENCLOSURE

Clyde Tolson



MR. D. M. LADD

June 22, 1950

A. H. BELMONT

STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT ENTITLED "SURVEY OF DEPARTMENTAL PERSONNEL SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS" BY S. KLAUS, AUGUST 3, 1946

PURPOSE:

*Communist in the State Department*

To summarize the attached summary of the above-captioned document.

PERTINENT ALLEGATIONS IN THE REPORT:

In commenting on the interpretation of the Security Committee functions, it was stated that the Security Committee considered that security questions were raised by such items as credit risks, sexual aberrations of character or conduct, and truthfulness in replies to questionnaires. This was considered an impingement on the personnel policy. It was noted that the Department was practically exclusively dependent on the FBI for the type of information emanating from surveillance, wide coverage, and use of unusual methods of interrogation and investigation. The Department did not have the facilities for that type of work; consequently, the FBI was the sole repository of such information as the identity of Communist Party members, foreign agents, etc.

It was indicated that checks made by the FBI were a matter of accommodation and not of duty, and no control was exercised by the Department over the investigation. It was also stated that the FBI had prepared a chart which purported to show a number of "agents", "Communists", "sympathizers", and "suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. These were tabulated in the report. It was stated that the FBI had produced no proof that any person was an actual agent nor made a case to show espionage or violation of Federal legislation. It was concluded that the cases comprised the total of questionable employees in every security category in the Department; that is, "questionable, in the opinion of the FBI." It was pointed out, in connection with information received by the Department, that "The only organization which does conduct surveillances and active investigation in the security field, and whose production we are entirely dependant upon, is one which we do not control and which does not act in accordance with our needs or requirements."

The Security Committee had a tendency to assert security risks in matters which have only relatively remote security implications. Such aspects included homosexuality, psychopathological and past financial difficulties. These items, according to the report, were of security interest only in the sense that numerous other factors may, in a crisis, give rise to an opportunity for pressure or blackmail.

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In commenting on "loyalty", it was stated that, if a person uttered certain views, this evidence may suggest further investigation as to his loyalty. However, there should be no confusion between the fact of those views and the ultimate fact of disloyalty. Consideration of American history should demonstrate that persons who seek to change the existing form of our Government may still be intensely loyal to the Government and traditions of the United States on accepted subjective standards, and they are not necessarily disloyal when they hold unpopular views. It was remarked in connection with violent overthrow of the Government that in the Schneiderman Case the Supreme Court indicated that members of the Communist Party who seek to accomplish their aims by Constitutional means cannot, perhaps, be deemed to be seeking to overthrow the Government by violence, and, furthermore, the Communist Party is, in most States, a legal Party. It was stated that the Civil Service Commission ruled that the provisions of the Hatch Act, which did not mention any Party by name, were to be interpreted as applying to the Communist, Nazi, and Fascist Parties. The courts had not passed on the validity of the interpretation and it was doubted whether the interpretation would be sustained.

Foreign agents were considered as persons acting under instructions and presumably reporting to their principals. Consequently, they could be detected if sufficient manpower and ingenuity were available. The conclusion was drawn that "It must, therefore, be only the inadequacy of the Department's Security Personnel and of the FBI or legal obstacles to surveillances that account for our failure to discover such agents, to dismiss them, to bring them to trial, and to convict them, where crimes have been committed." The failure of trial and conviction was ascribed in part to lack of adequate information.

"However, where actual agents were not dealt with, but only persons likely to be used as such, the standards should be known as of 'reasonable danger', for we are dealing here with the opinion and belief of a citizen."

In regard to the Department's ability to handle the investigative problem, it was concluded that the acid test of the investigative facilities used by the Department, which meant means used primarily by the FBI, must be the discovery of actual penetration by foreign agents as demonstrated by sound evidence which would expose the intelligence system of a foreign power in this country. Such evidence the FBI had not yet produced. Moreover, each employee dismissed as an agent or probable agent must become the subject of an intensive security investigation to justify the dismissal.

The FBI acts for the Department by way of accommodation, and it cannot afford to be meticulous in its work in view of the wholesale demands made upon it by other Government agencies. Furthermore, the FBI established priorities of investigation and transmitted to the Department only such information as, in the opinion of FBI officials, may be properly known to the Department. The information obtained from the FBI was not necessarily evaluated or subjected to the same standards of proof as those applied to information collected for the use of the

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Attorney General and courts. The request made by the Department of the FBI was not incapable of proof, and whether a man is a member of the Communist Party is not improvable since the FBI has or can penetrate the Party. Therefore, the failure of the FBI to provide proof which would stand up was simply the evidence of the FBI's own administrative limitations with respect to the work it does without the statutory duty. It was pointed out that the FBI investigators were not subject to direction and control of the Department and their sources could not be evaluated. The alternative was to strengthen the Department's investigative service or utilizing more extensively the services of other agencies.

It was considered desirable that there be a thorough coordination of the Government's intelligence and counter-intelligence investigations in order to provide the information needed for the direction of the Department's foreign and personnel policies. This would require an understanding with Mr. Hoover, the Attorney General, and the Director of CIG. It was indicated that the FBI Appropriations Act carried a provision that investigations should be conducted on behalf of the Attorney General and Secretary of State. It was conceded that there may be practical difficulties in effecting closer direction by the Department over the investigative work of the FBI. The accommodation character of the FBI's service to the Department was intolerable and the FBI must perform as a direct service of obligation to the Department or the Department could not fulfill its obligations. The Department should explore the possibilities of a closer arrangement with CIG. Various cases were included in the survey and it was noted that certain individuals were disproved as security risks for such reasons as alcoholism, homosexuality, and indiscretion.

At the conclusion of the report, recommendations were made, among which was one that more discriminate use should be made of the investigations conducted by such agencies as the FBI and the possibility be explored of using additional agencies such as the Treasury Department and CIG. Every case of a rejection or termination on evidence of foreign agency should be a cause for counter-intelligence consideration and report to the Department. For this reason, careful reexamination should be made of the role of the FBI as an intelligence agency serving the Department and proper use of the facilities of CIG and other agencies for the same purpose.

It is noted that a copy of the Klaus report was recently obtained by the Bureau from the State Department through liaison. However, on April 2, 1947, there were obtained through liaison with the State Department photostatic copies of a memorandum prepared by Mr. Dennis Flinn, former Bureau Agent with the State Department, entitled "The Story of Sammy", which was prepared to refute the Klaus report. In a memorandum to you from Mr. E. G. Fitch on April 14, 1947, a summary was made of the charges made by Klaus concerning the Bureau, followed by comments of the true facts in each instance. At that time the Klaus report was not available but the memorandum by Mr. Flinn quoted pertinent portions of the Klaus report.

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A check is being made to determine whether any of the individuals named in the "Case Studies" Section of the Klaus report are presently employed in the Federal Government. If it is determined that they are still employed, appropriate action will be taken under Executive Order Number 9835.

MR. D. N. LADD

June 20, 1950

MR. A. H. BELMONT

STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT ENTITLED  
"SURVEY OF DEPARTMENTAL PERSONNEL  
SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS" BY S. KLAUS  
AUGUST 3, 1946

PURPOSE:

To summarize the above-captioned report pursuant to your request.

BACKGROUND:

On June 6, 1950, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy on the Senate floor stated in substance that three or four years ago the FBI supplied the State Department with charts and diagrams purportedly showing pre-Soviet individuals in the State Department. It was determined that the material used by Senator McCarthy emanated from the State Department in a report prepared by Mr. Samuel Klaus dated August 3, 1946, for Joseph Panuch, former Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Administration. A copy of this report has been obtained by the Bureau. The alleged charts prepared by the FBI appear on page 29 of the report wherein it is stated in part, "FBI has prepared a chart, now in the possession of Mr. Bannerman, which purports to show a number of 'agents', 'Communists', 'sympathizers', and 'suspects' in the State Department as of May 15, 1947." There followed a tabulation in each category.

On page 30 of the report there is set forth the verbatim text of material critical to the Bureau which appeared in the press subsequently. It has also been determined that the chart in question was in fact prepared in the Reproduction Branch of the State Department and bears the title "~~Top Secret~~, U. S. Department of State, Preliminary Survey of the Communist Infiltration, prepared May 15, 1946." The following is a summary of the report prepared by Mr. Klaus set out in sections as the report actually appears.

PERSONNEL SECURITY REPORT PREPARED BY S. KLAUS:

Introduction

The first part of this report is the authority on which the survey was made and its limitations. Conclusions set forth in the introduction were:

- (1) The organization was effective in applicant screening according to relatively crude and normal standards of ordinary employment.
- (2) The organization did not secure the Department from penetration by professional foreign agents.
- (3) The implied and sometimes explicit standards of ideology and opinion which were applied to security raised questions of Government policy and of their effect on the character and personality of personnel to be admitted to the Department.
- (4) The standards of proof were dubious.

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### Findings

The personnel investigations were divided into two groups. The first consisted of applications for original employment or transfer to Departmental rolls. The second comprised investigations of employees already on the rolls. The initiation of these investigations was described. Special cases of investigations conducted by the FBI were mentioned, however, these were not surveyed. The Division of Investigations (CSA) was then described as to functions, organization and scope of the investigation. The functions of CSA were to investigate applicants for security reasons, make investigations in connection with passports and visas and greeting newly arrived diplomats and distinguished foreign visitors. As to the organization of CSA, it was stated that the miscellaneous character of the Special Agents' work probably explains their lack of special training and the methods of CSA procedure. It was noted that the methods and traditions of the Post Office Inspectors' Service seemed to predominate inasmuch as the officers of CSA were formerly affiliated with that Service.

In connection with the scope of the investigation, it was stated that there is no manual of instructions or any standards of proof to guide the investigations. In the usual case the function of CSA is to verify statements made by applicants on the application form. Further, the "derogatory" information reported is usually obtained by consulting routine sources, police records, House Committee files, etc.

It was also noted in the report that no investigation of a financial character is conducted and no attempt is made to check income tax records. A criticism was made of the type of review set up in CSA and also of the CSA personnel. It was stated that the field agents probably have sufficient training to conduct ordinary investigations efficiently, however, few of the agents had prior training in personnel policies in the Department, in ideologies, in court decisions and legislation with respect to the Civil Service employment. It was stated that a doubt existed whether the average agent knows the differences among various schools of so-called liberal and radical thought.

### The Office of Security Officer--CON

This organization functioned almost entirely as a liaison office between other investigative agencies, particularly the FBI and CSA. Ostensibly, the set-up to review CSA investigations and request additional investigations is not adequate. Furthermore, this office had access on a "personal" basis to current FBI investigations and information flowing into this office which was not given to CSA. According to the report, the FBI sent to CON security reports which in



the judgement of the FBI were of interest to the State Department. It was alleged that the information was made available only on a basis of personal trust to certain members of CON. It was also stated that this office lacked a proper filing system and relied on personal recollections of the staff. The scope of CON was presumably to protect the personnel security of the Department by collating CSA reports with information from other sources and coordinate personnel security with other security aspects. Where there are elements of doubt with respect to security, the cases are referred to CON to the Security Committee for disposition. However, if the case is one of an applicant for Foreign Service, the case is then referred by CON to the FBI for further investigation. In such cases the FBI received the benefit of all CSA and other information. It was noted that CON was not restricted to review alone but operates as a fact-finding body in respect to CSA and it was doubted that this was sanctioned by Departmental authority. It was further indicated that additional information asked of CSA by CON was routine in character, usually on the basis of some confidential information from the FBI, personal knowledge of the staff concerning the applicant or a gap in employment information.

#### Security Committee

The Committee is concerned primarily with passing on cases presented by CON and other offices. This Committee meets irregularly, depending on the number of cases for consideration. The secretary at the meetings orally presented the facts in each case to the Committee after reading the CSA reports and digesting derogatory information. No minutes were kept during the meetings. The files were not seen or read by the Committee. It was indicated that the Committee was essentially a part of CON and decisions in individual cases were largely predetermined by the views of officers of CON. The Committee has no directive or standards from any superior authority and acts in accordance with the views of individual members as to security considerations. The conclusion was that the Committee was not judicial but in effect an administrative screening Committee. The Committee tended to proceed on the principle that an adverse recommendation be made in every case where a "doubt" was entertained even though further investigation might dispel or explain the doubt. It was also indicated that an officer of CON stated that the Department should not employ anyone where an element of doubt was indicated because there were other persons eligible for positions regarding whom no doubt existed. The doubt was derived from such factors as membership list or purchasers at the Washington Book Shop, petition signers of various kinds or membership in organizations which the Dies Committee designated as Communist dominated.

It was concluded that there was a question as to the validity of the premise that such doubts of loyalty to the United States were "reasonable". Moreover, the Committee made no distinction between professional and clerical applicants in the application of their standards. The Committee based its decisions of disapproval on the "existence of derogatory inference from what are really ambiguous facts". It was conceded that the Committee requested supplementary investigation in some cases such as neighborhood and Civil Service Commission checks but beyond such routine additional investigation the Committee was content to base recommendations on inferences. Furthermore, the Committee disregarded eligibility ratings by the Civil Service Commission and considered that security questions were raised by such items as "credit risk, sexual aberrations of character or conduct, and truthfulness in replies to questionnaires." This was considered an impingement on personnel policy.

#### Role of the FBI

The FBI furnishes the Department information in the form of routine checks for CSA, or for CON, or in the form of unsolicited reports of interest to the Department. Mention was made that at the request of officers of CON the FBI conducted investigations of foreign career personnel applicants where an element of doubt had been produced. It was noted that the Department relied upon the FBI and the checks were made as a matter of accommodation, not of duty, and no control was exercised by the Department over the investigation. Furthermore, the Department was dependent on the FBI for information which emanated from "surveillance, wide coverage, and the use of unusual methods of interrogation and investigation."

The FBI prepared a chart which purported to show a number of agents, Communists, sympathizers and suspects in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. It was learned several months later that the number had been considerably reduced.

"It turned out that FBI had produced no convincing proof that any person was an actual agent. In other words, FBI had made no case to show espionage or a violation of the Foreign Agents' Registration Act, or similar legislation, in any case. The word 'agent' was, therefore, being used - by FBI or by CON - to mean simply a suspect in espionage investigation, etc.

"No proof of actual Communist Party membership had been produced by FBI. The word Communist, therefore, was used merely to describe cases of such close affiliation as to lend credence to a hypothesis that the person in question was a member---a fact still to be proved."

It was concluded that these cases comprised the total of questionable employees of every security category in the Department, that is, "questionable in the opinion of the FBI". It was observed that when CSA applied to FBI for checks, it received information based on "index searchers"; however, CON received additional information not afforded to CSA. It was explained that this information was of a current nature and not indexed or so confidential that CSA would not receive it. The conclusion was that it was embarrassing and involved duplication and inefficiency of operation since CSA was not informed by the FBI in cases where confidential information was available and that information was furnished to CON and withheld from CSA. It was presumed that there were standing orders in the FBI to the distribution personnel regarding the types of reports sent to the State Department. It was conceded that information was not being deliberately withheld with knowledge that it would be valuable to the Department. However the opinion was expressed "that" the only organization which does conduct surveillance and active investigation in the security field and whose product we are entirely dependent upon is one which we do not control and which does not act in accordance with our needs or requirements."

It was pointed out that CON appeared to be influenced by the FBI in other ways. Mr. Flinn, former FBI employee, was active in the Security Committee as an additional liaison with FBI officers and the FBI gave valuable information on a personal basis to the Department under admonitions of secrecy.

According to information in the report, FBI Congressional appropriations provided that the FBI should act for the Attorney General and the Secretary of State. It was doubted that the Department could exercise more control over the detail of FBI service and concluded that "in practice it would certainly be improbable."

## II

Section II of the report dealt with the conclusions which were allegedly justified by the survey.

### Objectives of Personnel Security Control

It was disclosed in the report that there were dangers to security which do not derive from foreign agents. These were the dangers of infiltration in the Department by representatives of business corporations and special interests should the "well-placed" employee favorably influence policy or obtain influence over his fellow employees.



It was indicated that foreign governments may attempt to obtain information which was not the policy and interest of the United States to disclose and the effect of the activities of the foreign government was to frustrate that policy and interest.

Also included in security were attempts to destroy the disciplinary control of officials of the State Department over information of interest to other governments. It was indicated that the press at times jeopardized policy by disclosure of information prematurely. The conclusion was that personnel security controls were much broader in scope and significance than the type of investigation and review previously discussed could handle.

#### Standards of Personnel Investigation

It was stated that there was an absence of expressed standards of investigation and the CSA investigations were not governed by statute or by any departmental policy. The investigators have no written instructions nor clear idea of the Department's employment standards.

The Security Committee showed a tendency to assert security risks in matters which have only relatively remote security implications. Included were homosexuality, psychopathological and financial difficulties. These matters according to the report were primarily in the province of the personnel authorities and were of security interest only when given rise to an opportunity for pressure or blackmail. In regard to pressure and blackmail, certain countervailing characteristics should be considered, such as character, length of service, etc. These matters are the responsibility of the Personnel Department. The Security Committee and CON should be concerned with elements of security closer to the aspects of penetration by foreign governments. Furthermore, of importance in the survey was a confusion in the distinction between standards of purpose or policy and standards of proof. For example, it was assumed that a person who was associated with "leftists" or "Communists" should be debarred from employment. A standard of policy or purpose could be promulgated by the Department that no employee associate with "suspects". This policy was not formulated. It indicated, however, that if an applicant did associate with suspects it becomes a matter of proof and must be based on standards of logic and fact.

#### Standards of Purpose or Policy

There were set out in the report special legislative standards, such as the Hatch Act, which were laid down by Congress.

It was stated that "loyalty" was commonly used for a standard of eligibility for employment and the meaning of the word is assumed. However, it was noted that in the CSA reports such words as "liberal", "Socialist" and "Communist" were assumed to be interchangeable terms and all were inconsistent with "loyalty".

Vague language, it was indicated, may be desirable in certain instances but it should not be permitted to result in the dismissal of employees where the findings were drawn from opinions and beliefs which could not be held up by the courts.

Evidence that a person uttered certain views may suggest further investigation but there should be no confusion between those views and ultimate disloyalty. It was stated that a reflection of American history should demonstrate that persons who seek to change the existing form of our government may still be intensely loyal, on accepted subjective standards, to the government and traditions of the United States and they are not necessarily disloyal when they hold unpopular views.

Furthermore, this consideration was important, according to the survey, since even Communists frequently argue that they seek, out of their loyalty to the United States, a form of government which they consider superior. "That these protestations may be sincere is indicated by the not infrequent cases of Communists who have left the Party and abjured the faith because of disillusionment." It was concluded that any standard which does not consider the liberty of the American citizen to hold and discuss unpopular views and by peaceful and lawful means to convince others cannot be applied as an acid test for loyalty to the United States.

#### Guilt by Association---Overt Acts

According to the report, it was commonly contended that persons should be disapproved for employment because of their associates, which standard was referred to as "guilt by association". The Security Committee used association as a ground for a finding of guilt. It was stated that such standards of guilt, completely unauthorized by law or by policy of government, may be imposed with consequences that appear to be arbitrary, if not tyrannical.

The standard of "overt acts" was dismissed with the statement that it should be applied with objectivity, reanalyzed and restated.

### Overthrow of the Government by Violence

This, a Hatch Act Standard, was usually applied to Anarchists and Communists. The Schneiderman case was discussed and it was stated that the Supreme Court indicated that members of the Communist Party who were seeking to accomplish their aims by Constitutional means cannot perhaps be deemed to be seeking to overthrow the government by violence. It was further stated that the Marxists and Communists would probably overthrow the government by violence if they thought there was a possibility of success. However, in view of the Supreme Court's decision the standard is too vague for the usual case. The Communist Party in most states is a legal political party. The Civil Service Commission ruled that the provisions of the Hatch Act, which do not name any party, were to be interpreted to apply to the Communist, Nazi and Fascist parties. The courts have not ruled on this interpretation and a doubt existed whether the interpretations would be sustained.

### Danger of Penetration by Foreign Governments

A clearer standard of purpose, according to the survey, should be that the Department not employ any person acting directly or indirectly for a foreign government. It was also considered improper to employ a person who was overpoweringly sympathetic to a foreign government and who would consider his loyalty to the Department and the United States less than his sympathy for the other government.

The Communist Party is an instrument of Soviet policy, makes fanatic devotees and appeals to the more intelligent classes from whom the government is likely to recruit its personnel. Members or sympathizers of the Communist Party may provide a source of agents of propagandists within the Department.

Agents acting under instructions and presumably reporting to their principals can be detected if sufficient manpower and ingenuity are available. The conclusion drawn was, "It must therefore be only the inadequacy of the Department's security personnel and of the FBI or legal obstacles to surveillance that account for our failure to discover such agents, to dismiss them, to bring them to trial and to convict them, where crimes have been committed." If this was not done, the failure must be ascribed in part to lack of adequate information.

However, where actual agents were not dealt with but only persons likely to be used as such, the standard should be one of "reasonable danger, for we are dealing here with the opinion and belief of a citizen."

### Standards of Proof

It was pointed out that what is sufficient proof is determined by many factors and that frequently the failure to comply with rules of sufficiency of evidence is caused by administrative necessity. It was conceded that the ideological convictions of a person may be difficult to prove especially when there is a desire to conceal them. Furthermore, the CSA investigators do not interview the applicant and report only such routine items as background information, etc. The reviewers, like the investigators, base their determination on the strength of the inference concerning approval or disapproval for employment.

CON and the Security Committee have attempted to assume in cases an inference of Communist Party membership, or its equivalent, from facts which are clearly subject in experience to an equal or stronger inference of innocence. True foreign agents would naturally avoid opinion and not associate with organizations under fire and consequently penetrate the Department as a result of diversion created by the application of this test.

If the hypothesis suggested by the ambiguous evidence is one of actual agency on behalf of a foreign government, the hypothesis should be capable of proof if sufficient investigative effort was applied. The detection problem is difficult but not insoluble.

The standard of proof must be higher where the individual is an employee than where he is merely an applicant. There may be additional considerations of personnel policy which call for a greater investigative effort and competence in certain types of applicants than others.

### Administration Concentration of Effort

The same standard of proof was applied to high and low salaried individuals where items of ideology and affiliations with "front" organizations were involved. In many cases the problem seemed to be one of personnel policy rather than departmental security. The lack of sufficient personnel, etc., call for a practical distinction between types of cases and, therefore, between standards of proof. It may be desired, in order to achieve a maximum concentration of effort on important cases, to reject "out of hand" applicants in certain categories where the record contained unsolved issues bearing on security. This type of case would consist of new applicants for employment in positions that could easily be filled by other applicants of equal ability without raising questions of public policy, such as messengers, clerical help, etc.

It was further indicated that Foreign Service officers and professional experts should be subjected to the most thorough investigation and to higher standards of proof. The Department could not be permitted, from a policy standpoint, to reduce to the employment of insipid, colorless individuals without intellectual curiosity or idealism, merely because it was administratively difficult to make the investigation necessary to prove or disprove ambiguous evidence, such as membership in the Washington Book Shop.

Guilt by Association—Standard of Proof

Association with persons under suspicion must not be casual friendship but must be close and intimate. It must be concluded that the two are engaged in the same conspiracy or share the same loyalty. This was true of membership in "front" organizations which are designed to attract innocents. Innocents are not unintelligent people but merely of good faith and good will, manipulated in subtle ways by professional persons. To say that the Department should not employ such persons raised the question of personnel policy.



### Future Importance of Standards of Proof

It was indicated that continued attempts to penetrate the Department would be made by persons who did not belong to "front" organizations and whose records as far as routine checks were clear. The standards of proof in special investigations must be different. The security officers of the Department must bear in mind the distinction between foreign agents and mere "joiners" and formulate a planned program of investigation to deal with this problem. The current standards of investigation are calculated to deal only with routine requirements and the investigative service of the Department is not adequate.

### Relations to FBI and Other Agencies

The investigating unit of the Department was not able to cope with attempts to penetrate the Department by planting agents of foreign intelligence organizations in the Department. The CSA investigation cannot discover such agents of foreign intelligence organizations and the investigation was limited to information from other agencies that did not have the Department's security needs as their purpose. It is indicated to cope with this problem the Department must utilize other agencies or expand their own facilities. The problem was to know the intelligence organizations and personnel of other governments operating in this country, so that the employees who would be used by such governments could be recognized. U

The situation at that time, according to the report, was ludicrous and the Department organized precautionary security measures without knowledge of the matters, which could only be partially effective. The limited investigative facilities must be concentrated to avoid unproductive investment of personnel and time, and conserve the appropriations.

It was concluded that the intelligence system of foreign powers and their agents must be exposed by sound evidence. The investigative facilities used by the Department, primarily the FBI, has not produced such evidence. Moreover, each employee dismissed as an agent or probable agent must become the subject of an intensive security investigation to justify the dismissal.

### Nature of FBI's Cooperation

The FBI acts for the Department by way of accomodation and it cannot afford to be meticulous in its work in view of the demands by other agencies, etc. Furthermore, the FBI established its own priority on investigations and transmitted only such information as in the opinion of the FBI officials, would be properly known to the Department.

The information obtained from the FBI was not subjected by the FBI to the standards of proof, such as those applied to information collected for use of the Attorney General and courts. That which was requested of the FBI was not incapable of proof. Whether a man was a member of the Communist Party was not unprovable since the FBI has penetrated or can penetrate the Party. Therefore, the FBI failed to provide proof that would stand up in court, which is simply evidence of the FBI's administrative limitation with respect to the work it does without statutory duty.

When FBI investigations served the needs of the Department, the fact still remained that the investigators were not subject to Departmental direction and control. Consequently, there was no means of evaluating the source. The alternative was to strengthen their own investigative services and utilize the services of other agencies such as Treasury and the Post Office Department. It was deemed imperative that there must be a thorough coordination of the government's intelligence and counter-intelligence investigations in order to provide information necessary for guidance of the Department's foreign and personnel policies. It is required, therefore, that an understanding must be made with the FBI, Department of Justice and CIC.

It was indicated that the FBI Appropriations Act carried a provision that investigations should be made on behalf of the Secretary of State as well as the Attorney General. It was conceded that there were difficulties in effecting closer direction by the Department over the work of the FBI. The accommodation character of the FBI's service to the Department was not tolerable. The FBI must perform as a direct service of obligation to the Department or the Department could not fulfill its obligations.

#### Reorganization of the Present Departmental Facilities

The investigative personnel of the Department must be adequately trained in their work and also in such special fields as ideology. The staff of CON should be reorganized and trained in personnel policies, standards of security and in background information from sources in addition to the FBI.

The Security Committee methods were not those of a judicial body and was essentially a Committee of CON. Some of the members were lawyers, but not practicing lawyers and they did not act as judges. Most of them acted as investigators and prosecutors in the same cases which they judged. The Committee did not request additional information in cases where an element of doubt existed.

### III.

This portion of the report is concerned with case studies. The period selected was from June to July, 1946, during which 136 cases were closed by CSA. There were several examples cited in this section concerning applicants, for example, in one case a former editor of Amerasia was approved on the basis of general character study without any investigation of the applicant's knowledge of the internal policies and management of Amerasia.

Another applicant on transfer was reported as a risk because a former university instructor seemed reserved with respect to the applicant's loyalty.

In another case which involved a transferee of CIAA, the FBI at first reported that the applicant was a member of a group known as the Sacco-Vanzetti Club, but then reported that he merely received an invitation to attend a meeting and there was no evidence that he responded. Apparently, no further investigation was made in this case.

Applicants were disapproved for such reasons as overdressing, heavy drinking, indiscretion, and homo-sexuality.

The applicant investigation of Ida Wallack was discussed in the survey and the sources of information in the investigation were criticized and no effort was made by the investigators to check the authenticity of allegations against Wallack. For example, there appeared in the Wallack report a statement that Ida Wallack "apparently is a member of the Communist Party. She is a signer of the 1940 Communist nominating petition in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania." No source was given for that allegation.

Another case discussed was that of William Chaiken, whose case was based on the fact that the CSA digest of the Civil Service records disclosed that ten references given by Chaiken "were listed in the subversive files of a government agency and a number of these have been prominently identified with Communist front activities". There is also criticism of the characterization of some of the references as Communist. It was indicated that there had been considerable dispute as to the accuracy of the characterization. This applied also to organizations.

The next case discussed was that of Dorothy Cheney Goodwin, who had written a memorandum which gave the history of the investigation of her character by the Civil Service Commission in 1942, also her membership in the Cooperative Bookshop in Washington and her association with "an alleged Communist", which were in her investigative file. It is stated in the report that the conclusion that she was a member of a Communist front organization appeared to relate entirely to her membership in the Bookshop. It was noted that the disapproval was appealed by Miss Goodwin.



The next case was that of Penn Townsend Kimball, an applicant for the foreign service. It was noted that no FBI report had been received concerning him and when requested for the report, the FBI reported by telephone that in 1941, the PM unit of the New York Newspaper Guild had distributed a circular which defended a strike of the North American Aviation Company in California and that the name of Penn Townsend Kimball appeared on the circular. It was noted by the FBI that this strike prompted the President to furnish troops to protect the workers. Further request was made of the FBI for investigation, however, the report was not in the file at the time of the survey. Criticism was made of the vague language in the report concerning Kimball, who was rejected as a security risk. Furthermore, no investigation was made of the situation in PM or among his recent associates.

The Clarence John Nelson Case was also discussed and persons interviewed during the investigation of Nelson stated he was a "conscientious objector type", that while Nelson was in the Navy he once had a trunk which contained Communist and radical literature. It appeared that an official of CON had concluded the man was a Communist. It was not demonstrated that Nelson was an agent or a Communist Party member and the investigation did not establish either proposition on any standard of proof. This case, according to the report, raised the question whether an employee of the State Department should be permitted to remain if it was discovered that he showed an intellectual interest on problems of Socialism or Communism where it was not proved that he was affiliated or adhered to the programs of any groups.

#### General Comments

It was indicated in this portion of the survey that the foregoing cases were believed fair examples of the method and scope of investigation, review and decision of the standards of proof and of purpose applied in CSA, CON and the Security Committee.

Mr. Klaus stated that he concurred in the disapproval in the Chaiken case, not on the adequacy of the proof, but on the basis of administrative convenience to the Department.

#### IV.

This section contained the recommendations as a result of the survey. The recommendations were as follows:

A. The quality and scope of the investigation should be improved. Investigators and review officials should be schooled and reindoctrinated in the Department's standards of employment, foreign intelligence, Civil Service regulations, etc. The investigators should undertake imaginative, critical and more difficult investigation rather than compel the Department to rely upon other agencies such as the FBI. More discriminate use should be made of investigations conducted by other agencies such as the FBI and the possibility should be explored of using additional agencies such as Treasury and CIG.

B. Intelligence coordination should be enlarged and improved. The evaluators in CON should be trained in evidence and the application of standards to fact. Report writing in personnel cases should be improved in respect to the presentation of facts and conclusions.

C. Standards of employment and security should be frequently reformulated for the guidance of personnel and security officers.

D. The Security Committee should be abolished. The functions of adjudication should be divided between Personnel and CON. A new quasi-judicial body should be formed with established procedures.

E. The place of the Department in the entire counter intelligence field should be reexamined. Every case of rejection on evidence of foreign agencies should be a cause for counter intelligence consideration and report to the Department. Careful reexamination should be made of the FBI as an intelligence agency serving the Department and proper use of the facilities of CIG and other governmental agencies for the same purpose.

REPLY TO THE SURVEY OF KLAUS BY STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICER:

In April, 1947, the Bureau received a copy of a memorandum, entitled "The Story of Sammy", which was prepared by Mr. Dennis Flinn of the State Department, which repudiated the report prepared by Klaus. In this document the report of Klaus is analyzed in sections and the report of Klaus is described as "an amazing document of half-truths, ineunos, fussy thinking and downright mis-statement". For example, in the Klaus report there was a statement as to the investigation of financial connections. Mr. Flinn indicated in his reply that it was the first time he had ever seen "financial disability" as a qualifying factor in the field of security.

As to the criticism in Klaus' survey regarding the availability of FBI reports on a personal basis, it is stated that these reports were

furnished on a liaison basis for limited distribution because they pertained to current cases under investigation by the FBI. Bias toward the F.B.I. was apparent in the report and the author regretted the dependence on the F.B.I. by the Department and that no control was exercised over the F.B.I. investigations. It was pointed out that the special inquiries made by the FBI were a matter of accommodation and not a duty and no control was exercised by the Department.

Mr. Flinn stated that the Attorney General, War and other departments, depended heavily upon the FBI in the security intelligence field and access to reports. It was indicated that Klaus desired to embarrass the Department's relation with the FBI and compromise their sources. Klaus referred to a chart prepared by the FBI ostensibly showing Soviet agents, Party members, etc. in the Department, which Mr. Flinn stated was actually prepared by the Department on the basis of information available from all sources.

The document compiled by Mr. Flinn refuted the Klaus report practically in its entirety.

#### ANALYSIS BY THE BUREAU:

In a memorandum to you from Mr. E. G. Fitch dated April 2, 1947, concerning the Klaus report it was stated that many portions of the report dealt in misstatements and half truths concerning the Bureau, specifically when it dealt with the Bureau not being in position to back up the information supplied to the State Department.

An analysis was made of the Klaus report by memorandum to you from Mr. Fitch, dated April 14, 1947, from information contained in the reply by Mr. Flinn. The original report compiled by Klaus was not available at that time. The charges made by Klaus concerning the Bureau were set forth and comments were made of the true facts concerning the charges. (62-39749-847).

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Louis Nichols, Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : The Attorney General

DATE: June 29, 1950

*no* SUBJECT:

I think it more accurate to answer Senator McCarthy  
in the manner I have indicated by amendment to your draft. *attached*

I want to call your attention to the fact that nowhere in Mr.  
Ford's letter did he indicate even by inference that the FBI  
had made an examination of these records.

*no*  
*Comments on the State Department*

*l*

RECORDED - 51

121-23278-191  
JUL 29 1950  
19

*[Signature]*

ENCLOSURE  
2 51

R-351

JUL 24 1950

Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your letter dated June 27, 1950, inquiring whether this Bureau has examined the 81 loyalty files which the members of the Tydings Committee have been scrutinizing and whether such an examination by the FBI has disclosed that the files are complete and that nothing has been removed therefrom.

For your information, the Federal Bureau of Investigation furnished Mr. Ford, at his request, a record of all loyalty material furnished the State Department in the 81 cases referred to. For your further information, I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Ford's letter to Senator Tydings which I have secured from the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

121-23278-191

ENCLOSURE

June 16, 1950

Honorable Millard E. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

This will refer to your letter of May 8, 1950, with regard to the loyalty files of the State Department relative to the so-called "81 individuals" identified through numbers by Senator McCarthy in his speech on the Senate floor on February 20, 1950, and identified by name in the "subpoena" of the Senate Sub-Committee.

Following are the names of the individuals whose State Department files are being made available to your Sub-Committee:

Herbert Abner Fierst  
John Carter Vincent  
Peeveril Meigs  
Gizella Illeyefalvi-Vitez  
Jay Robinson  
Frances Myrle Tuchscher  
Marcia Ruth Harrison  
Stanley Graze  
David Demarest Lloyd  
Margery Snowden Posner  
Mabel Frances Ferry  
Helene Yuhas  
Carleton Wolsey Washburne  
E. Theodore Arndt  
Robert Talbott Miller, III  
Jeanne H. Taylor  
Edythe J. Lemon  
Hans Herman Landsberg  
Samuel Stephenson Smith  
Gerald Graze  
Joseph Josephson  
Louis Ross (Lewis Ross)

121-23278-191



Robert Ross  
Herman Siegel  
Ella Morris Montague  
Melvin Shell (Melville Shell)  
Frederic William Smith  
Olga Vladimer Osnatch  
Arthur Milton Kaufman  
Max Abraham Volin  
Estelle Gordon (Stella Gordon)  
Daniel Franks Margolies  
Gottfried Thomas Mann  
Sam Fishback  
William Draper Carter  
Norman Theodore Ness  
William Treadwell Stone  
Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer  
Robert Warren Barnett  
Patricia Glover Barnett  
Sylvia Schimmel  
Rowena Sheldon Bellows Rommel  
Philip Ratne  
Richard Howell Post  
Val Rogin Lorwin  
Gertrude Grimwood Cameron  
Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee  
Fred Warner Neal  
Lois Carlisle  
Cora Alice Dubois  
Alice Margaret Demerjian  
Isham William Perkins  
Stanley Wilcox  
Hollis William Peter  
Victor Myron Hunt  
David Randolph  
John Richard Lindsey  
Aaron Jack Gross  
Sylvia Clementina Maguite  
Harold Berman  
Stoin Dimitar Stoianoff  
Leonard Horwin  
Joseph Thaddeus Jankowski  
Preston Keesling Lewis  
Joseph T. Forno  
Andrew Martin Kamarck  
Theophylactos Achilles Polyzoides

John Tipton Fishburn  
Ruby Parson  
Franz Leopold Neumann

The Federal Bureau of Investigation furnished me a record of all loyalty material furnished the State Department in these cases. The State Department files have been checked, and I can assure you that all of the reports and memoranda furnished the State Department are contained in the files.

Yours sincerely,

Peyton Ford  
Deputy Attorney General

CWP:ms



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

DATE: June 29, 1950

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*Communists In The State Department*

While I was out to lunch, the Attorney General called. I returned the call immediately upon returning.

He stated that Miss Fanebust had told him we had a letter to Senator McCarthy and he wondered if that was something he had to personally pass upon. I told him obviously Mr. Hoover would want to do him the courtesy of letting him see such a letter in view of the public interest and the public statements of McCarthy.

He then stated: "Do I have to say it is all right to send the letter?" Then, in a joking manner, he said: "That is exactly what I am trying to avoid."

I told him if he interposed no objection to the letter, it would be satisfactory to us as our letter was a direct answer to McCarthy, it was innocuous, non-committal, and only went as far as absolutely necessary.

He then asked if it was our understanding that Ford wrote a letter to Tydings stating the FBI had examined State Department files. I told him all we knew about this was what we read in the paper.

He then referred again to the letter and asked if this was the thing we were in a controversy with Ford on. I told him the controversy with Ford had to do with John Stewart Service.

He said obviously the Bureau had to answer McCarthy and had to give a factual answer to McCarthy and wondered if he should call Ford and ask Ford for a copy of the letter Ford sent to Tydings. I told him this, of course, was a matter for him.

He stated that he personally didn't want to get in any controversy. I told him we weren't trying to involve him in any controversy and wouldn't do that, that we merely brought the letter around to him as a matter of courtesy and so he could interpose an objection if he desired.

He stated he would call for the letter Ford wrote and he would clear the letter this afternoon.

LBN:FML

*note attached  
memo from [unclear]*

RECORDED - 51

V21-23278-192

Letter to [unclear]  
McCarthy  
7/10/50

55 JUL 24 1950

July 10, 1950

RECORDED - 51

121-23278-192

INDEXED - 51

Honorable Joseph R. ~~X~~ McCarthy  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your letter dated June 27, 1950 inquiring whether this Bureau has examined the 81 loyalty files which the members of the Tydings Committee have been scrutinizing and whether such an examination by the FBI has disclosed that the files are complete and that nothing has been removed therefrom.

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

For your information, the Federal Bureau of Investigation furnished Mr. Ford, at his request, record of all loyalty material furnished the State Department in the 81 cases referred to. For your further information, I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Ford letter to Senator Tydings which I have secured from the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

Sent by hand 7-10 1 PM

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
JUN 30 1 37 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
FBI  
JUN 30 1 07 PM '50  
RECEIVED READING ROOM  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

This was left with Mr. Fred Kilguss, on 7/10, who exhibited it to the Attorney General. Mr. Kilguss later returned it, advising that the Attorney General had said, "This is fine--just as I understood it."

DMT



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

June 28, 1950

Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your letter dated June 27, 1950, inquiring whether this Bureau has examined the 81 loyalty files which the members of the Tydings Committee have been scrutinizing and whether such an examination by the FBI has disclosed that the files are complete and that nothing has been removed therefrom.

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

Sincerely yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*

June 28, 1950

Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your letter dated June 27, 1950, inquiring whether this Bureau has examined the 81 loyalty files which the members of the Tydings Committee have been scrutinizing and whether such an examination by the FBI has disclosed that the files are complete and that nothing has been removed therefrom.

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

Sincerely yours,

*opened by Nichols*

CT: DSS

JUN 10 12 24 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
F B I

JUN 28 12 07 PM '50

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: July 14, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DML*SUBJECT: REVIEW OF STATE DEPARTMENT FILES  
IN CONNECTION WITH ALLEGATIONS BY  
SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Nichols	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____

Mr. Peyton Ford called and stated that the Attorney General had directed that he write a letter to Senator Tydings based upon our memorandum reporting the results of a check we made on State Department files; that the Attorney General, of course, wanted to help Tydings as much as possible and had outlined how the letter should be prepared; namely, limiting it to that material which we had furnished to the State Department; that Clive Palmer was with him and he wanted us to look at the letter. I told him that we had our memorandum and any letter they wanted to write was up to them. He stated he had a form he wanted to show to us and accordingly, Mr. Palmer brought the letter up which was reviewed by Messrs. Laughlin, Johnson, Ladd and Nichols.

The letter was brief, and points out that the Attorney General has requested the FBI to make an investigation to determine if the State Department files were complete; that the FBI had made such an investigation; that the files were complete except in three instances. The letter also referred to Peyton Ford's letter to the inventory of material we had furnished the Department and to Ford's report that the files were complete. The three exceptions were as follows:

**[REDACTED]**

The exception noted that the file was complete except that no record appeared therein of data furnished orally on January 17, 1946, and October 24, 1946.

Case 51 - ROWENA ROMMEL

The file was complete except summary data furnished May 13, 1947, was not in the file although the substance of the summary data was set forth in State Department, investigative reports.

Case 16 - ROBERT TALBOT MILLER, III

There was a question mark on the letter between cases 14 and 51 and Palmer advised that they had missed Case 16, which they would put in when the letter was retyped. This refers to Robert Talbot Miller, III. The file was complete except that there was no record

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INDEXED - 122

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RECEIVED-NICHOLS  
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U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

JUL 14 7 35 PM '50

JUL 14 5 44 PM '50 RECEIVED  
RECEIVED-TOLSON  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

JUL 14 2 32 PM '50  
RECEIVED  
FALTY SECTION

JUL 14 4 47 PM '50  
RECEIVED-TOLSON  
F B I  
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

JUL 24 12 57 PM '50  
REC'D BELMONT  
F. B. I.  
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

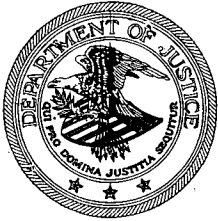
of information furnished orally on July 8, 1944.

Objection was made to Mr. Palmer as to the correctness of the reference "FBI Investigation".

It was pointed out that had an investigation been made, it would have been necessary to check each report in the Bureau's files against the State Department, page by page, paragraph by paragraph. This couldn't be called an investigation. He stated he would change this to "examination".

We told him that the matter of the letter was up to him and we would defer it to them.

The letter is factually accurate. It confines itself to those memoranda and reports furnished to the State Department and disregards those sent to other agencies which were not of course in the State Department's files.



Office of the Attorney General

Washington, D.C.

July 12, 1950

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In view of Senator McCarthy's public charge in a letter which he sent to President Truman that the State Department personnel files in the so-called 81 cases which were reviewed by the Tydings Committee were deliberately stripped of derogatory data in 1946, I request that the Bureau immediately cause an examination of these 81 files to be made and report to me whether or not it finds any material furnished by the Bureau to be missing therefrom, and whether the Department is in possession of any information indicating that State Department personnel files were deliberately stripped of derogatory data at any time.

I would appreciate being advised by Friday, July 14, 1950.

*J. Howard McGrath*

J. Howard McGrath  
Attorney General

7/13/50  
Memo to Director  
& AG  
L.H. NRJ/mw

RECORDED - 72

121-23278-194  
JUL 20 1950

cc. to Mr. Ladd.

RECEIVED  
FBI  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION



ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE



121-23278-194

The Attorney General

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *declass*

July 13, 1950

Director, FBI

DATE *4-27-78* *Boyle*

REVIEW OF STATE DEPARTMENT FILES  
IN CONNECTION WITH ALLEGATIONS BY  
SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

DECLASSIFIED BY *2909*  
ON *4/13/78* *DPJ/DLC*

RECORDED - 72 *121-25277-194*

In accordance with the request contained in your memorandum of July 12, 1950, representatives of this Bureau, in the presence of Mr. Clive Palmer of the Department, and Messrs. Donald L. Nicholson and Joseph Amshay of the Department of State, today at the White House reviewed State Department files on persons against whom allegations have been made by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

For your information, only seventy files of the eighty-one mentioned by Senator McCarthy were actually available for examination. Mr. Nicholson of the State Department explained that Senator McCarthy's Case No. 72 had never been identified by him and that ten of the remaining 80 case files were not made available by the President to the members of the Tydings Subcommittee for examination. According to Mr. Nicholson, these ten cases were not among the 108 cases originally examined by investigators of the Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949; and President Truman only made available to members of the Tydings Subcommittee those cases which were included in the 108 cases previously examined. Mr. Nicholson identified the above-mentioned ten cases as: Nelson Chipchin, Lowell Melcher Glueas, Mucio Fernandez Delgado, Tegner Conrad Grendahl, Philip Caryl Jessup, Ivan Katusich, Esther Kopelewich, nee Less, Edward George Posniak, Alexander J. Rapoport, and William Walter Remington.

Bureau representatives used as the basis of their review of the seventy files the information contained in my memorandum dated May 15, 1950, to Mr. Peyton Ford, which reflected a summary of the material furnished by this Bureau to the State Department, Civil Service Commission, and the Loyalty Review Board. In thirteen cases material transmitted by the Bureau to the Loyalty Review Board and the Civil Service Commission in recent months was not in the files. The State Department representatives explained that their files on these individuals were impounded by the President "around February 20, 1950." For a time after that date, according to the State Department representatives, these files were in the possession of the Loyalty Review Board and while some of the material addressed to the Loyalty Review Board from the Bureau and received subsequent to February 20, 1950, has been filed, all of it has not been.

There were six instances among these seventy cases in which the Bureau conducted Loyalty investigations on the individuals involved who at one time were State Department employees but at the time of the investigation were employed in some other Governmental agency. In these cases, copies of the Bureau's Loyalty reports were not in the State Department files.

Room *LLL:NRJ:hmb:mer*

SENT FROM D. O. L.  
TIME *11:30 AM*  
DATE *11-14-50*  
BY *Law*

RECEIVED - *11-17-50*  
*10 55 AM '50*

In five of the seventy cases, according to the Bureau's records, Special Inquiry type investigations were conducted by the Bureau for the Office of Coordinator of Information, predecessor organization to the Office of War Information. These employees apparently were transferred to the State Department although copies of the Bureau's reports reflecting these investigations are not in the State Department files.

Our examination of these files was limited, of course, to checking the material provided by this Bureau since we have no knowledge of what other information should be contained in these files.

Attached for your information is a case by case analysis of the seventy files examined.

With regard to your inquiry as to whether the Bureau is in possession of any information indicating that the State Department personnel files were deliberately stripped of derogatory data at any time, the only information available to this Bureau concerning this is that reflected in the statement dated July 11, 1950, furnished to Senator McCarthy by [redacted], [redacted] in the State Department and now a Special Agent of the FBI. A photostatic copy of this statement is appended for your information.

b6  
b7C

Enclosure

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NAME

MCCARTHY  
LIST

~~████████████████████~~

~~007954~~

098024

BARNETT, Patricia

48 and 49

BARNETT, Robert Warren

48 and 49

BERMAN, Harold

70

BLOUNDA, Kather C.

47

CAMERON, Gertrude

55

CARLISLE, Lois

58

CHRYPER, William D.

44

CRIPCHIN, Nelson

23

CLUCAS, Lowell M., Jr.

26

DELCADO, Mucio

21

DEMERJIAN, Alice

61

DUBOIS, Cora

60

FERRY, Frances

11

FINNET, Herbert

1

FISCHACK, Sam

43

FORD, James T.

76

GORDON, Estelle

40

GRAZE, Gerald

29

GRAZE, Stanley

6

GRONDAHL, Tegner Conrad

25

GROSS, Aaron Jack

68

HARRISON, Marcia R.

INDEXED - 92

7

HORSIN, Leonard

73

HUNT, Victor M.

7

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909  
ON 4/13/78 DRS/arc

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121-23278-195

NOT RECORDED  
JUL 12 1950

EX-8765

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

copy in S. C. Holahan, State Department

257

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COUNTRY  
LIST

NAME

<del>ILLYENALVI VITER, Gizella</del>	4
<del>JANKOWSKI, Joseph T.</del>	74
<del>JESSUP, Philip</del>	15
<del>JOSEPHSON, Joseph</del>	30
<del>KAMARCK, Andrew W.</del>	78
<del>KATUSICH, Ivan</del>	27
<del>KAUFMAN, Arthur Milton</del>	38
<del>LANDSBERG, Hans H.</del>	28
<del>LEMON, Edythe J.</del>	18
<del>LEES, Mrs.</del>	24
<del>(KUPPELEICH, Esther (less))</del>	
<del>LEWIS, Mrs. Preston K.</del>	75
<del>LIVANTSEFF LEE, Paul A.</del>	56
<del>LINDSEY, John Richard</del>	67
<del>LLOYD, David Dearest</del>	9
<del>LORAIN, Val R.</del>	54
<del>MACHITE, Sylvia</del>	69
<del>MANN, Gottfried Thomas</del>	42
<del>MARGOLIES, Daniel F.</del>	41
<del>MERIS, Feveril</del>	3
<del>MILLER, Robert T.</del>	16
<del>MOETAGUE, Ellis M.</del>	34
<del>NEAL, Fred Warner</del>	57
<del>NESS, Norman T.</del>	45
<del>NEUMANN, Franz Leopold</del>	59

098025

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MCCARTHY  
LIST

<u>NAME</u>	
<del>OSNATON, Olga F.</del>	37
<del>PANSONS, Ruby A.</del>	61
<del>PERKINS, Ishaq W.</del>	62
<del>PETER, Hollis W.</del>	64
<del>POLYZOIDES, T. Achilles</del>	79
<del>POSNER, Margery S.</del>	10
<del>POSNIAR, Edward G.</del>	77
<del>POST, Richard H.</del>	53
<del>RAINE, Phillip</del>	52
<del>RANDOLPH (Mosenberg), David</del>	66
<del>RAPOPORT, Alexander</del>	22
<del>REXINGTON, William</del>	19
<del>ROBINSON, Jay</del>	5
<del>ROMMEL, Rowena</del>	51
<del>ROSS, Louis</del>	31
<del>ROSS, Robert</del>	32
<del>SCHIMMEL, Sylvia</del>	50
<del>SHELL, Melvin</del>	35
<del>SIEGEL, Herman</del>	33
<del>SMITH (Schmidt) Frederick W.</del>	36
<del>SMITH, Samuel Stephenson</del>	20
<del>STOIANOFF, Stoian</del>	71
<del>STONE, William T.</del>	46
<del>TAYLOR, Jeanne H.</del>	17
<del>TUCHSCHER, Frances M.</del>	6
<del>VINCENT, John Carter</del>	2

098026

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NAME

MCCARTHY  
LIST

<del>VOLIN, Max A.</del>	39	098027
<del>WASHBURN, John T.</del>	80	
<del>WASHBURN, Carleton Wolsey</del>	13	
<del>WILCOX, Stanley</del>	63	
<del>FUNAS, Helene</del>	12	

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: July 11, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd *DL*

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE *G.I.R. 3*

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

## PURPOSE

To submit for your information the results of a review of the proposed report of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning information appearing therein which directly relates to the FBI or FBI personnel, and to also highlight comments of the Subcommittee.

## BACKGROUND

At 4:50 PM on July 10, 1950, a copy of the proposed report of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was made available to the Bureau on a highly confidential basis, it being stipulated that no copies should be made nor any notations made thereon.

This proposed report and the attached appendices (consisting of 337 pages in all) have been reviewed for information which directly relates to the FBI or FBI personnel, special emphasis having been placed on such information as reflects adversely on the Bureau. In this connection, however, it is noted that page sixty-two of the proposed report, as submitted to the Bureau, was missing and therefore could not be reviewed.

In making this review, no attempt has been made to compare the conclusions set forth in the proposed report with the facts as contained in Bureau files, and other than those which directly concern the Bureau no attempt has been made to establish the accuracy or inaccuracy of statements appearing therein.

Generally, throughout the proposed report, references made to the FBI or FBI personnel are commendatory. The findings and conclusions of the Subcommittee are generally favorable to the individuals charged by Senator McCarthy, and no recommendations for dismissal are made.

## ACTION

The attached memorandum is submitted for your information.

Attachment

EMG:EFF ADDENDUM - July 11, 1950

Your attention is particularly called to page 6 of the

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RECORDED - 103  
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INDEXED - 103

196

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*DL*  
*AKS*  
*DL*



*Logan*

attached memorandum wherein ~~it~~ is set forth a statement with reference to McCarthy's charge about the stripping of the State Department's files indicating that "the files were reviewed by Agents of the FBI and the Department of Justice ....". This, of course, is incorrect. P11

I think Morgan should be straightened out on this  
Done 11:15 am 7-11

On page 16 of the attached memorandum, it is pointed out that the Department of Justice has advised the Department of State that Mr. Hoover never made the widely publicized statement that it was a one hundred per cent airtight case against the Amerasia defendants. This of course is an incorrect statement and while the Department has been advised of the inaccuracy of this, the Committee has not.

On page 26 of this memorandum, it is noted that the letter from the Director to the State Department with reference to the chart prepared by Sam Klaus was set forth in full.

With reference to the Amerasia Case on page 30 of the attached memorandum, it is set forth that representatives of the Criminal Division conferred with FBI officials on the morning of September 28, 1945, and it was generally agreed that the case was in serious jeopardy. A number of suggestions were made and discarded. This leaves the erroneous impression that the Bureau might have concurred in the Department's handling of the prosecution.

It is pointed out that the full testimony of the Bureau's representatives is not set forth in the report. Excerpts from the testimony are mentioned in the footnotes.

This is the way we wanted it.

It is noted that the question, which was 7B in the testimony, was changed. This question is quoted and reads "Was evidence sought and obtained by entering the apartment and premises of the accused without legal process and without the knowledge of the accused." Mr. Nichols' answer was then quoted.

The next question is worded "Were these entries of the premises before arrests made by the Agents without legal process and without the knowledge of the subjects." The words "surreptitiously" and "stealthily" are not used.

July 11, 1950

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY  
INVESTIGATION

REPORT  
of a  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Pursuant to

S. Res. 231

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE  
ARE EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

151-23278-196

TABLE OF CONTENTS

page number

Introduction . . . . .	1,2
Conception of the Subcommittee's Duty. . . . .	2
Initial Phase of the Inquiry . . . . .	3
The Story of the "81 Cases". . . . .	3,4
Review of Loyalty Files . . . . .	5,6,7
Problem Confronting the State Department 1945-1946 . . . . .	8
Handling of the Loyalty Program. . . . .	8,9
The Cases of the Individuals Publicly Charged . . . . .	9
Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer . . . . .	10
Gustavo Duran . . . . .	10,11
Haldore Hanson . . . . .	12
Philip C. Jessup . . . . .	12,13
Dorothy Kenyon . . . . .	13
Owen Lattimore . . . . .	14-21
Frederick L. Schuman . . . . .	22
John Stewart Service . . . . .	22-24
Harlow Shapley . . . . .	24,25
John Carter Vincent . . . . .	25,
Charges With Respect To "FBI Chart". . . . .	25,26
Amerasia Case. . . . .	27-36
The Sources of the Charges . . . . .	37
The Facts Behind the Charge of "Whitewash" . . . . .	38,39
General Observations . . . . .	39-41

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY  
INVESTIGATION

REPORT  
of a  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Pursuant to

S. Res. 231

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE  
ARE EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

Subcommittee on Senate Resolution 231

MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Maryland, Chairman  
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, Rhode Island      BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa  
BRIEN McMAHON, Connecticut                  HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr., Massachusetts  
Edward P. Morgan, Chief Counsel  
Robert L. Heald, Assistant Counsel  
William J. Klina, Assistant Counsel  
Robert Morris, Assistant Counsel  
Lyon L. Tyler, Assistant Counsel

INTRODUCTION

Under the introduction of this report, it is pointed out that on February 22, 1950, the Senate adopted Resolution 231, authorizing and directing the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, or any subcommittee thereof, to conduct a full and complete study and investigation as to whether persons who are disloyal to the United States are or have been employed by the Department of State. The Committee was directed to report to the Senate at earliest practicable date results of investigation and recommendations. If recommendations included formal charges of disloyalty, the Committee, before making recommendation was directed to give the individual open hearings for purpose of taking evidence or testimony. In the conduct of this study and investigation, the Resolution directed the Committee to procure by subpoena and examine complete

loyalty and employment files and records of employees of State Department and such other agencies against whom charges have been heard.

Pursuant to Res. 231, a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, comprised of Senators Tydings (Chairman), Green, McMahon, Hickenlooper and Lodge, was appointed to conduct the investigation. Beginning with public hearings on March 8, 1950, public or executive hearings were held on 31 subsequent days, ending on July 7, 1950, during the course of which 35 witnesses appeared. Additionally, a special subcommittee consisting of Senators Green and Lodge interrogated a total of 34 witnesses both in the United States and abroad.

The report called attention to the circumstances behind the Resolution, referring to Senator McCarthy's speech on February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, West Virginia, when he allegedly stated that although he could not take the time to name all the men in the State Department who had been named as active members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, he had in his hand a list of 205 names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless were still working and shaping policy in the State Department; further, that in an interview over a radio station at Salt Lake City, Utah, on February 10, 1950, McCarthy said, "Last night I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated I had the names of 57 card carrying members of the Communist Party." Considerable attention is directed to the fact that the number and characterization of Communists in the State Department had dropped over night from 205 "named as active members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring" to "57 card carrying members of the Communist Party." The report relates that since Senator McCarthy had left the unmistakable inference he had recently obtained from unrevealed sources in the State Department the information he was presenting, despite the inconsistencies apparent from the outset, an immediate and thorough investigation was necessary. Accordingly, Senate Resolution 231 introduced by Senator Scott W. Lucas was adopted.

CONCEPTION OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S DUTY  
(Pages 4 - 5)

It is pointed out that Res. 231 was the result of McCarthy's charges and the inquiry contemplated utilization of and development of information which McCarthy had assured he had recently obtained; that the Committee had not conceived its function to be that of superceding the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its investigations of the loyalty of Federal employees or of the House Committee on un-American Activities.

INITIAL PHASE OF THE INQUIRY  
(Pages 5-6)

According to the report, the first witness to appear before the subcommittee was Senator McCarthy who, according to the report, had no evidence whatever to submit concerning the individuals discussed by him previously but insisted the evidence to support the charges would be found in the loyalty files maintained in the Executive Branch of the Government. The report points out this was both interesting and significant since it was well known that under the President's Directive of March 13, 1948, the release of information developed concerning employees incident to the Loyalty Program was prohibited. The report stated from the very outset the subcommittee was subjected by Senator McCarthy and certain segments of the press and radio to a campaign of villification probably unparalleled in the history of Congressional investigations; that the unwarranted cry "whitewash" was raised even before the hearing started and equally unfair and malicious allegations were made throughout the proceedings.

THE STORY OF THE "81 CASES"  
(Pages 6-9)

This section of the report refers to the investigation of 108 loyalty files of the State Department conducted in 1947 by investigators for a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations in connection with the State Department's Appropriation Bill for 1948. It points out that a case by case analysis by the Tydings Subcommittee of the 81 Cases referred to by Senator McCarthy on February 20, 1950, revealed that all 81 cases were included in the "108 list"; that language employed by Senator McCarthy in his "81 Cases" is similar textually to the language used in the counterpart cases appearing in the "108 list"; that where variations in the case descriptions used by Senator McCarthy occur, the language had been changed by Senator McCarthy to create a more sinister impression and where he changed the facts in the case descriptions he had changed them to create worse impressions. The report further points out that a review of the 108 memoranda prepared by the House investigators in 1947 shows that they were limited to derogatory information appearing in the files without reference to information tending to disprove allegations and did not appear to be concerned with the merits of the cases but dealt merely with the basis for or inadequacy of the investigations.

The report comments that Senator McCarthy's speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, constituted a perversion compounded of the State Department's loyalty files in terms of the situation that prevailed not in 1950 but back in 1947 and that Senator McCarthy had received no under-cover information from "loyal" or "disturbed" State Department employees as he led the Senate to believe but his information was beyond all reasonable doubt a "dressed up" version of material developed by the 80th Congress.

The Tydings Committee report brings out that it was confronted with the annoying spectacle of four different committees of the 80th Congress, which was controlled by Senator McCarthy's own Party, having considered the very same files and information which provided the predicate for the McCarthy charges, with none of these committees so much as regarding the situation as one meriting a report for citing a single State Department employee as disloyal. The four committees of the 80th Congress referred to are specified as being the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 80th Congress which originally considered the list of "108 cases," a subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments which held hearings in March, 1948, regarding handling of loyalty cases by the State Department, a "Committee of One" (Representative Bartel J. Jonkman, Republican, Michigan) who made a probe into State Department security and reported thereon to the House on August 2, 1948, and a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, 80th Congress which, being cognizant of the memoranda of the "108 Cases" had examined Secretary of State George C. Marshall regarding the State Department's loyalty program.

Mention is made of the fact that Mr. John E. Peurifoy of the State Department, in testifying regarding the "108 Cases" before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, 80th Congress, pointed out that only 57 of the 108 individuals were then employed in the State Department. From this the Tydings Subcommittee states that it is clear Senator McCarthy's reference to "57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party" was actually a reference to the 57 State Department employees mentioned by Mr. Peurifoy.

REVIEW OF LOYALTY FILES  
(Pages 9 to 12)

In this section of the report, mention is made of the review of the files concerning the individuals charged by Senator McCarthy in his speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, made by members of the Tydings Subcommittee at the White House. It is pointed out that in reviewing the files the Committee members recognized that they sat in judgment on the work of the FBI, the State Department Security Staff, the State Department Loyalty and Security Board and in some instances the President's Loyalty Review Board, representatives of which agencies had previously appeared before the Committee and impressed the Committee with their background, character, integrity, and manifest patriotism; that to assume any one of these representatives would have been a part to or have countenanced in any way harboring in the State Department of persons disloyal to the United States would not only have been absurd but unwarranted. However, the Committee was also mindful of the charge implicit in Senator McCarthy's allegations that an individual or individuals responsible for ferreting out disloyal employees, deliberately or otherwise, failed to perform his or their official duties. The Committee also realized that the officials responsible for making a determination of an employee's loyalty were in a much more favorable position to make such a determination and the function of the Committee was properly that of passing judgment on an administrative finding not unlike the function of an appellate court. A third consideration of the Committee in reviewing these files was the standards and criteria laid down under the Loyalty Program.

The following quoted comments of the Committee as they appear in its report illustrate the general findings of the Committee as a result of its review of the files in question and also illustrate comments of interest made by the Committee and pertinent references to the FBI:

"With the foregoing considerations in mind, we have carefully and conscientiously reviewed each and every one of the loyalty files relative to the individuals charged by Senator McCarthy. In no instance was any one of them now employed in the State Department found to be a 'card carrying Communist,' a member of the Communist Party or 'loyal to the Communist Party.' Furthermore, in no instance have we found



"in our considered judgment that the decision to grant loyalty or/and security clearance has been erroneously or improperly made in the light of existing loyalty standards."

.....

"What we have found have been meticulous and comprehensive investigations conducted by the FBI. These investigations have been exhaustive and provide, in so far as humanly possible, a thorough going exploration of every avenue through which an employee's background and loyalty may be pursued and determined. The files reflect a similar thoroughness on the part of the State Department's Security Staff. Where loyalty hearings have been involved, the proceedings have been pertinent and comprehensive in contemplation of the issues involved."

.....

"We are fully satisfied, therefore, on the basis of our study of the loyalty files, that the State Department has not knowingly retained, in its employ, individuals who have been disloyal."

.....

"What the State Department knows concerning an employee's loyalty is to be found in its loyalty and security files. These files contain all information bearing on loyalty, obtained from any and all sources, including, of course, the reports of full field investigation by the FBI. Interestingly, in this regard, no sooner had the President indicated that the files would be available for review by the Subcommittee than Senator McCarthy charged they were being 'raped,' altered, or otherwise subjected to a 'housecleaning.' This charge was found to be utterly without foundation in fact. The files were reviewed by Agents of the FBI and the Department of Justice has testified that all information bearing on the employee's loyalty, as developed by the FBI, appears in the files which were reviewed by the Subcommittee." (The underlining has been added to highlight this particular comment as it appears in the Tydings Report, since the comment implies that Bureau Agents actually reviewed the files of the State Department on the individuals involved for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were complete. We, of course, did not review the State Department

files for this purpose but did make a review of the Bureau's files for the purpose of furnishing to the Attorney General a brief specifying Bureau correspondence whereby information concerning these individuals had been furnished to the State Department and the Civil Service Commission. This brief was requested by Mr. Peyton Ford to assist the Attorney General in preparing a letter addressed to the Tydings Subcommittee, concerning the cases named on a "Subpoena List" received by the Justice Department from the Tydings Subcommittee. It is interesting to note that the Tydings report footnotes the comment underlined above by referring to a letter from the Department of Justice dated June 16, 1950, "printed in the record.")

"The most amazing thing in connection with our review of the loyalty files made available to us by the President is the fact that Senator Hickenlooper read only 9 of the files and Senator Lodge 12. Despite, therefore, the clamor and demand that was raised by Senator McCarthy, along with his associates, and the assertion that the loyalty files would 'prove his case,' we find the most unbelievable situation of the members of Senator McCarthy's own Party on our Subcommittee taking the trouble to read only a very small percentage of the files made available for these examinations by the President."

.....

"Our review of the files reveals to us the value and necessity of the Loyalty Program.... We fully endorse the Program and feel that the necessity for perennial vigilance to prevent the penetration of our Government by those who would subvert and destroy it is of paramount importance.... The job is one to be performed in a quiet, sober, intelligent manner by those trained and competent for the task. We believe that in the FBI our Government has the finest investigative organization in the world under one of the most eminent and capable career public servants in this or any other generation, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. They possess the ability in a quiet and unobtrusive manner to gather the facts concerning the loyalty of Federal employees and to keep abreast of and forestall the constant efforts of our enemies to place their minions in the Government service. Of this we are fully satisfied. Additionally, we have found, as heretofore suggested, no instance where officials in the State Department, charged with responsibility for taking action on the basis of disloyalty, have failed to do so where the facts as developed by the FBI have revealed evidence of a type and character warranting a finding of disloyalty or security risk under the standards which have been laid down for their guidance."

PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN 1945 - 1946  
(Pages 12 - 18)

This section of the report refers to the fact that in order to appreciate the problem of security in the State Department and the true source of the charges that have been made, it is necessary to consider the situation with which the State Department was confronted in late 1945 and early 1946 following the end of hostilities. Briefly, it is pointed out that various emergency agencies were established during the war which employed some individuals whose connection in a Communist sense would bar them from employment today; that there was a shortage of civilian personnel during the war and it was impossible to conduct adequate investigation of a great number of employees; that the Soviet Union was our ally during the war but at the end of hostilities it became apparent the Soviet Union did not contemplate co-operation and friendly relations with democratic countries and that employees having Communist complexions who were tolerated where necessity required during the war had to be removed from Federal Service. It is pointed out that by various executive orders in late 1945 and early 1946, 12,797 employees of emergency war agencies (OSS, OWI, FEA) were transferred to the State Department and a screening committee established by the State Department to cull out the "rotten apples." The report quotes a statement on this entire problem submitted by the State Department showing the action taken with respect thereto. The Tydings Subcommittee comments that it is fully satisfied the State Department handled the inordinate personnel problem incident to the transfer of over 12,000 employees of other agencies in a capable manner and that every effort had been made to weed out disloyal employees.

HANDLING OF THE LOYALTY PROGRAM  
(Pages 18 - 25)

This section of the report is a discussion of the organization, personnel and procedures of the State Department, the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department, and the President's Loyalty Review Board. The procedures for handling of applicants and incumbents under the Loyalty Program and the summary dismissal power of the State Department provided by the McCarran Rider are discussed together with the standards applicable to each of these authorities. It is the conclusion of the Tydings Subcommittee that the Loyalty and Security Program of the State Department is being administered efficiently, fairly, and in the best interests of the government. The Subcommittee comments that in one respect the handling of applicants may be improved in that an applicant

is actually sworn in as an employee prior to a preliminary check with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. If this check reveals disloyal information the State Department must then resort to the full procedure under the Loyalty Program, whereas if made prior to employment and derogatory data is developed the State Department could then deny the application outright. A comment is also made by the Subcommittee that it feels the Loyalty Program in its entirety warrants study to determine whether it is deficient in that it recognizes only the disloyal standard.

PROBLEM OF STATE DEPARTMENT SECURITY  
(Page 25)

This section of the report merely refers to a study made by Senators Green and Lodge, regarding the State Department's peculiar problem of security in view of the global disposition of its employee's activities and installations.

THE CASES OF THE INDIVIDUALS PUBLICLY CHARGED  
(Pages 25 - 95)

This section of the report is devoted to a discussion of individuals charged publicly by Senator McCarthy which will be dealt with individually hereafter. In addition, mention is made of the "Three Big Communists" mentioned by Senator McCarthy on February 20, 1950, as being cases No. 1 (Herbert Abner Fierst), No. 2 (John Carter Vincent), and No. 81 (Ruby Parson). The Committee points out it has reviewed the loyalty files on these three cases and found nothing to sustain Senator McCarthy's assertion they are "big Communists," or of "tremendous importance and of great value to Russia," or are a part of an "espionage ring in the State Department." It is pointed out that the individual involved in case No. 81 (Ruby Parson) resigned from the State Department on April 2, 1948.

Reference is also made to case No. 53 (Richard Howell Post) described by Senator McCarthy as one of the most dangerous Communists in the State Department and case No. 57 (Fred Warner Neal) concerning whom Senator McCarthy urged immediate action. The Committee points out that No. 53 resigned from the State Department on December 30, 1948, and No. 57 resigned March 12, 1948. The Committee thereafter cites the above as illustrative of the reckless and irresponsible treatment of the facts by Senator McCarthy.

Set forth hereafter are the individual cases described in the Subcommittee report:

MRS. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER  
(Pages 26-29)

The Subcommittee found that Mrs. Brunauer was a member of one organization cited as a Communist front "and that in 1934 and 1936, over 14 years ago, she participated in two meetings sponsored by a pro-Soviet organization of which she was not a member." The conclusion was reached that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk.

GUSTAVO DURAN  
(Page 30)

Senator McCarthy charged that Duran was well known for his rabid Communist beliefs and activities and was active in secret Soviet operations in the Spanish Republican Army. The Committee did not discuss Duran in the body of its report because of the fact that his employment with the State Department ceased before the Loyalty Program was instituted.

The charges against Duran and his replies were set forth in Appendix 9:

APPENDIX 9  
CASE OF GUSTAVO DURAN  
(Pages 182-187)

Duran submitted a "Memorandum to Senator Tydings," dated March 30, 1950, setting forth his answers to Senator McCarthy's charges. Referring to the Spanish newspaper ARIBBA, which he claims was the indirect source of some of the Senator's allegations, he notes that it erroneously reported that he came to Madrid "for the first time in the 1920's from the Canary Islands." Duran notes he was born in Barcelona, Spain, and resided continuously with his family in Madrid from 1910 until 1929. Duran writes:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation has in its files a list of the various domiciles of my family. This information which was provided by me, can be easily checked."

The foregoing is substantially correct. When interviewed by Mr. Ladd on April 29, 1946, he furnished biographical data concerning his parents and himself, and set forth their domiciles as well as those of his own which he could recall.

His attorneys, Baldwin, Todd & Lefferts, also forwarded the Director, under date of April 17, 1950, a complete biographical sketch.

With reference to Senator McCarthy's charges that Indalecio Prieto, former Minister of Defense for the Spanish Republican Cabinet, in his pamphlet, "Why and How I Left the Ministry," described Duran as an agent of the Secret Russian Police or a member of the Comintern, Duran writes:

"Subsequently, Mr. Prieto stated to Messrs. Robert Wilson Wall, Jr. and Robert Godfrey, Attaches to the American Embassy at Mexico City, that he had appointed me as head of the Madrid Zone of the Military Intelligence Service (SIM) at the proposal of General Miaja, then Commander of the Army of Madrid; he then reiterated that he (Prieto), like others in the Government who were equally hostile to Communism, had been subjected to Communist pressures."

Actually, Prieto said considerably more than Duran noted. When interviewed by Special Agents Wall and Godfrey, he stated that he did not know him prior to the appointment but that because Miaja, who was himself closely associated with the Communist Party and Soviet interests in Spain, had recommended him, he assumed that Duran was a Communist. Prieto said he had no proof of this nor of any allegation that Duran was or had been an agent of the Soviet Union. He believed Duran had been subjected to considerable Communist pressure, as were all members of the Spanish Government.

HALDORE HANSON  
(Pages 30 - 37)

Hanson is the individual whom Senator McCarthy described as having a mission to communize the world. Louis Budenz testified he knew Hanson from official records to be a member of the Communist Party. Budenz' information was based, according to his testimony, on oral information received in 1940 and 1941. Budenz thought Jack Stachel gave him Hanson's name. Budenz testified that the first time he had indicated to anyone that Hanson had ever been reported to him as a Communist was a week prior to his testimony on April 25, 1950, when he gave Hanson's name, among others, to the FBI. Hanson declared he was given a complete clearance by the Department of State following a comprehensive investigation by the FBI under the Loyalty Program. He testified on March 28, 1950, he thought subversives could be ferreted out by the quiet, sober, thorough methods now used by the FBI.

The Committee stated it was clear that (1) Hanson was not, as claimed by Senator McCarthy, "one of the most strategically important officers in the entire State Department"; (2) that Hanson would not, as alleged by Senator McCarthy, head a program charged with expending hundreds of millions of dollars; and, (3) that information used by Senator McCarthy to uphold his allegations of pro-Communism against Hanson failed in credibility, relevancy, and competency. The testimony of Budenz left the Committee "to a degree, in wonderment." In the face of the results of the FBI investigation, action of the Loyalty Board and the evidence presented, the Committee could not accept Budenz' testimony as controlling.

PHILIP C. JESSUP  
(Pages 37 - 43)

The Committee sets forth the allegations made against Dr. Jessup by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in support of his general charge that Dr. Jessup possessed "an unusual affinity for Communist causes," and then proceed to show how Senator McCarthy had failed to substantiate the allegations.

It is noted that the Committee's report states that "we have seen the loyalty file concerning Dr. Jessup which reflects no basis for considering him disloyal or a security risk." Actually, the Bureau's reports reflect the following concerning Dr. Jessup:

1. He was one of the Sponsors for a dinner held by the American Russian Institute in New York in 1946.

2. Information from a reliable informant to the effect that in 1941 Jessup's name appeared on a list of names maintained in the Headquarters of the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties.
3. That Dr. Jessup was a signer of a call for a "National Emergency Conference" in Washington, D. C. in 1939.
4. That he was a member of the Board of Sponsors of the "National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights" in 1940.
5. That he was Faculty Advisor of the "American Law Students Association," while at Columbia University.
6. That his wife was a member of the China Aid Council.
7. That he was a member and an officer of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Senator McCarthy's charges included the above points, and the Committee's report takes up each, concluding that "the true facts, therefore, are that Dr. Jessup was shown to have been associated with only two organizations, in both cases prior to the date they were cited as Communist fronts." The Committee concluded that "the facts before us fail completely to establish that Philip C. Jessup has 'an unusual affinity for Communist causes' and that the Subcommittee felt that the accusations made against Dr. Philip C. Jessup are completely unfounded and unjustified, and have done irreparable harm to the prestige of the United States."

DOROTHY KENYON  
(Pages 43 - 48)

With reference to Kenyon, the report set forth the admitted affiliations of Miss Kenyon, the affiliations of Miss Kenyon not denied, other alleged connections of Miss Kenyon, other evidence, and concluded with the statement that the evidence before the Subcommittee failed to establish that Dorothy Kenyon is a Communist or an otherwise disloyal person.



OWEN LATTIMORE

(Pages 48-75)

The Committee predicates this section of the report (pages 48 to 74) with the statement that although Owen Lattimore was not an employee of the State Department in real or proper sense, inquiry was made on the basis of the charge that he was the "architect of our Far Eastern policy." Thereafter, Senator Joseph McCarthy's charges against Lattimore are reviewed and portions of the testimony tending to substantiate or refute those statements are commented upon. In their consideration of such testimony, the Committee finds generally that the charges of Senator McCarthy against Mr. Lattimore are unsupported in fact and winds up with the comment, "We believe that the Lattimore case vividly illustrates the danger of promiscuous and specious attacks upon private citizens and their views, and the imperative necessity that inquiries relating to matters of such character, where deemed relevant to our national security, should be handled by the duly constituted agencies of our government that are equipped to handle such matters by intelligent and proven methods designed to obtain the truth without injustice, character assassination, and a prostitution of the American concept of fair play...."

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 50-----"McCarthy insisted that information concerning Lattimore in the FBI files would show 'in detail not the case merely of a man who appears to favor Russia, not the case of a man who might disagree with what we think about Russia, but a man who is definitely an espionage agent...'

"The foregoing assertion had to be taken by us at the outset with the proverbial 'grain of salt'; for if the FBI had evidence that Lattimore was a top Russian spy, either the FBI was derelict (which we do not believe) in not prosecuting him, or Senator McCarthy was compromising an FBI investigation which might result in prosecution."

With reference to possible dereliction by the Bureau for not prosecuting Lattimore, this is erroneous inasmuch as the question of prosecution is not one within the Bureau's province.

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 54-----"Father Kearney was interviewed by the FBI and advised that he had no direct knowledge of Mr. Lattimore's activities and that the principal source of his information had been

Alfred Kohlberg of the American-China Policy Association of New York City. (Footnote---A letter from the Department of Justice confirming this statement will be found in the subcommittee's record.)"

This is an accurate though partial statement of the information given by Father James F. Kearney when interviewed by Bureau Agents on January 20, 1950.

(Brief, page 16; 100-24628-80)

\* \* \* \* \*

Pages 56-57---In commenting on the testimony of Louis Budenz, the report contains the statement, "The subcommittee also notes that only since this investigation and the publicity concerning Lattimore in connection therewith has Budenz given information to the FBI concerning Lattimore, even though Budenz has been reporting for several years to the FBI on various Communist activities and personalities....Similarly in the case of Haldore Hanson, Budenz admitted that Hanson was named by him as a Communist for the first time during the course of our proceedings."

This is an accurate statement, on April 15, 1950, Louis Budenz advising that he had never mentioned to the Bureau what he knew about Lattimore prior to March 27, 1950, because his information was "flimsy" and "not legal" and he had devoted most of his time to furnishing legal evidence.  
(100-24628-725,727)

\* \* \* \* \*

Pages 66-67---"A summary of the files of the FBI pertaining to Owen Lattimore, prepared by that organization, was made available to members of the subcommittee for review. Whereas this summary indicated Lattimore's association and contact with some individuals of known and alleged Communist and pro-Communist views, there was no evidence therein proving Lattimore himself to be a man of willful pro-Communist actions or views. The evidence did not show him to be 'a top Soviet espionage agent' or a member of the Communist Party or Communist underground. The information concerning Lattimore, testified to by Louis Budenz, was not in the possession of the FBI, according to Budenz' own testimony, at the time members of this subcommittee reviewed the summary...."

"The foregoing discussion of the information available to us (this phrase apparently includes information set forth in the FBI summary) is quite devoid of any proof that Mr. Lattimore was 'one of the top Communist agents.'"

This statement is misleading in that it does not properly reflect the information made available to members of the subcommittee. On March 23, 1950, there was delivered to Mr. Clive Palmer, of the Criminal Division, a memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford, dated March 22, 1950, with which was transmitted an eleven-page summary memorandum on Owen Lattimore. This memorandum was displayed to members of the subcommittee. It contained biographical information concerning Owen Lattimore, as well as information concerning his association with the State Department and the United Nations. The memorandum also referred to reports from various sources indicating Lattimore's alleged implication in Soviet intelligence activities. In this connection, however, it was noted that although an extensive investigation had been conducted between March 1949 and the date of the memorandum, no tangible evidence had been uncovered to corroborate the allegations or to indicate that he was involved in Soviet espionage activity. The memorandum made reference to a number of allegations concerning Lattimore, indicating his reported affiliation with Communist-front groups, participation in Communist-sponsored activity, and association with known or suspected Communist Party members and individuals suspected of having acted as Soviet agents.

(100-24628-264)

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 68-----"Senator McCarthy also said this:....'It will be recalled that J. Edgar Hoover at the time said this was a "100-percent airtight case against Service, Roth, and their co-defendants."'. ....The Department of Justice has advised the Department of State that Mr. Hoover never made the widely publicized statement that there was a '100-percent airtight case' against the Amerasia defendants. (Footnote-- This letter will be found printed in the subcommittee record.)"

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7" In this connection, by memorandum dated May 23, 1950, you protested against such use of your name, particularly when that use did not accurately reflect your views. For the information of the Attorney General, you pointed out that on April 12, 1950, John Stewart Service, one of the subjects in that investigation, had asked if you had made a public statement to the

effect that the case against him was a hundred per cent airtight. Under date of April 18, 1950, you advised Mr. Service that you had made no public statement on the Amerasia case since the period wherein the arrests occurred, and pointed out to him that the FBI did not pass on the evidence it collected during its investigations but that such evidence was turned over to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. You advised Mr. Service, "I presume that they (meaning the Criminal Division of the Department) must have been satisfied with the evidence presented to them by the FBI as they authorized the arrests to be made in this case."

You also pointed out to the Attorney General that on May 4, 1950, you had informed Mr. Peyton Ford that you could not approve his proposed answer (subsequently released by the Department of State) to an inquiry on May 1, 1950, from Mr. John E. Peurifoy, of the Department of State, as to whether you had publicly stated that the case was a hundred per cent airtight. You advised the Attorney General that in your communication of May 4, 1950, to Mr. Peyton Ford, you pointed out that in the event you had been asked at the time the arrests were made whether you thought we had an airtight case, you would have stated that you thought we had, and that if asked today you would have to so state.

Pages 68-69---"Senator McCarthy also said this:

"I have another statement which I had a great deal of difficulty getting. I had no difficulty obtaining the information from this man, but he was extremely reluctant to sign a statement, fearing that his job might be endangered if he did so.....

"He gave his consent to his name and this statement being given to the FBI. We had to promise him, however, that his name would not be given to this committee.....

"Then I have another statement gotten under almost the same circumstances, which is being turned over to the Bureau....."

"The Department of Justice furnished the following information concerning the June 2, 1945 meeting at Lattimore's home to which Senator McCarthy referred." (Thereafter the report set forth information obtained from the Department of Justice concerning the two statements).

In referring to the meeting at Lattimore's home on June 2, 1945, the report states:

"The FBI found no evidence during its most thorough investigation of the Amerasia case to indicate that any Government documents were involved in this incident."

On March 30, 1950, Senator McCarthy furnished to the Bureau a two-page, handwritten, signed statement dated March 26, 1950, unattested, of Alberta R. Carter and a one-page, handwritten, signed statement, undated and unattested, of her husband, George F. Carter, a Professor at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. The statement of George F. Carter appears to be an addendum to the statement of Alberta R. Carter and both statements set forth information concerning the visit of the Carters at the home of Owen Lattimore in "June, 1945" when John S. Service and Lieutenant Andrew Roth were also present. The remarks of Senator McCarthy concerning the acquisition of these statements tended to convey the erroneous impression

that the information embodied therein was first acquired by him at that time. In fact, on February 9, 1950, George F. Carter was interviewed by Bureau representatives, at which time he furnished information in considerable detail concerning Owen Lattimore as well as detailed information concerning the Carters' Sunday afternoon visit in "June, 1945" at the home of Lattimore when John S. Service and Lieutenant Andrew Roth were also present. On the occasion of this interview, George F. Carter exhibited a willingness to assist in any way that he could though he made the request that his identity be kept confidential. (100-24628-155)

On April 6, 1950, Mrs. George F. Carter was interviewed by Bureau representatives, at which time she could add no information of value concerning the "June, 1945" visit at the Lattimore home to that which had been furnished by her husband on February 9, 1950. (100-24628-522)

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 70-----"Senator McCarthy also referred to an affidavit covering testimony which could be given by a former general in the Red Army..... The affidavit was turned over to the FBI by Senator McCarthy. The Department of Justice has advised, with reference to this, in the following terms:....." (Thereafter was set forth information "purported" to have been given by the former general in the Red Army to an investigator for Senator McCarthy).

On March 30, 1950, Senator McCarthy furnished to the Bureau a document entitled, "Expected Testimony from Alexander Barmine" reflecting that while he was a general in the Red Army and in Moscow, he learned from "General Berzin," a high official in Soviet Intelligence, that excellent success had been obtained through the Institute of Pacific Relations which the Soviet Intelligence, through Communists in the United States, had taken over. During this conversation which occurred in the middle 1930's, "General Berzin" mentioned in particular Owen Lattimore and one Joseph Barnes as Soviet men connected with the Institute. A handwritten notation on this document reflects that the information therein was related to Donald A. Surine by Alexander Barmine on March 29, 1950.

Alexander Gregory-Graff Barmine, a former Soviet diplomatic official who defected from the Soviets in 1937 and entered the United States in 1940, upon interview by Bureau representatives on December 14, 1948, furnished information to the effect that General I. Berzine had, while Barmine was in Moscow, mentioned that the Soviets had some Americans working for them in China. Barmine named Owen Lattimore as one of the individuals. Barmine was reinterviewed by Bureau representatives on March 27, 1950, at which time, he enlarged upon the previous information he had furnished concerning Lattimore and placed Lattimore in a Soviet Military Intelligence network in China, which used as a cover for its operation, the Institute of Pacific Relations. (100-127090-46; 74-13333-1146; 100-24628-264, 267, and 1222)

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 71-----"Senator McCarthy further stated on the Senate floor:

"I have before me another affidavit, the original of which is being handed to the FBI.....He states that Lattimore was a leader in several pro-Russian student uprisings in China!"  
(The report then quoted information concerning this allegation, noting that it had been received in a communication from the Department of Justice which is printed in the record).

On March 30, 1950, Senator McCarthy furnished the Bureau a five-page, handwritten, signed statement of Upton Close, dated "Mar. 1950" in which it appears that Lattimore, in the early 1920's, was involved in several student uprisings in China along with other Chinese students. It was also indicated in the statement that Lattimore enjoyed a kind of leadership in the group.

On April 1, 1950, Upton Close, McLean, Virginia, was interviewed by Bureau representatives concerning Owen Lattimore. Close advised that he first knew Lattimore around 1920 in China, at which time Lattimore was associated with Young Chinese students who became more and more taken over with Communist activity. Lattimore was considered somewhat of a leader and was an inspiring factor in these Chinese students uprisings. Mr. Close also advised that he had no knowledge reflecting that Lattimore was engaged in espionage for the Soviets, but felt that he was a Communist and that he had been a member of, and in contact with "Communist cells."  
(100-24628-279)

Page 72-----In its conclusion concerning Owen Lattimore, the Committee reported that they found that Lattimore was not now and never had been in any proper sense an employee of our State Department; that he had no controlling or effective influence whatever on our Far Eastern policy; and that they found no evidence that he was the "top Russian spy" or any other sort of spy. In this connection, the report contained the statement:

"We have every confidence that were Mr. Lattimore an espionage agent the efficient FBI would long since have taken action against him. The fact that it has not done so and the further fact that we have seen a summary of the FBI's information concerning Mr. Lattimore confirms our opinion in this respect."

These latter conclusions, in so far as they concern the FBI, are, of course, unwarranted. As mentioned above, it is not within the province of the FBI to institute prosecutive action against a subject of investigation, nor can the FBI summary of March 22, 1950 (since supplemented by additional investigation) be properly construed as a clearance of Lattimore in connection with the charges made against him.

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 73-----"Owen Lattimore is a writer and a scholar who has been charged with a record of pro-Communism going back many years. There is no legal evidence before us whatever (this apparently includes information set forth in the FBI summary) to support this charge....

"....we are compelled to comment that in no instance has Mr. Lattimore on the evidence before us been shown to have knowingly associated with Communists."

The nature of the FBI summary of March 22, 1950, has been set forth previously in this memorandum. It is true, however, that the memorandum in itself does not constitute "legal evidence."

\* \* \* \* \*

NOTE:-----Page 62, of the copy of the report as submitted to the Bureau, is missing and consequently has not been reviewed.



FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

(Page 75)

The Subcommittee found that Frederick L. Schuman has never been an employee of the State Department and that his only connection with the Department was to deliver a one hour lecture at the Foreign Service Institute on June 19, 1946.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE

(Pages 75-94)

The report of the Subcommittee stated that the charges against John Stewart Service have a dual character: (1) that he is pro-Communist as indicated by (a) his reports from China during the period 1943 to April, 1945, in which he allegedly advocated the cause of the Chinese Communists, and (b) his associations during the same period; (2) that he was involved in the abstraction of Government documents in connection with the Amerasia case.

During the discussion of Service's connection with the Amerasia case, it was stated that Senator McCarthy made the allegation, both as a witness and on the floor of the Senate, that "The FBI then took over and reported that in the course of its quest it was found that John Stewart Service was in communication from China with Jaffe." In this connection, the following similar statement is attributed to Emanuel S. Larsen in his article in Plain Talk: "The FBI then took charge of the affair. As established by Congressmen Dondero, the Government agents spent several months on the case. In the course of their quest, it was found that John S. Service was in communication from China with Mr. Jaffe." We, of course, did not show that Service was in communication from China with Jaffe. In later referring to this statement attributed to both Senator McCarthy and Larsen, the Subcommittee report states, "The evidence reveals that Mr. Service did not contact Jaffe from China. The allegation to the contrary is based on Larsen's Plain Talk article, which was repudiated by him."

On Pages 84 and 85 of the Subcommittee report are set out brief statements of Service's activities on some of the days he was covered by physical surveillance. Then follows an explanation by Service of meetings shown by the surveillance. The Subcommittee report states: "This explanation by Mr. Service before us of his contacts with the other subjects in the Amerasia case is almost an exact duplicate of that given by him before the grand jury. It is significant to us that, at the time Service appeared before the grand jury, he had no knowledge of the physical surveillance, or at least no knowledge of what it revealed. Yet his explanation accounted for every meeting reported by the FBI. When this is coupled with the fact

that his explanation was verified by the FBI and found to be correct, no other conclusion can be made but that we, like the grand jury, must find that the explanation is consistent with complete innocence." Prior to his appearance before the grand jury, Service, of course, did give a lengthy statement to Agents during which he furnished much of the material covering his meetings and contacts.

On Pages 87 and 88, under the caption "Technical Surveillance," is set out a partial transcript of conversation between Service and Jaffe in Jaffe's hotel room on May 8, 1945, and this transcript is referred to as a "verbatim quotation" by the Subcommittee in its report. It is noted that on Page 87, one statement is attributed to Service when actually our transcript reflects that the statement was made by Jaffe; this statement is, "I guess these are the only things," and it is made during a discussion of what the Chinese were doing at San Francisco. Then too, throughout the reporting of this transcript in the Subcommittee report there appear some changes in punctuation, but not to the extent that it appears that the meaning of the text is changed. On Page 88, in reporting a statement of Service, following a space left blank to indicate an unintelligible word or words, the words "something skipped" have been inserted and may be interpreted as words spoken by Service.

Following the "verbatim" account of the recording, there is set out "several statements prepared by the FBI" which, in summary form relate additional conversation between Service and Jaffe.

On Page 91, it is reported that Mr. Brookes Atkinson appeared before the State Department Loyalty and Security Board as a witness and verified statements made by Service concerning an article prepared by Atkinson regarding General Stilwell's recall. Service had explained that Atkinson had written a story in the New York Times for October 31, 1944, which contained the gist and the only important part of the story regarding General Stilwell's recall; that he (Service) had returned to the United States with Atkinson and had read the draft of his article while traveling. Following Service's apprehension by Bureau Agents, it should be noted, Atkinson had been quite critical of the Bureau.

On Page 91, the following is also set out: "It is most significant to note that Mr. Service arrived in Washington -- April 12, 1945 -- and the date the FBI first found him in contact with a subject in the Amerasia case -- April 19, 1945. On March 11, 1945, the OSS raided the offices of Amerasia and found there were numerous Government documents therein. Service pointed out that, manifestly, Jaffe's source of Government documents had been fully

developed by that time, which was prior to Mr. Service's return to the United States. We note in this regard that on April 18, 1945, the FBI had a conference with General Holmes of the State Department and Major Correa of the Navy Department. At that time, the Bureau indicated that it was ready to present it for such prosecutive action as the Department of Justice might think proper. On this date, Service had not yet met Jaffe, Mitchell, or Larsen and had met Mark Gayne for the first time on that day...."

In concluding its report of the case of John Stewart Service, the Subcommittee stated, "We have carefully considered the evidence and conclude that John Stewart Service is neither a disloyal person, a pro-Communist nor a security risk. We have been particularly impressed with the frankness and cooperativeness of Mr. Service in his appearance before us. Many questions with hidden implications have been asked him about events that transpired many years ago. Never did he seek to avoid answering on the ground he could not remember but always gave this subcommittee the benefit of any recollection he might have. In addition, he waived his immunity and voluntarily appeared before the grand jury in August of 1945. After hearing all the facts, the grand jury unanimously voted not to indict Mr. Service. We could not fail to be impressed also by the almost continuous scrutiny to which he has been subjected during the last five years. He has been cleared four times by either the State Department Personnel Board of the State Department Security and Loyalty Board." Continuing, the Subcommittee reported, "We have also found significant the fact that Emmanuel S. Larsen admitted to the FBI that he had furnished Jaffe with the eight ozalid copies of the Service reports found in Jaffe's brief case when he was arrested." In a signed statement given to Bureau Agents on June 7, 1945, Larsen stated that he last saw Jaffe on Monday, May 28th, 1945, at the Statler Hotel and at that time he did not give him any documents. That evening, Jaffe visited him at his home and he showed him two State Department reports by Jack Service. Jaffe expressly asked for Service's last reports, according to Larsen, which he apparently knew. Larsen admitted that in addition to these two reports, he had in the past given Jaffe a number of classified documents to read and they may have numbered six to ten documents in all.

HARLOW SHAPLEY  
(Page 94)

Inquiry by the Subcommittee established that Dr. Harlow Shapley is not an employee of the Department of State in any real and proper sense. He was appointed a member of the United States delegation to the Preparatory

Conference for UNESCO at London in 1945. On May 20, 1947, and June 27, 1947, Shapley was designated by the Executive Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was appointed by the Secretary of State to serve as a representative of that association on the United States National Commission for UNESCO. His term expired April 15, 1950. The Subcommittee stated that within the proper purview of its inquiry, no consideration need be given the charges made against Dr. Shapley.

JOHN CARTER VINCENT  
(Page 95)

The Subcommittee disposed of McCarthy's allegations concerning Vincent in two paragraphs, stating that "we have carefully reviewed the loyalty file concerning Mr. Vincent and the McCarthy charges are absurd on the basis thereof. The investigation of Mr. Vincent does not show him to be disloyal or a security risk."

In stating that the loyalty file concerning Vincent had been reviewed, it is believed that the report has reference to the State Department security file pertaining to him. You will recall that the Bureau is conducting a loyalty investigation of Vincent following submission of available data to the Department for an opinion as to whether such an investigation should be conducted. After consulting the State Department, the Department advised that we should proceed with a loyalty investigation.

CHARGES WITH RESPECT TO "FBI CHART"  
(Pages 95 and 96)

The Subcommittee here refers to the speech by Senator McCarthy before the Senate on June 6, 1950, where he presented a photostatic copy of a page of a report stated to be based on an FBI chart, allegedly indicating "Agents," "Communists," "Sympathizers," and "Suspects," as employed in the State Department. The Subcommittee states that while these charges are not before the Committee, a great deal of publicity has been accorded the so-called FBI Chart and in view of this situation it is believed that the facts of the matter should be set forth. Thereafter, there is quoted a portion of a letter dated June 28, 1950, from Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Undersecretary of State, identifying the report in question as having been prepared by Mr. Klaus, then assigned to the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration, in connection with a survey of Departmental security investigations. It is observed that on Pages 29 and 30 of the Klaus report, reference is made to a chart alleged to have been prepared by the FBI. Mr. Peurifoy thereafter states no such chart was ever received by the Department

of State from the FBI, nor was such a chart ever prepared by the FBI; that it had been conclusively determined that the chart was not prepared by the FBI but was prepared as an investigator's working document in the Department of State in 1946 and by employees of the Department of State; that the writer of the report drew the unintentional erroneous conclusion that the chart was prepared by the FBI. Mr. Peurifoy makes reference to a letter dated June 14, 1950, addressed by the Director to the State Department advising that the FBI did not send any such chart to the State Department and made no evaluation of information as was indicated in the Klaus report. This letter dated June 14, 1950, addressed by the Director to Mr. James E. Webb, Undersecretary of State, is quoted verbatim in the Subcommittee's report. It is also noted that Mr. Peurifoy's letter to the Subcommittee of June 28, 1950, assures the members that none of the employees named on the chart in question are presently employed by the State Department except those who have since been investigated and who have been checked and evaluated under the Loyalty Program.

Additional details concerning the State Department's repudiation of Senator McCarthy's comments concerning the chart in question are contained in State Department releases of June 6, and June 9, 1950, reproduced in Appendix 17 of the Subcommittee's report.

AMERASIA CASE  
(Pages 96-144)

The Amerasia Case is covered in the report made available by the Tydings Committee beginning on page 96 and ending on page 144.

A review has been made of these pages for any items which are critical of the Bureau, any inaccuracies as to the facts of the case as they are known to the Bureau, and for any other matters which are of interest to the Bureau. The following have been noted:

Page 101

Mr. McInerney's testimony under footnote #324 shows that the Bureau took over the investigation on a twenty-four hour basis beginning March 12, 1945. This statement is inaccurate because the Bureau did not receive the case until March 14, 1945, and the investigation was commenced on the following day, March 15, 1945.

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Page 102, last paragraph, and first paragraph top of page 103

This part of the report covers the Bureau's answers to questions asked by Senator Tydings in connection with this case.

"QUESTION: Were any employees of the State Department seen giving documents to other persons on the outside?

"ANSWER: While actual physical delivery of documents was not observed, the fact remains that hundreds of classified documents were recovered from unauthorized persons on June 6, 1945. Larsen and Service were observed in frequent contact with Jaffe and Roth. Service also met with Mark Gayn and has stayed in his New York apartment. Both Larsen and Service have admitted giving documents to Jaffe. Larsen and Service were also observed carrying envelopes or a zipper case out of the State Department. As a further illustration of the operations of this group, Service met with Jaffe in a hotel room on May 8, 1945. Service discussed military, political, and policy matters with Jaffe and cautioned him by saying: 'Well, what I said about the military plans is, of course, very secret.'"

It is noted that the answer to the above question is the same as the answer to question #5 contained in the statement furnished to the Tydings Committee by Messrs. Nichols and Ladd on May 31, 1950; however, the following was omitted "(as we are advised by departmental attorneys.)"

It is also noted that footnote #328 on page 103 states that the statement attributed to Service was not available to the Department of Justice for utilization before the Grand Jury inasmuch as the report concerning the conversation between Jaffe and Service was received by the Department of Justice with the following caveat from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Most of the foregoing information regarding the contacts made by the various principles and documents which were exchanged were obtained through highly confidential means and sources of information which cannot be used in evidence."

The report covering the conversation between Service and Jaffe at the Statler Hotel on May 8, 1945 (report of Special Agent Logan J. Lane, Washington Field Office, dated 5-26-45), did not contain any statement as set forth above; however, Bureau letter to Mr. Tom Clark of the Department, dated May 29, 1945, which outlined the facts in this case as of that date, did contain such a statement verbatim on page 8, paragraph 2, under the heading "Evidence." (100-267360-237, 260 p.8)

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Page 103, footnote #331, and page 104, paragraph 7

Mr. McInerney, according to his testimony as shown in footnote #331, page 103, stated as follows:

"When the case came to me on May the 29th, I was aware, of course, of its inception and the nature of the manner in which it started, and as we had done in other cases during the wartime, we authorized prosecution even though we knew that the evidence was tainted, and we authorized prosecution because the Bureau had been very successful in obtaining concessions and admissions which obviated the necessity of having to tender this evidence or offer it in court, and those were the two conclusions I came to on May the 29th, or three conclusions.

"One, that the case was vulnerable because of its inception on the part of OSS; Two, that in evaluating the legal evidence, which largely consisted of physical surveillance only, that we did not then have sufficient evidence to authorize prosecution.

"The third conclusion was that since the Bureau has obtained concessions and admissions in over 80 per cent of its cases, that with the usual break in the prosecution here, we would get incriminating admissions and concessions which would obviate a trial, and show the need for presenting or tendering this evidence....."

Page 104 paragraph 7

The report then goes on to state that Mr. McInerney in explaining his authorization of prosecution stated that he did so "since our experience has already been that we can make a case on an apprehension and search." The report further states that it appears, therefore, that, while realizing insufficient legal evidence was at hand, Mr. McInerney authorized prosecution on the theory that a search conducted incident to the arrest of the six subjects would produce the required evidence, taken with the possibility of securing confessions following the arrests. The report also says that Mr. McInerney authorized prosecution despite his feeling that the case might be vulnerable and the evidence developed also would be held inadmissible in a Court proceeding by reason of the investigative techniques that had been employed by OSS and FBI.

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Page 107 footnote 345

Mr. McInerney testified that as early as June 27, 1945 "We were being inundated with threatened motions to suppress the evidence, bills of particulars and return of the property, etc."

This is the first knowledge the Bureau has received that any of the attorneys for the subjects had considered filing a motion to suppress the evidence at a date as early as June 27, 1945. It will be recalled that Larsen filed such a motion on September 28, 1945.

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Pages 118 to 122

The committee report states the Department did not prosecute Jaffe, Larsen and Roth after the other three subjects had been no-billed by the Grand Jury for the following three reasons:

1. Larsen filed a motion to suppress the evidence on September 28, 1945 claiming the FBI had entered his apartment illegally prior to the date of his arrest.
2. The Department had the belief that Jaffe's attorney might file a similar motion as to the Amerasia Offices, thereby destroying the evidence against Jaffe and the other subjects. Having this belief, the Department decided to enter into an immediate agreement with Jaffe's attorney to plead him guilty on September 29, 1945, before Jaffe's attorney had a chance to change his mind.



3. The Department attorneys had interviewed Larsen and Jaffe and neither of them offered any information to strengthen the case against Roth and, therefore, the Department entered a nolle prosequere as to Roth.

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Page 130 paragraph 6

The report stated as follows:

"On September 28, 1945 the Criminal Division was informed that Larsen's attorney was about to file a demurrer, motion to quash the indictment and an application to suppress the evidence obtained from the search of Larsen's apartment."

"Representatives of the Criminal Division conferred with FBI officials on the morning of September 28, 1945, and it was generally agreed that the case was in serious jeopardy. A number of suggestions were made and discarded."

The above statement as to a conference between representatives of the Criminal Division and FBI officials on the morning of September 28, 1945, is false. The statement as made here would lead one to believe that the Bureau and Departmental Representatives had conferred as to what steps should be taken with respect to Larsen's motion. However, if any conferring was done and suggestions made, the Bureau had no part. The true facts are as follows:

By memorandum dated September 26, 1945 the Bureau notified the Attorney General that Mr. E. R. Sager, Manager of Larsen's apartment told an Agent of the Washington Field Office on September 25, 1945 that he had admitted to Larsen on the previous date that he had afforded Agents of the FBI access to Larsen's apartment. This information was furnished to the Attorney General with the suggestion that if a Departmental Representative would talk to Sager, that Sager would be instructed to call at the Department of Justice. No further action was taken by the Bureau at that time.

(100-267360 serial 685)

Page 131

#### Disposition of Case Against Larsen

The report stated, "With the case of Jaffe safely disposed of in what was considered a manner satisfactory under the circumstances, the Department was still confronted with a motion to suppress filed by Larsen. A number of

conferences were held with the attorneys for Larsen and Roth in an effort to obtain pleas of guilty but without success. Larsen's attorney at first took the position he would not consider a plea until his motion to suppress was decided.

"The time for filing the Government's response to the motion to suppress was deferred. In response to the motion, the Government would have been obliged to admit the illegality of the search and seizure. However, the necessity for making this admission was averted when Larsen's counsel finally offered to plead his client nolo contendere if he could receive some assurance that only a moderate fine would be imposed. He pointed out that Larsen had been imposed upon by Jaffe, that he had lost his Government position which he had held for 10 years, that he was unemployed and penniless, and that he had a wife and family dependent upon him.

"The Government was aware of these facts and finally agreed, if consulted by the Court to recommend a fine of \$500. This position was taken largely because of the above factors and also because we realized that Jaffe was the main culprit, that he had corrupted Larsen and was responsible for his plight, and that it would be manifestly unjust for Larsen to receive a sentence greater or even equal to that imposed upon Jaffe. Larsen entered a plea of nolo contendere on November 2, 1945 and was fined \$500, as recommended by the Government."

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Pages 131 to 133

Disposition of Case Against Roth

The report stated, "Only the case against Roth now remained. This case was very weak and depended on several pages of handwriting and typewriting (identified as Roth's) of what appeared to be official documents. On September 27, 1945, Roth had filed a demurrer attacking the indictment and a motion for a bill of particulars. Argument on these motions had been postponed from time to time.

"At the time the Department offered to accept pleas of guilty from Jaffe and Larsen the Government's attorneys informed their counsel that Jaffe and Larsen would be examined by the Government counsel in an attempt to try to strengthen the case against Roth. This was done and both men were interviewed in November and December, 1945.

"Larsen, interviewed with respect to Roth's complicity, was unable to make any contribution except that Roth arranged the introduction between him and Jaffe early in 1944 while both he and Roth were employed by ONI. He could not implicate Roth in the conspiracy and as a matter of fact his statement tended to exculpate Roth, a result for which he had no known motive. After relating the

facts as to how he was introduced to Jaffe and Roth in March, 1944. Larson stated that at no time did Roth and he ever discuss Larsen's transactions with Jaffe, nor did he and Jaffe discuss them in the presence of Roth. Larsen stated that he had no facts whatsoever that would indicate that Roth knew that he, Larsen, was supplying documents to Jaffe. Larsen said that Roth never saw him give Jaffe any material nor saw Jaffe give any material to him (Larsen). Larsen further stated that he never saw Roth deliver anything to Jaffe, and that Jaffe never told him that he, Jaffe, was getting any material from Roth; nor did Roth ever tell Larsen that he, Roth, was giving any material to Jaffe. Larsen did mention one incident which occurred early in 1945. He said that he saw Roth leave the Navy Department, with a large envelope filled with something; that Roth stated he was having lunch with Jaffe and that on the return of Roth he had nothing in his hand. Larsen asserted that whether Roth gave the contents of the envelope to Jaffe or what was in the envelope he, Larsen, does not know. Later Larsen corrected the date of this incident and said that it must have been late in 1944 rather than in 1945.

"Jaffe, a long-time friend and associate of Roth completely absolved Roth of any knowledge or participation in the matter and explained how Roth happened to copy several documents for him. This the Department expected since it was not naive enough to expect Jaffe to implicate Roth.

".....

"While the physical surveillances showed meetings between Roth and some of the others, he was never observed transmitting or receiving Government documents. Several of these meetings were of a social nature. There was no evidence that Roth unlawfully removed any Government documents. Moreover, since the defendants were charged with conspiring to embezzle and remove Government documents, essential elements of the offense were the entering of each defendant into the agreement to commit those unlawful objects of the conspiracy, with knowledge of the existence thereof and intent to further its purposes in some manner. The prosecution would have had to prove these essential elements to secure convictions. As regards Roth, there was no proof that he entered into such an agreement with others, or that he had the knowledge and criminal intent to make a person a member of a conspiracy.

"In view of the state of the evidence above outlined, the decision was reached that the case against Roth could not be successfully prosecuted. After several postponements of hearings on motions brought by Roth's attorneys, and after an unsuccessful effort was made to place it on the pending inactive docket, the Government was forced to nolle prosequere the case against him on February 15, 1946."

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Commendatory Statement Concerning FBI's Action in This Case.

On Page 133 the following paragraph appears in the Report:

"This report is not intended to qualify the seriousness or gravity of this case. The FBI's prompt and vigorous action in face of a situation already tainted with illegality was of inestimable service to this country. This report only deals with the difficulties of successful prosecution and the bases for the decisions made."

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Pages 138 to 144

Summation by the Committee

The Committee summarized its investigation of the Amerasia Case in the following five points as set out hereafter:

"1. It has been asserted that an effort was made to delay the investigation. The FBI has denied that there was any delay whatever in its investigation and that no efforts were made to "fix" the case insofar as the FBI is concerned.

"2. Similarly, charges have been made that efforts were made to delay prosecution. These charges now appear to have stemmed from advice given the FBI on May 31, 1945, by the Department of Justice that prosecution should be held in abeyance pending the outcome of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. This fact has precipitated a floodtide of speculation and unwarranted innuendos, culminating in the question of whether Alger Hiss' hand may have been in the picture. It is now crystal clear that the advice received by the FBI to hold the prosecution in abeyance originated in a desire of the late Mr. James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, that the full implications of the proposed arrests in the Amerasia case be conveyed to the President in consideration of the delicate character of our conversation with the Soviet Union at the time and the treatment which the press would accord the case by reason of the Communist connections of some of the subjects. Upon learning of the matter, the President on June 2, 1945, personally ordered the FBI to proceed at once with the case and not to be deterred by instructions from anyone. The State Department was equally insistent upon prosecuting the case to the fullest. The facts clearly reveal there was no "delay" in handling the case in any real or substantial sense.

"3. It has been asserted that the Department of Justice failed to prosecute the case to the fullest and compromised it to the prejudice of the ends of justice. The officials directly responsible for prosecuting the case have testified under oath that they had absolutely a free rein in handling the case at all stages of the prosecution and were under no compulsion or restraint from any source whatever. There is not even a shred of evidence before us suggesting the contrary. It appears that the case was handled to the very best of their ability in the light of the legal and factual problems confronting them and their understanding of the law. Certainly common sense and fairness entitle Federal officials to the assumption that they have conscientiously done their duty, at least until facts to the contrary, not here present, are shown. The fact that some of the defendants did not receive the punishment which we today feel they deserved or which we would like to have seen them receive is the result of certain incidents of the case which have been heretofore discussed and not the result of dereliction on the part of the prosecuting officials. Under all of the circumstances of the case, we are constrained to suggest that the Department was fortunate in securing the punishment that was meted out.

"4. One of the most snide and disgusting charges in this case has been the suggestion that the handling of the Amerasia prosecution by Mr. Robert M. Hitchcock may have had a relationship to his subsequently becoming associated with a Buffalo, N. Y., law firm in which an uncle of one of the Amerasia defendants, Kate Mitchell, was a partner. There is absolutely no basis whatever for such a suggestion. The facts are that, many months after the Amerasia case was disposed of, Mr. Hitchcock was approached for the first time by a member of the law firm with a view to his becoming an associate thereof to handle a special field of litigation for which he was peculiarly well equipped by reason of his trial experience. Significantly, this member of the firm had no knowledge of the relationship between his partner and Miss Mitchell.

"5. There have also been allegations that the appearance of Philip Jacob Jaffe for sentencing on Saturday morning, September 29, 1945, was an unusual and unprecedented procedure, with the inference that something improper was involved. The persons who lend themselves to such a vicious fabrication do a grave injustice to the presiding judge, the Honorable James M. Proctor, in implying that he would permit any improper procedure.

"The fact of the matter is that in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, a judge is always assigned to duty on Saturday mornings. This judge is available for emergency cases and will also, at his discretion, handle brief matters for the convenience of counsel. It is not at all unusual for a case to be heard on Saturday morning if the plea is changed from "not guilty" to "guilty" and a speedy disposition is desired by all parties. Moreover, it is customary for counsel to determine in advance that the judge is free and set a time to appear. Therefore, the Jaffe case was handled in the same routine manner as many other cases.

"There has also been criticism of the fact that the judge was not advised of the "Communist connections" of Philip Jacob Jaffe. Such a criticism is the direct result of a misunderstanding of the case. It must be remembered that Jaffe was charged with conspiracy to obtain unlawfully Government documents. The Government had no evidence of the transmission of these documents by Jaffe to others. The only conceivable purpose justifying the use of information about Jaffe's Communist connections would be on a theory that it would indicate the possibility of a transmission of the information to the Soviet Union. To submit such allegations would in effect be an attempt to show that espionage had been committed when a lesser crime was charged and pleaded to, despite the fact that no evidence was available to support a charge of espionage.

"The Government attorneys handling the case were convinced that, unless they obtained a plea immediately, no conviction whatever of Jaffe could ever be obtained. They had first received word on Friday, September 28, 1945, that Larsen planned to file a motion to quash. They believed that once Jaffe learned of the unauthorized entries into Larsen's apartment, he would immediately follow the same procedure. Since illegal entries had been made in the Amerasia offices also, they were convinced that legally such a motion would be granted and the entire case lost. Therefore, only one alternative remained. They communicated, as heretofore discussed, with Jaffe's attorney and entered into a binding agreement to accept a plea of guilty in return for a Government recommendation of a substantial fine as the punishment, this agreement being made before Jaffe's attorney could learn of the news about Larsen's motion to quash.

"The Government also considered it necessary to have the plea formally entered as soon as possible in order to eliminate any possibility that Jaffe's attorney would back out on his commitment. In addition, Jaffe desired that the case be settled immediately. Once the Government attorneys were before the Court with an agreement to recommend a fine, it was manifestly impossible for them to argue that the offense was so heinous, because of the subject's alleged Communist connections, that a greater sentence should be imposed. If they attempted to do this, it would obviously release Jaffe from his commitment and he would be free to withdraw his plea and file his own motion to quash.

"A further consideration bearing on this question is that the Government in 1945 did not have proof that Jaffe was a member of the Communist Party. The most they had was that Jaffe had some Communist connections, which were not per se illegal or reprehensible, especially in 1945 when the Soviet Union, at least for all practical purposes of public moment, was an ally and friend of the United States. The allegations of Communist connections would not have been legally admissible evidence and thus had no probative significance.

"The matter of Jaffe's plea, therefore, resolves itself into a question of legal judgment and tactics. If the Department of Justice attorneys were correct in their conclusion that the evidence was legally inadmissible and that any delay in acting would allow Jaffe to escape without punishment, they were obviously right in their action. If, on the other hand, they made an error in legal judgment, their procedure was wrong. Since they choose the former, it follows that once committed to this course, they could not present the allegations of Jaffe's Communist connections, assuming they should have done so, without defeating their own objective. Therefore, any criticism of the handling of the case before the Court is solely a question of the validity of the judgment of the Department of Justice attorneys. We do not feel it incumbent upon us to attempt to resolve this legal question, since we find that the Jaffe case was presented to the Court with the sole intention of furthering the best interests of the United States as the attorneys handling the matter in their best judgment and honest belief appraised the situation."

#### Testimony of Messrs. Ladd and Nichols

The testimony of Assistant to the Director D. M. Ladd and Assistant Director L. B. Nichols, furnished to the subcommittee on May 31, 1950, is not set out in the report in its entirety. However, from time to time, excerpts of their testimony are mentioned in footnotes. It is further noted that in Appendix I, which is a statement concerning the investigation by the subcommittee, under 10 (c), it is stated that one of the matters gone into by the subcommittee was the interrogation of Associate Director D. M. Ladd and Assistant Director L. D. Nichols of the FBI concerning the investigation of the Amerasia case. It is stated that these gentlemen advised they were in a position to supply the full story of the case from the FBI's standpoint and that their testimony before the Subcommittee, along with the Hobbs Committee record, constituted the complete story. (Appendix I, pages 155, 156)

THE SOURCES OF THE CHARGES  
(Pages 144-148)

The Committee reported that after an extensive investigation it felt in a position to indicate the primary sources of the charges which have been made in this case.

Charge of Large Number of Communists in the State Department

The Committee stated that investigators of the House subcommittee, considering the State Department appropriation during the Eightieth Congress, prepared memoranda concerning 108 individuals based on information contained in State Department security files. These memoranda, continued the report, did not represent or purport to be a full analysis of the files involved and in some instances related to applicants never employed and to cases of mistaken identity; four committees of the Eightieth Congress did not regard the memoranda as significant or indicative of disloyalty in the State Department and they did not even submit a report concerning them.

Selections from these 108 memoranda, dressed up to appear more sinister and alarming, it was charged, were used by Senator McCarthy as the basis for his February 20, 1950, speech on the Senate floor which precipitated the investigation and which were presented as information only recently given him covertly by "loyal" employees in the State Department.

Charge That Communists and Other Disloyal Forces in the State Department Sabotaged American China Policy

Three well-defined sources were said by the Committee to have been responsible for the charge that disloyal individuals have been responsible for the "failure of America's China policy." These were listed as perversion of the testimony of Patrick J. Hurley, former Ambassador to China, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in December, 1945; Alfred Kohlberg, New York City importer; and an article purportedly written by Emmanuel S. Larsen, one of the defendants in the Amerasia case, for the October, 1946, issue of Plain Talk. Larsen repudiated the latter article in all essential respects, submitting to the Committee his draft—which bore "little or no resemblance to the articles which was published." The action attributed to Isaac Don Levine, editor of Plain Talk, and his associates in connection with the article was condemned by the Committee as beneath contempt.



THE FACTS BEHIND THE CHARGE OF "WHITEWASH"  
(Pages 149-151)

The Committee bitterly assails the charge that it had "whitewashed" the investigation into McCarthy's allegations concerning Communists in the Government, stating that such charges were an "organized campaign of vilification and abuse." The report then gives an analysis of the campaign, stating that the factors responsible for such a campaign were:

1. The necessity of creating the impression that the inquiry was not thorough and sincere in order to camouflage the fact that the charges made by Senator McCarthy were false and that the Senate and the American people had been deceived. The report states that from the beginning, Senator McCarthy had sought to leave the impression that the Committee was investigating him, instead of the "Disloyalty in the State Department," because it is now known that he had no facts to support his "wild and baseless charges," and lived in mortal fear that this situation would be exposed.

2. An effort to force upon the Committee the adoption of unfair methods and procedures which would permit the "conviction" of individuals on the basis of unwarranted considerations. The report stated that the Committee had tried to apply the principles of fair play, and when a charge against an individual was publicly made, to give that person a chance to make a public reply. The report claims that an attempt was made to force upon the Committee the "rankest sort of hearsay testimony, and then when such testimony was not allowed, cries of "whitewash" were heightened.

3. A third factor in the campaign to create the "whitewash" idea was the desire to leave the thought that the Committee was engaged in a cover-up of something dark and sinister in the administration. The report states that this tactic was a political maneuver designed to obfuscate the fact that the proponents of the charge of disloyalty in the State Department were without facts, and was thwarted when the President opened the loyalty files to the Committee.

4. The fourth factor in the "whitewash" campaign was the fact that a prominent newspaper chain (unnamed) was being sued for libel by one of the defendants in the Amerasia case with the result that, by seeking to force procedures and findings of a certain character, it was felt the suit would be unsuccessful.

The Committee's report states that the campaign of vilification and "whitewash" had been partially successful due to the following considerations:

1. The fact that until now the Committee has not been in a position to tell the truth (about the "whitewash" charges) to the American people.

2. "Another consideration is the oft-repeated and natural reaction of many good people that goes something like this - 'Well, there must be something to the charges, or a United States Senator would never have made them.'"

3. The third consideration has been the readiness of many people to believe charges of disloyalty in the State Department by reason of the Alger Hiss case.

4. The fourth and final consideration has been the vague uneasiness of many Americans concerning the ascendancy of the Communists in China and the decline of the Nationalist Government. The Committee feels that such a setting makes a fertile ground for the people to believe that someone, perhaps in our own State Department, may have been responsible for this situation. The Committee recommends the State Department "White Paper" to anyone desiring to know the real facts concerning American diplomacy in China during 1944-1949.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS  
(Pages 151-152)

The report states that in concluding the report of its investigation, it was constrained to make several observations which were regarded as fundamental. The first was that "It is, of course, clearly apparent that the charges of Communist infiltration of and influence upon the State Department are false." The Committee states that "we have seen the technique of the 'Big Lie,' employed by the totalitarian dictators with devastating success, utilized for the first time on a sustained basis in our history." The Committee states that it is its sincere opinion that the charges of the character made in this case seriously impair the efforts of the agencies of the Government in combatting the problem of subversion. The report states that the charges made by McCarthy had succeeded to a great degree in doing what the Communists themselves had been trying and were unable to do - divide our people here at home and our allies abroad.

"We have seen how, through repetition and shifting untruths," states the report, "it is possible to delude great numbers of people." It was noted that an analysis of this technique was contained in Appendix 24, a review of which follows.

ANALYSIS OF THE CHARGES MADE BY SENATOR  
JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
(Appendix 24, Pages 296-337)

The Committee notes that on February 9, 1950, Senator McCarthy opened a campaign against the Department of State which of its kind was perhaps the most sensational in the history of the United States. "Unparalleled in cynical character assassination," reports the Committee, "ranging in its application from the President of the United States to minor Washington clerks, professionally and expertly keyed to lurid sensationalism, viciously unscrupulous in falsely heightening the fears of the public in a time of international crisis, versatile, opportunistic, and, at times, desperate, Senator McCarthy gave birth to and steadily nurtured a phenomenon designated, by common consent, as 'McCarthyism'".

Appendix 24 is a Memorandum analyzing Senator McCarthy's charges in four parts: 1. The McCarthy Charges in General. 2. The McCarthy Techniques and Methods. 3. The Effects of McCarthyism. 4. The Contradictions and Conflicts in the McCarthy Charges.

1. The McCarthy Charges in General

Various charges made by Senator McCarthy commencing with his speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, are recounted, followed by the Committee's comments regarding refutation of such charges. It is noted that in a speech at Chicago on May 6, 1950, Senator McCarthy included an alleged statement by J. Edgar Hoover that the Amerasia case "is a 100-percent airtight case of espionage." The Department of Justice denied, adds the Committee, that Mr. Hoover ever made such a statement. Before the Senate on June 6, 1950, Senator McCarthy charged that the FBI had sent to the State Department a chart listing "agents," "Communists," "sympathizers" and "suspects," according to the report, which adds that no such chart had been prepared by the FBI but had been compiled by the State Department on May 15, 1946.

## 2. The McCarthy Techniques and Methods

Under this heading the Committee describes Senator McCarthy's most important and shocking technique as the sweeping accusation unwarranted by evidence. Listed thereafter are the multiple untruth, manufactured evidence, repetition, deliberate perpetuation of confusion, headline production and the "Yahoo" (anti-intellectual) appeal. The Committee sets forth considerable information in support of these appellations.

## 3. The Effects of McCarthyism

The effects of any given technique, reports the Committee, may not in itself be serious and even the use of a number of them—with some restraint—may be considered a normal phenomenon in the world of practical affairs. When, however, these techniques are used by a United States Senator under the circumstances of world crisis, and for the purpose of attacking the spokesman for the United States in the field of foreign affairs, the effects can be expected to be extremely serious. The Committee then declares Senator McCarthy's methods and techniques have undoubtedly confused our friends and heartened our enemies; diverted the energies of the public and public officials; undermined the procedures of the U. S. Senate and democracy by fraudulent inducement of appointment of a special investigating committee; demoralized public servants; and deprived individuals of legal redress by making unwarranted charges under cover of Congressional immunity.

## 4. Contradictions and Conflicts in the McCarthy Charges

Under this caption the Committee lists a large number of charges by Senator McCarthy and points out what it terms contradictions and conflicts.

The Director

July 11, 1950

D. M. Ladd

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FOREIGN  
RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

PURPOSE

To submit for your information the results of a review of the proposed report of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning information appearing therein which directly relates to the FBI or FBI personnel, and to also highlight comments of the Subcommittee.

BACKGROUND

At 4:50 PM on July 10, 1950, a copy of the proposed report of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was made available to the Bureau on a highly confidential basis, it being stipulated that no copies should be made nor any notations made thereon.

This proposed report and the attached appendices (consisting of 337 pages in all) have been reviewed for information which directly relates to the FBI or FBI personnel, special emphasis having been placed on such information as reflects adversely on the Bureau. In this connection, however, it is noted that page sixty-two of the proposed report, as submitted to the Bureau, was missing and therefore could not be reviewed.

In making this review, no attempt has been made to compare the conclusions set forth in the proposed report with the facts as contained in Bureau files, and other than those which directly concern the Bureau no attempt has been made to establish the accuracy or inaccuracy of statements appearing therein.

Generally, throughout the proposed report, references made to the FBI or FBI personnel are commendatory. The findings and conclusions of the Subcommittee are generally favorable to the individuals charged by Senator McCarthy, and no recommendations for dismissal are made.

ACTION

The attached memorandum is submitted for your information.

Attachment

EMG:EFF ADDENDUM - July 11, 1950

Your attention is particularly called to page 6 of the

*OK* *mf*

attached memorandum wherein is set forth a statement with reference to McCarthy's charge about the stripping of the State Department's files indicating that "the files were reviewed by Agents of the FBI and the Department of Justice ....". This, of course, is incorrect.

On page 16 of the attached memorandum, it is pointed out that the Department of Justice has advised the Department of State that Mr. Hoover never made the widely publicized statement that it was a one hundred per cent airtight case against the Amerasia defendants. This of course is an incorrect statement and while the Department has been advised of the inaccuracy of this, the Committee has not.

On page 26 of this memorandum, it is noted that the letter from the Director to the State Department with reference to the chart prepared by Sam Klaus was set forth in full.

With reference to the Amerasia Case on page 30 of the attached memorandum, it is set forth that representatives of the Criminal Division conferred with FBI officials on the morning of September 28, 1945, and it was generally agreed that the case was in serious jeopardy. A number of suggestions were made and discarded. This leaves the erroneous impression that the Bureau might have concurred in the Department's handling of the prosecution.

It is pointed out that the full testimony of the Bureau's representatives is not set forth in the report. Excerpts from the testimony are mentioned in the footnotes.

It is noted that the question, which was 7B in the testimony, was changed. This question is quoted and reads "Was evidence sought and obtained by entering the apartment and premises of the accused without legal process and without the knowledge of the accused." Mr. Nichols' answer was then quoted.

The next question is worded "Were these entries of the premises before arrests made by the Agents without legal process and without the knowledge of the subjects?" The words "surreptitiously" and "stealthily" are not used.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

July 11, 1950

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY  
INVESTIGATION

REPORT  
of a  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Pursuant to

S. Res. 231

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE  
ARE EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page number
Introduction . . . . .	1,2
Conception of the Subcommittee's Duty. . . . .	2
Initial Phase of the Inquiry . . . . .	3
The Story of the "81 Cases". . . . .	3,4
Review of Loyalty Files . . . . .	5,6,7
Problem Confronting the State Department 1945-1946 . . . . .	8
Handling of the Loyalty Program. . . . .	8,9
The Cases of the Individuals Publicly Charged . . . . .	9
Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer . . . . .	10
Gustavo Duran . . . . .	10,11
Haldore Hanson . . . . .	12
Philip C. Jessup . . . . .	12,13
Dorethy Kenyon . . . . .	13
Owen Lattimore . . . . .	14-21
Frederick L. Schuman . . . . .	22
John Stewart Service . . . . .	22-24
Harlow Shapley . . . . .	24,25
John Carter Vincent . . . . .	25,
Charges With Respect To "FBI Chart". . . . .	25,26
Amerasia Case. . . . .	27-36
The Sources of the Charges . . . . .	37
The Facts Behind the Charge of "Whitewash" . . . . .	38,39
General Observations . . . . .	39-41



STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY  
INVESTIGATION

REPORT  
of a  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Pursuant to

S. Res. 231

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE  
ARE EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

Subcommittee on Senate Resolution 231

MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Maryland, Chairman  
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, Rhode Island      BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa  
BRIEN McMAHON, Connecticut                  HENRY CABOT LODGE, Jr., Massachusetts  
Edward P. Morgan, Chief Counsel  
Robert L. Heald, Assistant Counsel  
William J. Klina, Assistant Counsel  
Robert Morris, Assistant Counsel  
Lyon L. Tyler, Assistant Counsel

INTRODUCTION

Under the introduction of this report, it is pointed out that on February 22, 1950, the Senate adopted Resolution 231, authorizing and directing the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, or any subcommittee thereof, to conduct a full and complete study and investigation as to whether persons who are disloyal to the United States are or have been employed by the Department of State. The Committee was directed to report to the Senate at earliest practicable date results of investigation and recommendations. If recommendations included formal charges of disloyalty, the Committee, before making recommendation was directed to give the individual open hearings for purpose of taking evidence or testimony. In the conduct of this study and investigation, the Resolution directed the Committee to procure by subpoena and examine complete

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

loyalty and employment files and records of employees of State Department and such other agencies against whom charges have been heard.

Pursuant to Res. 231, a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, comprised of Senators Tydings (Chairman), Green, McMahon, Hickenlooper and Lodge, was appointed to conduct the investigation. Beginning with public hearings on March 8, 1950, public or executive hearings were held on 31 subsequent days, ending on July 7, 1950, during the course of which 35 witnesses appeared. Additionally, a special subcommittee consisting of Senators Green and Lodge interrogated a total of 34 witnesses both in the United States and abroad.

The report called attention to the circumstances behind the Resolution, referring to Senator McCarthy's speech on February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, West Virginia, when he allegedly stated that although he could not take the time to name all the men in the State Department who had been named as active members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, he had in his hand a list of 205 names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless were still working and shaping policy in the State Department; further, that in an interview over a radio station at Salt Lake City, Utah, on February 10, 1950, McCarthy said, "Last night I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated I had the names of 57 card carrying members of the Communist Party." Considerable attention is directed to the fact that the number and characterization of Communists in the State Department had dropped over night from 205 "named as active members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring" to "57 card carrying members of the Communist Party." The report relates that since Senator McCarthy had left the unmistakable inference he had recently obtained from unrevealed sources in the State Department the information he was presenting, despite the inconsistencies apparent from the outset, an immediate and thorough investigation was necessary. Accordingly, Senate Resolution 231 introduced by Senator Scott W. Lucas was adopted.

#### CONCEPTION OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S DUTY

(Pages 4 - 5)

It is pointed out that Res. 231 was the result of McCarthy's charges and the inquiry contemplated utilization of and development of information which McCarthy had assured he had recently obtained; that the Committee had not conceived its function to be that of superseding the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its investigations of the loyalty of Federal employees or of the House Committee on un-American Activities.

INITIAL PHASE OF THE INQUIRY  
(Pages 5-6)

According to the report, the first witness to appear before the subcommittee was Senator McCarthy who, according to the report, had no evidence whatever to submit concerning the individuals discussed by him previously but insisted the evidence to support the charges would be found in the loyalty files maintained in the Executive Branch of the Government. The report points out this was both interesting and significant since it was well known that under the President's Directive of March 13, 1948, the release of information developed concerning employees incident to the Loyalty Program was prohibited. The report stated from the very outset the subcommittee was subjected by Senator McCarthy and certain segments of the press and radio to a campaign of vilification probably unparalleled in the history of Congressional investigations; that the unwarranted cry "whitewash" was raised even before the hearing started and equally unfair and malicious allegations were made throughout the proceedings.

THE STORY OF THE "81 CASES"  
(Pages 6-9)

This section of the report refers to the investigation of 108 loyalty files of the State Department conducted in 1947 by investigators for a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations in connection with the State Department's Appropriation Bill for 1948. It points out that a case by case analysis by the Tydings Subcommittee of the 81 Cases referred to by Senator McCarthy on February 20, 1950, revealed that all 81 cases were included in the "108 list"; that language employed by Senator McCarthy in his "81 Cases" is similar textually to the language used in the counterpart cases appearing in the "108 list"; that where variations in the case descriptions used by Senator McCarthy occur, the language had been changed by Senator McCarthy to create a more sinister impression and where he changed the facts in the case descriptions he had changed them to create worse impressions. The report further points out that a review of the 108 memoranda prepared by the House investigators in 1947 shows that they were limited to derogatory information appearing in the files without reference to information tending to disprove allegations and did not appear to be concerned with the merits of the cases but dealt merely with the basis for or inadequacy of the investigations.

The report comments that Senator McCarthy's speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, constituted a perversion compounded of the State Department's loyalty files in terms of the situation that prevailed not in 1950 but back in 1947 and that Senator McCarthy had received no under-cover information from "loyal" or "disturbed" State Department employees as he led the Senate to believe but his information was beyond all reasonable doubt a "dressed up" version of material developed by the 80th Congress.

The Tydings Committee report brings out that it was confronted with the annoying spectacle of four different committees of the 80th Congress, which was controlled by Senator McCarthy's own Party, having considered the very same files and information which provided the predicate for the McCarthy charges, with none of these committees so much as regarding the situation as one meriting a report for citing a single State Department employee as disloyal. The four committees of the 80th Congress referred to are specified as being the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, 80th Congress which originally considered the list of "108 cases," a subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments which held hearings in March, 1948, regarding handling of loyalty cases by the State Department, a "Committee of One" (Representative Bartel J. Jonkman, Republican, Michigan) who made a probe into State Department security and reported thereon to the House on August 2, 1948, and a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, 80th Congress which, being cognizant of the memoranda of the "108 Cases" had examined Secretary of State George C. Marshall regarding the State Department's loyalty program.

Mention is made of the fact that Mr. John E. Peurifoy of the State Department, in testifying regarding the "108 Cases" before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments, 80th Congress, pointed out that only 57 of the 108 individuals were then employed in the State Department. From this the Tydings Subcommittee states that it is clear Senator McCarthy's reference to "57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party" was actually a reference to the 57 State Department employees mentioned by Mr. Peurifoy.

## REVIEW OF LOYALTY FILES

(Pages 9 to 12)

In this section of the report, mention is made of the review of the files concerning the individuals charged by Senator McCarthy in his speech before the Senate on February 20, 1950, made by members of the Tydings Subcommittee at the White House. It is pointed out that in reviewing the files the Committee members recognized that they sat in judgment on the work of the FBI, the State Department Security Staff, the State Department Loyalty and Security Board and in some instances the President's Loyalty Review Board, representatives of which agencies had previously appeared before the Committee and impressed the Committee with their background, character, integrity, and manifest patriotism; that to assume any one of these representatives would have been a part to or have countenanced in any way harboring in the State Department of persons disloyal to the United States would not only have been absurd but unwarranted. However, the Committee was also mindful of the charge implicit in Senator McCarthy's allegations that an individual or individuals responsible for ferreting out disloyal employees, deliberately or otherwise, failed to perform his or their official duties. The Committee also realized that the officials responsible for making a determination of an employee's loyalty were in a much more favorable position to make such a determination and the function of the Committee was properly that of passing judgment on an administrative finding not unlike the function of an appellate court. A third consideration of the Committee in reviewing these files was the standards and criteria laid down under the Loyalty Program.

The following quoted comments of the Committee as they appear in its report illustrate the general findings of the Committee as a result of its review of the files in question and also illustrate comments of interest made by the Committee and pertinent references to the FBI:

"With the foregoing considerations in mind, we have carefully and conscientiously reviewed each and every one of the loyalty files relative to the individuals charged by Senator McCarthy. In no instance was any one of them now employed in the State Department found to be a 'card carrying Communist,' a member of the Communist Party or 'loyal to the Communist Party.' Furthermore, in no instance have we found

"In our considered judgment that the decision to grant loyalty or/and security clearance has been erroneously or improperly made in the light of existing loyalty standards."

.....

"What we have found have been meticulous and comprehensive investigations conducted by the FBI. These investigations have been exhaustive and provide, in so far as humanly possible, a thorough going exploration of every avenue through which an employee's background and loyalty may be pursued and determined. The files reflect a similar thoroughness on the part of the State Department's Security Staff. Where loyalty hearings have been involved, the proceedings have been pertinent and comprehensive in contemplation of the issues involved."

.....

"We are fully satisfied, therefore, on the basis of our study of the loyalty files, that the State Department has not knowingly retained, in its employ, individuals who have been disloyal."

.....

"What the State Department knows concerning an employee's loyalty is to be found in its loyalty and security files. These files contain all information bearing on loyalty, obtained from any and all sources, including, of course, the reports of full field investigation by the FBI. Interestingly, in this regard, no sooner had the President indicated that the files would be available for review by the Subcommittee than Senator McCarthy charged they were being 'raped,' altered, or otherwise subjected to a 'housecleaning.' This charge was found to be utterly without foundation in fact. The files were reviewed by Agents of the FBI and the Department of Justice has testified that all information bearing on the employee's loyalty, as developed by the FBI, appears in the files which were reviewed by the Subcommittee." (The underlining has been added to highlight this particular comment as it appears in the Tydings Report, since the comment implies that Bureau Agents actually reviewed the files of the State Department on the individuals involved for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were complete. We, of course, did not review the State Department

files for this purpose but did make a review of the Bureau's files for the purpose of furnishing to the Attorney General a brief specifying Bureau correspondence whereby information concerning these individuals had been furnished to the State Department and the Civil Service Commission. This brief was requested by Mr. Peyton Ford to assist the Attorney General in preparing a letter addressed to the Tydings Subcommittee, concerning the cases named on a "Subpoena List" received by the Justice Department from the Tydings Subcommittee. It is interesting to note that the Tydings report footnotes the comment underlined above by referring to a letter from the Department of Justice dated June 16, 1950, "printed in the record.")

"The most amazing thing in connection with our review of the loyalty files made available to us by the President is the fact that Senator Hickenlooper read only 9 of the files and Senator Lodge 12. Despite, therefore, the clamor and demand that was raised by Senator McCarthy, along with his associates, and the assertion that the loyalty files would 'prove his case,' we find the most unbelievable situation of the members of Senator McCarthy's own Party on our Subcommittee taking the trouble to read only a very small percentage of the files made available for these examinations by the President."

.....

"Our review of the files reveals to us the value and necessity of the Loyalty Program.... We fully endorse the Program and feel that the necessity for perennial vigilance to prevent the penetration of our Government by those who would subvert and destroy it is of paramount importance.... The job is one to be performed in a quiet, sober, intelligent manner by those trained and competent for the task. We believe that in the FBI our Government has the finest investigative organization in the world under one of the most eminent and capable career public servants in this or any other generation, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. They possess the ability in a quiet and unobtrusive manner to gather the facts concerning the loyalty of Federal employees and to keep abreast of and forestall the constant efforts of our enemies to place their minions in the Government service. Of this we are fully satisfied. Additionally, we have found, as heretofore suggested, no instance where officials in the State Department, charged with responsibility for taking action on the basis of disloyalty, have failed to do so where the facts as developed by the FBI have revealed evidence of a type and character warranting a finding of disloyalty or security risk under the standards which have been laid down for their guidance."

PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN 1945 - 1946  
(Pages 12 - 18)

This section of the report refers to the fact that in order to appreciate the problem of security in the State Department and the true source of the charges that have been made, it is necessary to consider the situation with which the State Department was confronted in late 1945 and early 1946 following the end of hostilities. Briefly, it is pointed out that various emergency agencies were established during the war which employed some individuals whose connection in a Communist sense would bar them from employment today; that there was a shortage of civilian personnel during the war and it was impossible to conduct adequate investigation of a great number of employees; that the Soviet Union was our ally during the war but at the end of hostilities it became apparent the Soviet Union did not contemplate co-operation and friendly relations with democratic countries and that employees having Communist complexions who were tolerated where necessity required during the war had to be removed from Federal Service. It is pointed out that by various executive orders in late 1945 and early 1946, 12,797 employees of emergency war agencies (OSS, OWI, FEA) were transferred to the State Department and a screening committee established by the State Department to cull out the "rotten apples." The report quotes a statement on this entire problem submitted by the State Department showing the action taken with respect thereto. The Tydings Subcommittee comments that it is fully satisfied the State Department handled the inordinate personnel problem incident to the transfer of over 12,000 employees of other agencies in a capable manner and that every effort had been made to weed out disloyal employees.

HANDLING OF THE LOYALTY PROGRAM  
(Pages 18 - 25)

This section of the report is a discussion of the organization, personnel and procedures of the State Department, the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department, and the President's Loyalty Review Board. The procedures for handling of applicants and incumbents under the Loyalty Program and the summary dismissal power of the State Department provided by the McCarran Rider are discussed together with the standards applicable to each of these authorities. It is the conclusion of the Tydings Subcommittee that the Loyalty and Security Program of the State Department is being administered efficiently, fairly, and in the best interests of the government. The Subcommittee comments that in one respect the handling of applicants may be improved in that an applicant



is actually sworn in as an employee prior to a preliminary check with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. If this check reveals disloyal information the State Department must then resort to the full procedure under the Loyalty Program, whereas if made prior to employment and derogatory data is developed the State Department could then deny the application outright. A comment is also made by the Subcommittee that it feels the Loyalty Program in its entirety warrants study to determine whether it is deficient in that it recognizes only the disloyal standard.

#### PROBLEM OF STATE DEPARTMENT SECURITY

(Page 25)

This section of the report merely refers to a study made by Senators Green and Lodge, regarding the State Department's peculiar problem of security in view of the global disposition of its employee's activities and installations.

#### THE CASES OF THE INDIVIDUALS PUBLICLY CHARGED

(Pages 25 - 95)

This section of the report is devoted to a discussion of individuals charged publicly by Senator McCarthy which will be dealt with individually hereafter. In addition, mention is made of the "Three Big Communists" mentioned by Senator McCarthy on February 20, 1950, as being cases No. 1 (Herbert Abner Fierst), No. 2 (John Carter Vincent), and No. 81 (Ruby Parson). The Committee points out it has reviewed the loyalty files on these three cases and found nothing to sustain Senator McCarthy's assertion they are "big Communists," or of "tremendous importance and of great value to Russia," or are a part of an "espionage ring in the State Department." It is pointed out that the individual involved in case No. 81 (Ruby Parson) resigned from the State Department on April 2, 1948.

Reference is also made to case No. 53 (Richard Howell Post) described by Senator McCarthy as one of the most dangerous Communists in the State Department and case No. 57 (Fred Warner Neal) concerning whom Senator McCarthy urged immediate action. The Committee points out that No. 53 resigned from the State Department on December 30, 1948, and No. 57 resigned March 12, 1948. The Committee thereafter cites the above as illustrative of the reckless and irresponsible treatment of the facts by Senator McCarthy.

Set forth hereafter are the individual cases described in the Subcommittee report:

MRS. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER  
(Pages 26-29)

The Subcommittee found that Mrs. Brunauer was a member of one organization cited as a Communist front "and that in 1934 and 1936, over 14 years ago, she participated in two meetings sponsored by a pro-Soviet organization of which she was not a member." The conclusion was reached that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk.

GUSTAVO DURAN  
(Page 30)

Senator McCarthy charged that Duran was well known for his rabid Communist beliefs and activities and was active in secret Soviet operations in the Spanish Republican Army. The Committee did not discuss Duran in the body of its report because of the fact that his employment with the State Department ceased before the Loyalty Program was instituted.

The charges against Duran and his replies were set forth in Appendix 9:

APPENDIX 9  
CASE OF GUSTAVO DURAN  
(Pages 182-187)

Duran submitted a "Memorandum to Senator Tydings," dated March 30, 1950, setting forth his answers to Senator McCarthy's charges. Referring to the Spanish newspaper ARIBBA, which he claims was the indirect source of some of the Senator's allegations, he notes that it erroneously reported that he came to Madrid "for the first time in the 1920's from the Canary Islands." Duran notes he was born in Barcelona, Spain, and resided continuously with his family in Madrid from 1910 until 1929. Duran writes:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation has in its files a list of the various domiciles of my family. This information which was provided by me, can be easily checked."

The foregoing is substantially correct. When interviewed by Mr. Ladd on April 29, 1946, he furnished biographical data concerning his parents and himself, and set forth their domiciles as well as those of his own which he could recall.

His attorneys, Baldwin, Todd & Lefferts, also forwarded the Director, under date of April 17, 1950, a complete biographical sketch.

With reference to Senator McCarthy's charges that Indalecio Prieto, former Minister of Defense for the Spanish Republican Cabinet, in his pamphlet, "Why and How I Left the Ministry," described Duran as an agent of the Secret Russian Police or a member of the Comintern, Duran writes:

"Subsequently, Mr. Prieto stated to Messrs. Robert Wilson Wall, Jr. and Robert Godfrey, Attaches to the American Embassy at Mexico City, that he had appointed me as head of the Madrid Zone of the Military Intelligence Service (SIM) at the proposal of General Miaja, then Commander of the Army of Madrid; he then reiterated that he (Prieto), like others in the Government who were equally hostile to Communism, had been subjected to Communist pressures."

Actually, Prieto said considerably more than Duran noted. When interviewed by Special Agents Wall and Godfrey, he stated that he did not know him prior to the appointment but that because Miaja, who was himself closely associated with the Communist Party and Soviet interests in Spain, had recommended him, he assumed that Duran was a Communist. Prieto said he had no proof of this nor of any allegation that Duran was or had been an agent of the Soviet Union. He believed Duran had been subjected to considerable Communist pressure, as were all members of the Spanish Government.

HALDORE HANSON  
(Pages 30 - 37)

Hanson is the individual whom Senator McCarthy described as having a mission to communize the world. Louis Budenz testified he knew Hanson from official records to be a member of the Communist Party. Budenz' information was based, according to his testimony, on oral information received in 1940 and 1941. Budenz thought Jack Stachel gave him Hanson's name. Budenz testified that the first time he had indicated to anyone that Hanson had ever been reported to him as a Communist was a week prior to his testimony on April 25, 1950, when he gave Hanson's name, among others, to the FBI. Hanson declared he was given a complete clearance by the Department of State following a comprehensive investigation by the FBI under the Loyalty Program. He testified on March 28, 1950, he thought subversives could be ferreted out by the quiet, sober, thorough methods now used by the FBI.

The Committee stated it was clear that (1) Hanson was not, as claimed by Senator McCarthy, "one of the most strategically important officers in the entire State Department"; (2) that Hanson would not, as alleged by Senator McCarthy, head a program charged with expending hundreds of millions of dollars; and, (3) that information used by Senator McCarthy to uphold his allegations of pro-Communism against Hanson failed in credibility, relevancy, and competency. The testimony of Budenz left the Committee "to a degree, in wonderment." In the face of the results of the FBI investigation, action of the Loyalty Board and the evidence presented, the Committee could not accept Budenz' testimony as controlling.

PHILIP C. JESSUP  
(Pages 37 - 43)

The Committee sets forth the allegations made against Dr. Jessup by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in support of his general charge that Dr. Jessup possessed "an unusual affinity for Communist causes," and then proceed to show how Senator McCarthy had failed to substantiate the allegations.

It is noted that the Committee's report states that "we have seen the loyalty file concerning Dr. Jessup which reflects no basis for considering him disloyal or a security risk." Actually, the Bureau's reports reflect the following concerning Dr. Jessup:

1. He was one of the Sponsors for a dinner held by the American Russian Institute in NewYork in 1946.

2. Information from a reliable informant to the effect that in 1941 Jessup's name appeared on a list of names maintained in the Headquarters of the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties.
3. That Dr. Jessup was a signer of a call for a "National Emergency Conference" in Washington, D. C. in 1939.
4. That he was a member of the Board of Sponsors of the "National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights" in 1940.
5. That he was Faculty Advisor of the "American Law Students Association," while at Columbia University.
6. That his wife was a member of the China Aid Council.
7. That he was a member and an officer of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Senator McCarthy's charges included the above points, and the Committee's report takes up each, concluding that "the true facts, therefore, are that Dr. Jessup was shown to have been associated with only two organizations, in both cases prior to the date they were cited as Communist fronts." The Committee concluded that "the facts before us fail completely to establish that Philip C. Jessup has 'an unusual affinity for Communist causes' and that the Subcommittee felt that the accusations made against Dr. Philip C. Jessup are completely unfounded and unjustified, and have done irreparable harm to the prestige of the United States."

DOROTHY KENYON  
(Pages 43 - 48)

With reference to Kenyon, the report set forth the admitted affiliations of Miss Kenyon, the affiliations of Miss Kenyon not denied, other alleged connections of Miss Kenyon, other evidence, and concluded with the statement that the evidence before the Subcommittee failed to establish that Dorothy Kenyon is a Communist or an otherwise disloyal person.

OWEN LATTIMORE  
(Pages 48-75)

The Committee predicates this section of the report (pages 48 to 74) with the statement that although Owen Lattimore was not an employee of the State Department in real or proper sense, inquiry was made on the basis of the charge that he was the "architect of our Far Eastern policy." Thereafter, Senator Joseph McCarthy's charges against Lattimore are reviewed and portions of the testimony tending to substantiate or refute those statements are commented upon. In their consideration of such testimony, the Committee finds generally that the charges of Senator McCarthy against Mr. Lattimore are unsupported in fact and winds up with the comment, "We believe that the Lattimore case vividly illustrates the danger of promiscuous and specious attacks upon private citizens and their views, and the imperative necessity that inquiries relating to matters of such character, where deemed relevant to our national security, should be handled by the duly constituted agencies of our government that are equipped to handle such matters by intelligent and proven methods designed to obtain the truth without injustice, character assassination, and a prostitution of the American concept of fair play...."

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 50-----"McCarthy insisted that information concerning Lattimore in the FBI files would show 'in detail not the case merely of a man who appears to favor Russia, not the case of a man who might disagree with what we think about Russia, but a man who is definitely an espionage agent...'

"The foregoing assertion had to be taken by us at the outset with the proverbial 'grain of salt'; for if the FBI had evidence that Lattimore was a top Russian spy, either the FBI was derelict (which we do not believe) in not prosecuting him, or Senator McCarthy was compromising an FBI investigation which might result in prosecution."

With reference to possible dereliction by the Bureau for not prosecuting Lattimore, this is erroneous inasmuch as the question of prosecution is not one within the Bureau's province.

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 54-----"Father Kearney was interviewed by the FBI and advised that he had no direct knowledge of Mr. Lattimore's activities and that the principal source of his information had been

Alfred Kohlberg of the American-China Policy Association of New York City. (Footnote---A letter from the Department of Justice confirming this statement will be found in the subcommittee's record.)"

This is an accurate though partial statement of the information given by Father James F. Kearney when interviewed by Bureau Agents on January 20, 1950.

(Brief, page 16; 100-24628-80)

\* \* \* \* \*

Pages 56-57---In commenting on the testimony of Louis Budenz, the report contains the statement, "The subcommittee also notes that only since this investigation and the publicity concerning Lattimore in connection therewith has Budenz given information to the FBI concerning Lattimore, even though Budenz has been reporting for several years to the FBI on various Communist activities and personalities....Similarly in the case of Haldore Hanson, Budenz admitted that Hanson was named by him as a Communist for the first time during the course of our proceedings."

This is an accurate statement, on April 15, 1950, Louis Budenz advising that he had never mentioned to the Bureau what he knew about Lattimore prior to March 27, 1950, because his information was "flimsy" and "not legal" and he had devoted most of his time to furnishing legal evidence.

(100-24628-725,727)

\* \* \* \* \*

Pages 66-67---"A summary of the files of the FBI pertaining to Owen Lattimore, prepared by that organization, was made available to members of the subcommittee for review. Whereas this summary indicated Lattimore's association and contact with some individuals of known and alleged Communist and pro-Communist views, there was no evidence therein proving Lattimore himself to be a man of willful pro-Communist actions or views. The evidence did not show him to be 'a top Soviet espionage agent' or a member of the Communist Party or Communist underground. The information concerning Lattimore, testified to by Louis Budenz, was not in the possession of the FBI, according to Budenz' own testimony, at the time members of this subcommittee reviewed the summary...."

"The foregoing discussion of the information available to us (this phrase apparently includes information set forth in the FBI summary) is quite devoid of any proof that Mr. Lattimore was 'one of the top Communist agents.'"

This statement is misleading in that it does not properly reflect the information made available to members of the subcommittee. On March 23, 1950, there was delivered to Mr. Clive Palmer, of the Criminal Division, a memorandum to Mr. Peyton Ford, dated March 22, 1950, with which was transmitted an eleven-page summary memorandum on Owen Lattimore. This memorandum was displayed to members of the subcommittee. It contained biographical information concerning Owen Lattimore, as well as information concerning his association with the State Department and the United Nations. The memorandum also referred to reports from various sources indicating Lattimore's alleged implication in Soviet intelligence activities. In this connection, however, it was noted that although an extensive investigation had been conducted between March 1949 and the date of the memorandum, no tangible evidence had been uncovered to corroborate the allegations or to indicate that he was involved in Soviet espionage activity. The memorandum made reference to a number of allegations concerning Lattimore, indicating his reported affiliation with Communist-front groups, participation in Communist-sponsored activity, and association with known or suspected Communist Party members and individuals suspected of having acted as Soviet agents.

(100-24628-264)

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 68-----"Senator McCarthy also said this:....'It will be recalled that J. Edgar Hoover at the time said this was a "100-percent airtight case against Service, Roth, and their co-defendants."....The Department of Justice has advised the Department of State that Mr. Hoover never made the widely publicized statement that there was a '100-percent airtight case' against the Amerasia defendants. (Footnote-- This letter will be found printed in the subcommittee record.)"

In this connection, by memorandum dated May 23, 1950, you protested against such use of your name, particularly when that use did not accurately reflect your views. For the information of the Attorney General, you pointed out that on April 12, 1950, John Stewart Service, one of the subjects in that investigation, had asked if you had made a public statement to the



effect that the case against him was a hundred per cent airtight. Under date of April 18, 1950, you advised Mr. Service that you had made no public statement on the Amerasia case since the period wherein the arrests occurred, and pointed out to him that the FBI did not pass on the evidence it collected during its investigations but that such evidence was turned over to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. You advised Mr. Service, "I presume that they (meaning the Criminal Division of the Department) must have been satisfied with the evidence presented to them by the FBI as they authorized the arrests to be made in this case."

You also pointed out to the Attorney General that on May 4, 1950, you had informed Mr. Peyton Ford that you could not approve his proposed answer (subsequently released by the Department of State) to an inquiry on May 1, 1950, from Mr. John E. Pewlfoey, of the Department of State, as to whether you had publicly stated that the case was a hundred per cent airtight. You advised the Attorney General that in your communication of May 4, 1950, to Mr. Peyton Ford, you pointed out that in the event you had been asked at the time the arrests were made whether you thought we had an airtight case, you would have stated that you thought we had, and that if asked today you would have to so state.

Pages 68-69---"Senator McCarthy also said this:

"I have another statement which I had a great deal of difficulty getting. I had no difficulty obtaining the information from this man, but he was extremely reluctant to sign a statement, fearing that his job might be endangered if he did so.....

"He gave his consent to his name and this statement being given to the FBI. We had to promise him, however, that his name would not be given to this committee.....

"Then I have another statement gotten under almost the same circumstances, which is being turned over to the Bureau....."

"The Department of Justice furnished the following information concerning the June 2, 1945 meeting at Lattimore's home to which Senator McCarthy referred." (Thereafter the report set forth information obtained from the Department of Justice concerning the two statements).

In referring to the meeting at Lattimore's home on June 2, 1945, the report states:

"The FBI found no evidence during its most thorough investigation of the Amerasia case to indicate that any Government documents were involved in this incident."

On March 30, 1950, Senator McCarthy furnished to the Bureau a two-page, handwritten, signed statement dated March 28, 1950, unattested, of Alberta R. Carter and a one-page, handwritten, signed statement, undated and unattested, of her husband, George F. Carter, a Professor at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. The statement of George F. Carter appears to be an addendum to the statement of Alberta R. Carter and both statements set forth information concerning the visit of the Carters at the home of Owen Lattimore in "June, 1945" when John S. Service and Lieutenant Andrew Koth were also present. The remarks of Senator McCarthy concerning the acquisition of these statements tended to convey the erroneous impression

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

that the information embodied therein was first acquired by him at that time. In fact, on February 9, 1950, George F. Carter was interviewed by Bureau representatives, at which time he furnished information in considerable detail concerning Owen Lattimore as well as detailed information concerning the Carters' Sunday afternoon visit in "June, 1945" at the home of Lattimore when John S. Service and Lieutenant Andrew Roth were also present. On the occasion of this interview, George F. Carter exhibited a willingness to assist in any way that he could though he made the request that his identity be kept confidential. (100-24628-155)

On April 6, 1950, Mrs. George F. Carter was interviewed by Bureau representatives, at which time she could add no information of value concerning the "June, 1945" visit at the Lattimore home to that which had been furnished by her husband on February 9, 1950. (100-24628-522)

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 70-----"Senator McCarthy also referred to an affidavit covering testimony which could be given by a former general in the Red Army.... The affidavit was turned over to the FBI by Senator McCarthy. The Department of Justice has advised, with reference to this, in the following terms:....." (Thereafter was set forth information "purported" to have been given by the former general in the Red Army to an investigator for Senator McCarthy).

On March 30, 1950, Senator McCarthy furnished to the Bureau a document entitled, "Expected Testimony from Alexander Barmine" reflecting that while he was a general in the Red Army and in Moscow, he learned from "General Bersin," a high official in Soviet Intelligence, that excellent success had been obtained through the Institute of Pacific Relations which the Soviet Intelligence, through Communists in the United States, had taken over. During this conversation which occurred in the middle 1930's, "General Bersin" mentioned in particular Owen Lattimore and one Joseph Barnes as Soviet men connected with the Institute. A handwritten notation on this document reflects that the information therein was related to Donald A. Surine by Alexander Barmine on March 29, 1950.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Alexander Gregory-Graff Barmine, a former Soviet diplomatic official who defected from the Soviets in 1937 and entered the United States in 1940, upon interview by Bureau representatives on December 14, 1948, furnished information to the effect that General I. Bersine had, while Barmine was in Moscow, mentioned that the Soviets had some Americans working for them in China. Barmine named Owen Lattimore as one of the individuals. Barmine was reinterviewed by Bureau representatives on March 27, 1950, at which time, he enlarged upon the previous information he had furnished concerning Lattimore and placed Lattimore in a Soviet Military Intelligence network in China, which used as a cover for its operation, the Institute of Pacific Relations. (100-127090-46; 74-13333-1148; 100-24628-264, 267, and 1222)

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 71-----"Senator McCarthy further stated on the Senate floor:

"I have before me another affidavit, the original of which is being handed to the FBI.....He states that Lattimore was a leader in several pro-Russian student uprisings in China." (The report then quoted information concerning this allegation, noting that it had been received in a communication from the Department of Justice which is printed in the record).

On March 30, 1950, Senator McCarthy furnished the Bureau a five-page, handwritten, signed statement of Upton Close, dated "Mar. 1950" in which it appears that Lattimore, in the early 1920's, was involved in several student uprisings in China along with other Chinese students. It was also indicated in the statement that Lattimore enjoyed a kind of leadership in the group.

On April 1, 1950, Upton Close, McLean, Virginia, was interviewed by Bureau representatives concerning Owen Lattimore. Close advised that he first knew Lattimore around 1920 in China, at which time Lattimore was associated with Young Chinese students who became more and more taken over with Communist activity. Lattimore was considered somewhat of a leader and was an inspiring factor in these Chinese students uprisings. Mr. Close also advised that he had no knowledge reflecting that Lattimore was engaged in espionage for the Soviets, but felt that he was a Communist and that he had been a member of, and in contact with "Communist cells."

(100-24628-279)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Add \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Malin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Tosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Sohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Randy \_\_\_\_\_

Page 72-----In its conclusion concerning Owen Lattimore, the Committee reported that they found that Lattimore was not now and never had been in any proper sense an employee of our State Department; that he had no controlling or effective influence whatever on our Far Eastern policy; and that they found no evidence that he was the "top Russian spy" or any other sort of spy. In this connection, the report contained the statement:

"We have every confidence that were Mr. Lattimore an espionage agent the efficient FBI would long since have taken action against him. The fact that it has not done so and the further fact that we have seen a summary of the FBI's information concerning Mr. Lattimore confirms our opinion in this respect."

These latter conclusions, in so far as they concern the FBI, are, of course, unwarranted. As mentioned above, it is not within the province of the FBI to institute prosecutive action against a subject of investigation, nor can the FBI summary of March 22, 1950 (since supplemented by additional investigation) be properly construed as a clearance of Lattimore in connection with the charges made against him.

\* \* \* \* \*

Page 73-----"Owen Lattimore is a writer and a scholar who has been charged with a record of pro-Communism going back many years. There is no legal evidence before us whatever (this apparently includes information set forth in the FBI summary) to support this charge....

"....we are compelled to comment that in no instance has Mr. Lattimore on the evidence before us been shown to have knowingly associated with Communists."

The nature of the FBI summary of March 22, 1950, has been set forth previously in this memorandum. It is true, however, that the memorandum in itself does not constitute "legal evidence."

\* \* \* \* \*

NOTE:-----Page 62, of the copy of the report as submitted to the Bureau, is missing and consequently has not been reviewed.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN  
(Page 75)

The Subcommittee found that Frederick L. Schuman has never been an employee of the State Department and that his only connection with the Department was to deliver a one hour lecture at the Foreign Service Institute on June 19, 1946.

JOHN STEWART SERVICE  
(Pages 75-94)

The report of the Subcommittee stated that the charges against John Stewart Service have a dual character: (1) that he is pro-Communist as indicated by (a) his reports from China during the period 1943 to April, 1945, in which he allegedly advocated the cause of the Chinese Communists, and (b) his associations during the same period; (2) that he was involved in the abstraction of Government documents in connection with the Amerasia case.

During the discussion of Service's connection with the Amerasia case, it was stated that Senator McCarthy made the allegation, both as a witness and on the floor of the Senate, that "The FBI then took over and reported that in the course of its quest it was found that John Stewart Service was in communication from China with Jaffe." In this connection, the following similar statement is attributed to Emanuel S. Larsen in his article in Plain Talk: "The FBI then took charge of the affair. As established by Congressman Dondoro, the Government agents spent several months on the case. In the course of their quest, it was found that John S. Service was in communication from China with Mr. Jaffe." We, of course, did not show that Service was in communication from China with Jaffe. In later referring to this statement attributed to both Senator McCarthy and Larsen, the Subcommittee report states, "The evidence reveals that Mr. Service did not contact Jaffe from China. The allegation to the contrary is based on Larsen's Plain Talk article, which was repudiated by him."

On Pages 84 and 85 of the Subcommittee report are set out brief statements of Service's activities on some of the days he was covered by physical surveillance. Then follows an explanation by Service of meetings shown by the surveillance. The Subcommittee report states: "This explanation by Mr. Service before us of his contacts with the other subjects in the Amerasia case is almost an exact duplicate of that given by him before the grand jury. It is significant to us that, at the time Service appeared before the grand jury, he had no knowledge of the physical surveillance, or at least no knowledge of what it revealed. Yet his explanation accounted for every meeting reported by the FBI. When this is coupled with the fact

that his explanation was verified by the FBI and found to be correct, no other conclusion can be made but that we, like the grand jury, must find that the explanation is consistent with complete innocence." Prior to his appearance before the grand jury, Service, of course, did give a lengthy statement to Agents during which he furnished much of the material covering his meetings and contacts.

On Pages 87 and 88, under the caption "Technical Surveillance," is set out a partial transcript of conversation between Service and Jaffe in Jaffe's hotel room on May 8, 1945, and this transcript is referred to as a "verbatim quotation" by the Subcommittee in its report. It is noted that on Page 87, one statement is attributed to Service when actually our transcript reflects that the statement was made by Jaffe; this statement is, "I guess these are the only things," and it is made during a discussion of what the Chinese were doing at San Francisco. Then too, throughout the reporting of this transcript in the Subcommittee report there appear some changes in punctuation, but not to the extent that it appears that the meaning of the text is changed. On Page 88, in reporting a statement of Service, following a space left blank to indicate an unintelligible word or words, the words "something skipped" have been inserted and may be interpreted as words spoken by Service.

Following the "verbatim" account of the recording, there is set out "several statements prepared by the FBI" which, in summary form relate additional conversation between Service and Jaffe.

On Page 91, it is reported that Mr. Brookes Atkinson appeared before the State Department Loyalty and Security Board as a witness and verified statements made by Service concerning an article prepared by Atkinson regarding General Stilwell's recall. Service had explained that Atkinson had written a story in the New York Times for October 31, 1944, which contained the gist and the only important part of the story regarding General Stilwell's recall; that he (Service) had returned to the United States with Atkinson and had read the draft of his article while traveling. Following Service's apprehension by Bureau Agents, it should be noted, Atkinson had been quite critical of the Bureau.

On Page 91, the following is also set out: "It is most significant to note that Mr. Service arrived in Washington -- April 12, 1945 -- and the date the FBI first found him in contact with a subject in the Amerasia case -- April 19, 1945. On March 11, 1945, the OSS raided the offices of Amerasia and found there were numerous Government documents therein. Service pointed out that, manifestly, Jaffe's source of Government documents had been fully

developed by that time, which was prior to Mr. Service's return to the United States. We note in this regard that on April 18, 1945, the FBI had a conference with General Holmes of the State Department and Major Correa of the Navy Department. At that time, the Bureau indicated that it was ready to present it for such prosecutive action as the Department of Justice might think proper. On this date, Service had not yet met Jaffe, Mitchell, or Larsen and had met Mark Gavn for the first time on that day...."

In concluding its report of the case of John Stewart Service, the Subcommittee stated, "We have carefully considered the evidence and conclude that John Stewart Service is neither a disloyal person, a pre-Communist nor a security risk. We have been particularly impressed with the frankness and cooperativeness of Mr. Service in his appearance before us. Many questions with hidden implications have been asked him about events that transpired many years ago. Never did he seek to avoid answering on the ground he could not remember but always gave this subcommittee the benefit of any recollection he might have. In addition, he waived his immunity and voluntarily appeared before the grand jury in August of 1945. After hearing all the facts, the grand jury unanimously voted not to indict Mr. Service. We could not fail to be impressed also by the almost continuous scrutiny to which he has been subjected during the last five years. He has been cleared four times by either the State Department Personnel Board of the State Department Security and Loyalty Board." Continuing, the Subcommittee reported, "We have also found significant the fact that Emmanuel S. Larsen admitted to the FBI that he had furnished Jaffe with the eight solid copies of the Service reports found in Jaffe's brief case when he was arrested." In a signed statement given to Bureau Agents on June 7, 1945, Larsen stated that he last saw Jaffe on Monday, May 28th, 1945, at the Statler Hotel and at that time he did not give him any documents. That evening, Jaffe visited him at his home and he showed him two State Department reports by Jack Service. Jaffe expressly asked for Service's last reports, according to Larsen, which he apparently knew. Larsen admitted that in addition to these two reports, he had in the past given Jaffe a number of classified documents to read and they may have numbered six to ten documents in all.

HARLOW SHAPLEY  
(Page 94)

Inquiry by the Subcommittee established that Dr. Harlow Shapley is not an employee of the Department of State in any real and proper sense. He was appointed a member of the United States delegation to the Preparatory



Conference for UNESCO at London in 1945. On May 20, 1947, and June 27, 1947, Shapley was designated by the Executive Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was appointed by the Secretary of State to serve as a representative of that association on the United States National Commission for UNESCO. His term expired April 15, 1950. The Subcommittee stated that within the proper purview of its inquiry, no consideration need be given the charges made against Dr. Shapley.

JOHN CARTER VINCENT

(Page 95)

The Subcommittee disposed of McCarthy's allegations concerning Vincent in two paragraphs, stating that "we have carefully reviewed the loyalty file concerning Mr. Vincent and the McCarthy charges are absurd on the basis thereof. The investigation of Mr. Vincent does not show him to be disloyal or a security risk."

In stating that the loyalty file concerning Vincent had been reviewed, it is believed that the report has reference to the State Department security file pertaining to him. You will recall that the Bureau is conducting a loyalty investigation of Vincent following submission of available data to the Department for an opinion as to whether such an investigation should be conducted. After consulting the State Department, the Department advised that we should proceed with a loyalty investigation.

CHARGES WITH RESPECT TO "FBI CHART"

(Pages 95 and 96)

The Subcommittee here refers to the speech by Senator McCarthy before the Senate on June 6, 1950, where he presented a photostatic copy of a page of a report stated to be based on an FBI chart, allegedly indicating "Agents," "Communists," "Sympathizers" and "Suspects," as employed in the State Department. The Subcommittee states that while these charges are not before the Committee, a great deal of publicity has been accorded the so-called FBI Chart and in view of this situation it is believed that the facts of the matter should be set forth. Thereafter, there is quoted a portion of a letter dated June 28, 1950, from Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Undersecretary of State, identifying the report in question as having been prepared by Mr. Klaus, then assigned to the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration, in connection with a survey of Departmental security investigations. It is observed that on Pages 29 and 30 of the Klaus report, reference is made to a chart alleged to have been prepared by the FBI. Mr. Peurifoy thereafter states no such chart was ever received by the Department

of State from the FBI, nor was such a chart ever prepared by the FBI; that it had been conclusively determined that the chart was not prepared by the FBI but was prepared as an investigator's working document in the Department of State in 1946 and by employees of the Department of State; that the writer of the report drew the unintentional erroneous conclusion that the chart was prepared by the FBI. Mr. Pourifoy makes reference to a letter dated June 14, 1950, addressed by the Director to the State Department advising that the FBI did not send any such chart to the State Department and made no evaluation of information as was indicated in the Klaus report. This letter dated June 14, 1950, addressed by the Director to Mr. James E. Webb, Undersecretary of State, is quoted verbatim in the Subcommittee's report. It is also noted that Mr. Pourifoy's letter to the Subcommittee of June 28, 1950, assures the members that none of the employees named on the chart in question are presently employed by the State Department except those who have since been investigated and who have been checked and evaluated under the Loyalty Program.

Additional details concerning the State Department's repudiation of Senator McCarthy's comments concerning the chart in question are contained in State Department releases of June 6, and June 9, 1950, reproduced in Appendix 17 of the Subcommittee's report.

AMEFASIA CASE  
(Pages 96-144)

The Amerasia Case is covered in the report made available by the Tydings Committee beginning on page 96 and ending on page 144.

A review has been made of these pages for any items which are critical of the Bureau, any inaccuracies as to the facts of the case as they are known to the Bureau, and for any other matters which are of interest to the Bureau. The following have been noted:

Page 101

Mr. McInerney's testimony under footnote #324 shows that the Bureau took over the investigation on a twenty-four hour basis beginning March 12, 1945. This statement is inaccurate because the Bureau did not receive the case until March 14, 1945, and the investigation was commenced on the following day, March 15, 1945.

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Page 102, last paragraph, and first paragraph top of page 103

This part of the report covers the Bureau's answers to questions asked by Senator Tydings in connection with this case.

"QUESTION: Were any employees of the State Department seen giving documents to other persons on the outside?

"ANSWER: While actual physical delivery of documents was not observed, the fact remains that hundreds of classified documents were recovered from unauthorized persons on June 6, 1945. Larsen and Service were observed in frequent contact with Jaffe and Roth. Service also met with Mark Gayn and has stayed in his New York apartment. Both Larsen and Service have admitted giving documents to Jaffe. Larsen and Service were also observed carrying envelopes or a zipper case out of the State Department. As a further illustration of the operations of this group, Service met with Jaffe in a hotel room on May 8, 1945. Service discussed military, political, and policy matters with Jaffe and cautioned him by saying: 'Well, what I said about the military plans is, of course, very secret.'"

It is noted that the answer to the above question is the same as the answer to question #5 contained in the statement furnished to the Tydings Committee by Messrs. Nichols and Ladd on May 31, 1950; however, the following was omitted "(as we are advised by departmental attorneys.)"

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

It is also noted that footnote #326 on page 103 states that the statement attributed to Service was not available to the Department of Justice for utilization before the Grand Jury inasmuch as the report concerning the conversation between Jaffe and Service was received by the Department of Justice with the following information caveat from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Most of the foregoing information regarding the contacts made by the various principals and documents which were exchanged were obtained through highly confidential means and sources of information which cannot be used in evidence."

The report covering the conversation between Service and Jaffe at the Statler Hotel on May 8, 1945 (report of Special Agent Logan J. Lane, Washington Field Office, dated 5-26-45), did not contain any statement as set forth above; however, Bureau letter to Mr. Tom Clark of the Department, dated May 29, 1945, which outlined the facts in this case as of that date, did contain such a statement verbatim on page 8, paragraph 2, under the heading "Evidence." (100-267360-237, 260 p. 8)

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Page 103, footnote #331, and page 104, paragraph 7

Mr. McInerney, according to his testimony as shown in footnote #331, page 103, stated as follows:

"When the case came to me on May the 29th, I was aware, of course, of its inception and the nature of the manner in which it started, and as we had done in other cases during the wartime, we authorized prosecution even though we knew that the evidence was tattered, and we authorized prosecution because the Bureau had been very successful in obtaining concessions and admissions which obviated the necessity of having to tender this evidence or offer it in court, and those were the two conclusions I came to on May the 29th, or three conclusions.

"One, that the case was vulnerable because of its inception on the part of OSS; Two, that in evaluating the legal evidence, which largely consisted of physical surveillance only, that we did not then have sufficient evidence to authorize prosecution.

"The third conclusion was that since the Bureau has obtained concessions and admissions in over 80 per cent of its cases, that with the usual break in the prosecution here, we would get incriminating admissions and concessions which would obviate a trial, and show the need for presenting or tendering this evidence....."

Page 104 paragraph 7

The report then goes on to state that Mr. McInerney in explaining his authorization of prosecution stated that he did so "since our experience has already been that we can make a case on an apprehension and search." The report further states that it appears, therefore, that, while realizing insufficient legal evidence was at hand, Mr. McInerney authorized prosecution on the theory that a search conducted incident to the arrest of the six subjects would produce the required evidence, taken with the possibility of securing confessions following the arrests. The report also says that Mr. McInerney authorized prosecution despite his feeling that the case might be vulnerable and the evidence developed also would be held inadmissible in a Court proceeding by reason of the investigative techniques that had been employed by OSS and FBI.

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Page 107 footnote 345

Mr. McInerney testified that as early as June 27, 1945 "We were being inundated with threatened motions to suppress the evidence, bills of particulars and return of the property, etc."

This is the first knowledge the Bureau has received that any of the attorneys for the subjects had considered filing a motion to suppress the evidence at a date as early as June 27, 1945. It will be recalled that Larsen filed such a motion on September 28, 1945.

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Page 118 to 122

The committee report states the Department did not prosecute Jaffe, Larsen and Roth after the other three subjects had been no billed by the Grand Jury for the following three reasons:

1. Larsen filed a motion to suppress the evidence on September 28, 1945 claiming the FBI had entered his apartment illegally prior to the date of his arrest.
2. The Department had the belief that Jaffe's attorney might file a similar motion as to the Amerasia Offices, thereby destroying the evidence against Jaffe and the other subjects. Having this belief, the Department decided to enter into an immediate agreement with Jaffe's attorney to plead him guilty on September 29, 1945, before Jaffe's attorney had a chance to change his mind.

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Tele. Room  
Nease  
Gandy

3. The Department attorneys had interviewed Larsen and Jaffe and neither of them offered any information to strengthen the case against Roth and, therefore, the Department entered a nolle proesse as to Roth.

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Page 130 paragraph 6

The report stated as follows:

"On September 28, 1945 the Criminal Division was informed that Larsen's attorney was about to file a demurrer, motion to quash the indictment and an application to suppress the evidence obtained from the search of Larsen's apartment."

"Representatives of the Criminal Division conferred with FBI officials on the morning of September 28, 1945, and it was generally agreed that the case was in serious jeopardy. A number of suggestions were made and discarded."

The above statement as to a conference between representatives of the Criminal Division and FBI officials on the morning of September 28, 1945, is false. The statement as made here would lead one to believe that the Bureau and Departmental Representatives had conferred as to what steps should be taken with respect to Larsen's motion. However, if any conferring was done and suggestions made, the Bureau had no part. The true facts are as follows:

By memorandum dated September 26, 1945 the Bureau notified the Attorney General that Mr. E. R. Sager, Manager of Larsen's apartment told an Agent of the Washington Field Office on September 25, 1945 that he had admitted to Larsen on the previous date that he had afforded Agents of the FBI access to Larsen's apartment. This information was furnished to the Attorney General with the suggestion that if a Departmental Representative would talk to Sager, that Sager would be instructed to call at the Department of Justice. No further action was taken by the Bureau at that time.

(100-267360 serial 685)

Page 131

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_ Disposition of Case Against Larsen

Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_ The report stated, "With the case of Jaffe safely disposed of in what  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_ was considered a manner satisfactory under the circumstances, the Department  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_ was still confronted with a motion to suppress filed by Larsen. A number of

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

conferences were held with the attorneys for Larsen and Roth in an effort to obtain pleas of guilty but without success. Larsen's attorney at first took the position he would not consider a plea until his motion to suppress was decided.

"The time for filing the Government's response to the motion to suppress was deferred. In response to the motion, the Government would have been obliged to admit the illegality of the search and seizure. However, the necessity for making this admission was averted when Larsen's counsel finally offered to plead his client nolo contendere if he could receive some assurance that only a moderate fine would be imposed. He pointed out that Larsen had been imposed upon by Jaffe, that he had lost his Government position which he had held for 10 years, that he was unemployed and penniless, and that he had a wife and family dependent upon him.

"The Government was aware of these facts and finally agreed, if consulted by the Court to recommend a fine of \$500. This position was taken largely because of the above factors and also because we realized that Jaffe was the main culprit, that he had corrupted Larsen and was responsible for his plight, and that it would be manifestly unjust for Larsen to receive a sentence greater or even equal to that imposed upon Jaffe. Larsen entered a plea of nolo contendere on November 2, 1945 and was fined \$500, as recommended by the Government."

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Pages 131 to 133

#### Disposition of Case Against Roth

The report stated, "Only the case against Roth now remained. This case was very weak and depended on several pages of handwriting and typewriting (identified as Roth's) of what appeared to be official documents. On September 27, 1945, Roth had filed a demurrer attacking the indictment and a motion for a bill of particulars. Argument on these motions had been postponed from time to time.

"At the time the Department offered to accept pleas of guilty from Jaffe and Larsen the Government's attorneys informed their counsel that Jaffe and Larsen would be examined by the Government counsel in an attempt to try to strengthen the case against Roth. This was done and both men were interviewed in November and December, 1945.

"Larsen, interviewed with respect to Roth's complicity, was unable to make any contribution except that Roth arranged the introduction between him and Jaffe early in 1944 while both he and Roth were employed by OEL. He could not implicate Roth in the conspiracy and as a matter of fact his statement tended to exculpate Roth, a result for which he had no known motive. After relating the

facts as to how he was introduced to Jaffe and Roth in March, 1944, Larson stated that at no time did Roth and he ever discuss Larsen's transactions with Jaffe, nor did he and Jaffe discuss them in the presence of Roth. Larsen stated that he had no facts whatsoever that would indicate that Roth knew that he, Larsen, was supplying documents to Jaffe. Larsen said that Roth never saw him give Jaffe any material nor saw Jaffe give any material to him (Larsen). Larsen further stated that he never saw Roth deliver anything to Jaffe, and that Jaffe never told him that he, Jaffe, was getting any material from Roth; nor did Roth ever tell Larsen that he, Roth, was giving any material to Jaffe. Larsen did mention one incident which occurred early in 1945. He said that he saw Roth leave the Navy Department, with a large envelope filled with something; that Roth stated he was having lunch with Jaffe and that on the return of Roth he had nothing in his hand. Larsen asserted that whether Roth gave the contents of the envelope to Jaffe or what was in the envelope he, Larsen, does not know. Later Larsen corrected the date of this incident and said that it must have been late in 1944 rather than in 1945.

"Jaffe, a long-time friend and associate of Roth completely absolved Roth of any knowledge or participation in the matter and explained how Roth happened to copy several documents for him. This the Department expected since it was not naive enough to expect Jaffe to implicate Roth.

" .....

"While the physical surveillances showed meetings between Roth and some of the others, he was never observed transmitting or receiving Government documents. Several of these meetings were of a social nature. There was no evidence that Roth unlawfully removed any Government documents. Moreover, since the defendants were charged with conspiring to embezzle and remove Government documents, essential elements of the offense were the entering of each defendant into the agreement to commit those unlawful objects of the conspiracy, with knowledge of the existence thereof and intent to further its purposes in some manner. The prosecution would have had to prove those essential elements to secure convictions. As regards Roth, there was no proof that he entered into such an agreement with others, or that he had the knowledge and criminal intent to make a person a member of a conspiracy.

"In view of the state of the evidence above outlined, the decision was reached that the case against Roth could not be successfully prosecuted. After several postponements of hearings on motions brought by Roth's attorneys, and after an unsuccessful effort was made to place it on the pending inactive docket, the Government was forced to nolle prosequere the case against him on February 15, 1946."

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Commendatory Statement Concerning FBI's Action in This Case.

On Page 133 the following paragraph appears in the Report:

"This report is not intended to qualify the seriousness or gravity of this case. The FBI's prompt and vigorous action in face of a situation already tainted with illegality was of inestimable service to this country. This report only deals with the difficulties of successful prosecution and the bases for the decisions made."

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Pages 138 to 144

Summation by the Committee

The Committee summarized its investigation of the Amerasia Case in the following five points as set out hereafter:

"1. It has been asserted that an effort was made to delay the investigation. The FBI has denied that there was any delay whatever in its investigation and that no efforts were made to "fix" the case insofar as the FBI is concerned.

"2. Similarly, charges have been made that efforts were made to delay prosecution. These charges now appear to have stemmed from advice given the FBI on May 31, 1945, by the Department of Justice that prosecution should be held in abeyance pending the outcome of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco. This fact has precipitated a floodtide of speculation and unwarranted innuendos, culminating in the question of whether Alger Hiss' hand may have been in the picture. It is now crystal clear that the advice received by the FBI to hold the prosecution in abeyance originated in a desire of the late Mr. James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, that the full implications of the proposed arrests in the Amerasia case be conveyed to the President in consideration of the delicate character of our conversation with the Soviet Union at the time and the treatment which the press would accord the case by reason of the Communist connections of some of the subjects. Upon learning of the matter, the President on June 2, 1945, personally ordered the FBI to proceed at once with the case and not to be deterred by instructions from anyone. The State Department was equally insistent upon prosecuting the case to the fullest. The facts clearly reveal there was no "delay" in handling the case in any real or substantial sense.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

3. It has been asserted that the Department of Justice failed to prosecute the case to the fullest and compromised it to the prejudice of the ends of justice. The officials directly responsible for prosecuting the case have testified under oath that they had absolutely a free rein in handling the case at all stages of the prosecution and were under no compulsion or restraint from any source whatever. There is not even a shred of evidence before us suggesting the contrary. It appears that the case was handled to the very best of their ability in the light of the legal and factual problems confronting them and their understanding of the law. Certainly common sense and fairness entitle Federal officials to the assumption that they have conscientiously done their duty, at least until facts to the contrary, not here present, are shown. The fact that some of the defendants did not receive the punishment which we today feel they deserved or which we would like to have seen them receive is the result of certain incidents of the case which have been heretofore discussed and not the result of dereliction on the part of the prosecuting officials. Under all of the circumstances of the case, we are constrained to suggest that the Department was fortunate in securing the punishment that was meted out.

4. One of the most snide and disgusting charges in this case has been the suggestion that the handling of the Amerasia prosecution by Mr. Robert M. Hitchcock may have had a relationship to his subsequently becoming associated with a Buffalo, N. Y., law firm in which an uncle of one of the Amerasia defendants, Kate Mitchell, was a partner. There is absolutely no basis whatever for such a suggestion. The facts are that, many months after the Amerasia case was disposed of, Mr. Hitchcock was approached for the first time by a member of the law firm with a view to his becoming an associate thereof to handle a special field of litigation for which he was peculiarly well equipped by reason of his trial experience. Significantly, this member of the firm had no knowledge of the relationship between his partner and Miss Mitchell.

5. There have also been allegations that the appearance of Philip Jacob Jaffe for sentencing on Saturday morning, September 29, 1945, was an unusual and unprecedented procedure, with the inference that something improper was involved. The persons who lend themselves to such a vicious fabrication do a grave injustice to the presiding judge, the Honorable James M. Proctor, in implying that he would permit any improper procedure.

"The fact of the matter is that in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, a judge is always assigned to duty on Saturday mornings. This judge is available for emergency cases and will also, at his discretion, handle brief matters for the convenience of counsel. It is not at all unusual for a case to be heard on Saturday morning if the plea is changed from "not guilty" to "guilty" and a speedy disposition is desired by all parties. Moreover, it is customary for counsel to determine in advance that the judge is free and set a time to appear. Therefore, the Jaffe case was handled in the same routine manner as many other cases.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

" There has also been criticism of the fact that the judge was not advised of the "Communist connections" of Philip Jacob Jaffe. Such a criticism is the direct result of a misunderstanding of the case. It must be remembered that Jaffe was charged with conspiracy to obtain unlawfully Government documents. The Government had no evidence of the transmission of these documents by Jaffe to others. The only conceivable purpose justifying the use of information about Jaffe's Communist connections would be on a theory that it would indicate the possibility of a transmission of the information to the Soviet Union. To submit such allegations would in effect be an attempt to show that espionage had been committed when a lesser crime was charged and pleaded to, despite the fact that no evidence was available to support a charge of espionage.

" The Government attorneys handling the case were convinced that, unless they obtained a plea immediately, no conviction whatever of Jaffe could ever be obtained. They had first received word on Friday, September 28, 1945, that Larsen planned to file a motion to quash. They believed that once Jaffe learned of the unauthorized entries into Larsen's apartment, he would immediately follow the same procedure. Since illegal entries had been made in the Amerasia offices also, they were convinced that legally such a motion would be granted and the entire case lost. Therefore, only one alternative remained. They communicated, as heretofore discussed, with Jaffe's attorney and entered into a binding agreement to accept a plea of guilty in return for a Government recommendation of a substantial fine as the punishment, this agreement being made before Jaffe's attorney could learn of the news about Larsen's motion to quash.

" The Government also considered it necessary to have the plea formally entered as soon as possible in order to eliminate any possibility that Jaffe's attorney would back out on his commitment. In addition, Jaffe desired that the case be settled immediately. Once the Government attorneys were before the Court with an agreement to recommend a fine, it was manifestly impossible for them to argue that the offense was so heinous, because of the subject's alleged Communist connections, that a greater sentence should be imposed. If they attempted to do this, it would obviously release Jaffe from his commitment and he would be free to withdraw his plea and file his own motion to quash.

" A further consideration bearing on this question is that the Government in 1945 did not have proof that Jaffe was a member of the Communist Party. The most they had was that Jaffe had some Communist connections, which were not per se illegal or reprehensible, especially in 1945 when the Soviet Union, at least for all practical purposes of public moment, was an ally and friend of the United States. The allegations of Communist connections would not have been legally admissible evidence and thus had no probative significance.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
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Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

"The matter of Jaffe's plea, therefore, resolves itself into a question of legal judgment and tactics. If the Department of Justice attorneys were correct in their conclusion that the evidence was legally inadmissible and that any delay in acting would allow Jaffe to escape without punishment, they were obviously right in their action. If, on the other hand, they made an error in legal judgment, their procedure was wrong. Since they choose the former, it follows that once committed to this course, they could not present the allegations of Jaffe's Communist connections, assuming they should have done so, without defeating their own objective. Therefore, any criticism of the handling of the case before the Court is solely a question of the validity of the judgment of the Department of Justice attorneys. We do not feel it incumbent upon us to attempt to resolve this legal question, since we find that the Jaffe case was presented to the Court with the sole intention of furthering the best interests of the United States as the attorneys handling the matter in their best judgment and honest belief appraised the situation."

Testimony of Messrs. Ladd and Nichols

The testimony of Assistant to the Director D. M. Ladd and Assistant Director L. B. Nichols, furnished to the subcommittee on May 31, 1950, is not set out in the report in its entirety. However, from time to time, excerpts of their testimony are mentioned in footnotes. It is further noted that in Appendix I, which is a statement concerning the investigation by the subcommittee, under 10 (c), it is stated that one of the matters gone into by the subcommittee was the interrogation of Associate Director D. M. Ladd and Assistant Director L. B. Nichols of the FBI concerning the investigation of the Amerasia case. It is stated that these gentlemen advised they were in a position to supply the full story of the case from the FBI's standpoint and that their testimony before the Subcommittee, along with the Hobbs Committee record, constituted the complete story. (Appendix I, pages 155, 156)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

THE SOURCES OF THE CHARGES  
(Pages 144-148)

The Committee reported that after an extensive investigation it felt in a position to indicate the primary sources of the charges which have been made in this case.

Charge of Large Number of Communists in the State Department

The Committee stated that investigators of the House subcommittee, considering the State Department appropriation during the Eightieth Congress, prepared memoranda concerning 108 individuals based on information contained in State Department security files. These memoranda, continued the report, did not represent or purport to be a full analysis of the files involved and in some instances related to applicants never employed and to cases of mistaken identity; four committees of the Eightieth Congress did not regard the memoranda as significant or indicative of disloyalty in the State Department and they did not even submit a report concerning them.

Selections from these 108 memoranda, dressed up to appear more sinister and alarming, it was charged, were used by Senator McCarthy as the basis for his February 20, 1950, speech on the Senate floor which precipitated the investigation and which were presented as information only recently given him covertly by "loyal" employees in the State Department.

Charge That Communists and Other Disloyal Forces in the State Department Sabotaged American China Policy

Three well-defined sources were said by the Committee to have been responsible for the charge that disloyal individuals have been responsible for the "failure of America's China policy." These were listed as perversion of the testimony of Patrick J. Hurley, former Ambassador to China, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in December, 1945; Alfred Kohlberg, New York City importer; and an article purportedly written by Emmanuel S. Larsen, one of the defendants in the Amerasia case, for the October, 1946, issue of Plain Talk. Larsen repudiated the latter article in all essential respects, submitting to the Committee his draft—which bore "little or no resemblance to the articles which was published." The action attributed to Isaac Don Levine, editor of Plain Talk, and his associates in connection with the article was condemned by the Committee as beneath contempt.

THE FACTS BEHIND THE CHARGE OF "WHITEWASH"  
(Pages 149-151)

The Committee bitterly assails the charge that it had "whitewashed" the investigation into McCarthy's allegations concerning Communists in the Government, stating that such charges were an "organized campaign of vilification and abuse." The report then gives an analysis of the campaign, stating that the factors responsible for such a campaign were:

1. The necessity of creating the impression that the inquiry was not thorough and sincere in order to camouflage the fact that the charges made by Senator McCarthy were false and that the Senate and the American people had been deceived. The report states that from the beginning, Senator McCarthy had sought to leave the impression that the Committee was investigating him, instead of the "Disloyalty in the State Department," because it is now known that he had no facts to support his "wild and baseless charges," and lived in mortal fear that this situation would be exposed.

2. An effort to force upon the Committee the adoption of unfair methods and procedures which would permit the "conviction" of individuals on the basis of unwarranted considerations. The report stated that the Committee had tried to apply the principles of fair play, and when a charge against an individual was publicly made, to give that person a chance to make a public reply. The report claims that an attempt was made to force upon the Committee the "rankest sort of hearsay testimony, and then when such testimony was not allowed, cries of "whitewash" were heightened.

3. A third factor in the campaign to create the "whitewash" idea was the desire to leave the thought that the Committee was engaged in a cover-up of something dark and sinister in the administration. The report states that this tactic was a political maneuver designed to obfuscate the fact that the proponents of the charge of disloyalty in the State Department were without facts, and was thwarted when the President opened the loyalty files to the Committee.

4. The fourth factor in the "whitewash" campaign was the fact that a prominent newspaper chain (unnamed) was being sued for libel by one of the defendants in the Amerasia case with the result that, by seeking to force procedures and findings of a certain character, it was felt the suit would be unsuccessful.

The Committee's report states that the campaign of vilification and "whitewash" had been partially successful due to the following considerations:

1. The fact that until now the Committee has not been in a position to tell the truth (about the "whitewash" charges) to the American people.
2. "Another consideration is the oft-repeated and natural reaction of many good people that goes something like this - 'Well, there must be something to the charges, or a United States Senator would never have made them.'"
3. The third consideration has been the readiness of many people to believe charges of disloyalty in the State Department by reason of the Alger Hiss case.
4. The fourth and final consideration has been the vague uneasiness of many Americans concerning the ascendancy of the Communists in China and the decline of the Nationalist Government. The Committee feels that such a setting makes a fertile ground for the people to believe that someone, perhaps in our own State Department, may have been responsible for this situation. The Committee recommends the State Department "White Paper" to anyone desiring to know the real facts concerning American diplomacy in China during 1944-1949.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS  
(Pages 151-152)

The report states that in concluding the report of its investigation, it was constrained to make several observations which were regarded as fundamental. The first was that "It is, of course, clearly apparent that the charges of Communist infiltration of and influence upon the State Department are false." The Committee states that "we have seen the technique of the 'Big Lie,' employed by the totalitarian dictators with devastating success, utilized for the first time on a sustained basis in our history." The Committee states that it is its sincere opinion that the charges of the character made in this case seriously impair the efforts of the agencies of the Government in combatting the problem of subversion. The report states that the charges made by McCarthy had succeeded to a great degree in doing what the Communists themselves had been trying and were unable to do - divide our people here at home and our allies abroad.

"We have seen how, through repetition and shifting untruths," states the report, "it is possible to delude great numbers of people." It was noted that an analysis of this technique was contained in Appendix 24, a review of which follows.

ANALYSIS OF THE CHARGES MADE BY SENATOR  
JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
(Appendix 24, Pages 296-337)

The Committee notes that on February 9, 1950, Senator McCarthy opened a campaign against the Department of State which of its kind was perhaps the most sensational in the history of the United States. "Unparalleled in cynical character assassination," reports the Committee, "ranging in its application from the President of the United States to minor Washington clerks, professionally and expertly keyed to lurid sensationalism, viciously unscrupulous in falsely heightening the fears of the public in a time of international crisis, versatile, opportunistic, and, at times, desperate, Senator McCarthy gave birth to and steadily nurtured a phenomenon designated, by common consent, as 'McCarthyism'".

Appendix 24 is a Memorandum analyzing Senator McCarthy's charges in four parts: 1. The McCarthy Charges in General. 2. The McCarthy Techniques and Methods. 3. The Effects of McCarthyism. 4. The Contradictions and Conflicts in the McCarthy Charges.

1. The McCarthy Charges in General

Various charges made by Senator McCarthy commencing with his speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, are recounted, followed by the Committee's comments regarding refutation of such charges. It is noted that in a speech at Chicago on May 6, 1950, Senator McCarthy included an alleged statement by J. Edgar Hoover that the Amerasia case "is a 100-percent airtight case of espionage." The Department of Justice denied, adds the Committee, that Mr. Hoover ever made such a statement. Before the Senate on June 6, 1950, Senator McCarthy charged that the FBI had sent to the State Department a chart listing "agents," "Communists," "sympathizers" and "suspects," according to the report, which adds that no such chart had been prepared by the FBI but had been compiled by the State Department on May 15, 1946.



## 2. The McCarthy Techniques and Methods

Under this heading the Committee describes Senator McCarthy's most important and shocking technique as the sweeping accusation unwarranted by evidence. Listed thereafter are the multiple untruth, manufactured evidence, repetition, deliberate perpetuation of confusion, headline production and the "Yahoo" (anti-intellectual) appeal. The Committee sets forth considerable information in support of these appellations.

## 3. The Effects of McCarthyism

The effects of any given technique, reports the Committee, may not in itself be serious and even the use of a number of them—with some restraint—may be considered a normal phenomenon in the world of practical affairs. When, however, these techniques are used by a United States Senator under the circumstances of world crisis, and for the purpose of attacking the spokesman for the United States in the field of foreign affairs, the effects can be expected to be extremely serious. The Committee then declares Senator McCarthy's methods and techniques have undoubtedly confused our friends and heartened our enemies; diverted the energies of the public and public officials; undermined the procedures of the U. S. Senate and democracy by fraudulent inducement of appointment of a special investigating committee; demoralized public servants; and deprived individuals of legal redress by making unwarranted charges under cover of Congressional immunity.

## 4. Contradictions and Conflicts in the McCarthy Charges

Under this caption the Committee lists a large number of charges by Senator McCarthy and points out what it terms contradictions and conflicts.

220a  
TICKLER

SAC, New York City

April 13, 1950

Director, FBI

*State Department*

COMMUNISTS IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Attached for your information is a copy of a letter received by Senator Joseph H. McCarthy from Ray Brock, 156 E. 52 Street, New York City, dated March 22, 1950. While it is noted that attached letter does not contain any information pertaining to any one person, you are instructed to immediately interview Mr. Brock. Your interview should, of course, attempt to develop any information relating to loyalty in Brock's possession concerning Government employees. Handle immediately and sutel Bureau summary of results.

Attachment

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APR 13 4 18 PM '50  
RECEIVED MAIL ROOM  
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APR 14 1950  
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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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*[Handwritten signature]*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont  
FROM : Mr. Hennrich  
SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
ALLEGATIONS OF SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: May 31, 1950

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Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

PURPOSE

To advise you generally of the contents of transcripts of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and to recommend that this information be brought to the attention of the Internal Security and Loyalty Sections for their information.

BACKGROUND

On Monday, 5-29-50, there were made available to the Bureau 20 volumes of the transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee. These volumes have been scanned and their contents noted generally as follows:

Volume 1 dated 3-8-50

This volume sets forth the purpose and jurisdiction of the Subcommittee and includes also a portion of the testimony of Senator Joseph McCarthy concerning alleged Communists in the United States Government.

Case #14 - pages 5 - 10

Case #57 - pages 10- 43

Judge Dorothy Kenyon, pages 43 - 83.

Volume 2 dated 3-9-50

This volume contains a continuation of the testimony of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Case #14 (a high official in the State Department charged with doctoring Loyalty Committee records) pages 84 - 124.

Judge Dorothy Kenyon - pages 124 - 177.

Volume 3 dated 3-13-50.

This volume contains a continuation of the testimony of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Haldore Hanson, pages 179 - 204

Esther C. Brunauer, pages 204 - 224

Owen Lattimore, pages 224 - 263.

Volume 4, dated 3-14-50.

This volume contains a continuation of the testimony of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Gustavo Duran, pages 271 - 313

Harlow Shapley, pages 313 - 318

Alleged homosexual (unnamed) formerly employed by the State Department and now by CIA, pages 318 - 323.

*Senate Subcomm. on Foreign Relations*

*Juckler  
attached  
loyalty*

*Laughlin  
Hennrich  
Parsons  
Belmont  
Casper  
Mohr  
Rosen*

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John Service and the Amerasia Case, pages 324 - 353  
Professor Frederick L. Schuman, pages 353 - 359.  
This volume also contains the testimony of Miss Dorothy  
Kenyon, pages 370 - 467.

Volume 5 dated 3-20-50.

This volume contains the testimony of the Honorable Philip C.  
Jessup .

Volume 6 dated 3-21-50.

This volume contains a continuation of the testimony of Senator  
Joseph McCarthy.

Owen Lattimore

Honorable Philip C. Jessup, page 4

Stephen Brunauer, page 12

Herbert Fierst, page 12

Charles W. Thayer, page 33.

Reference is also made in this volume to the removal of  
serials from the FBI files in the Kansas City case  
(page 10) and to Senator McCarthy's indirect access to  
information in FBI files.

Volume 7 dated 3-27-50.

This volume contains the testimony of the following individuals:

> Mrs. Esther Brunauer, pages 559 - 613

Honorable J. Howard McGrath, pages 613 - 656

Director J. Edgar Hoover, pages 656 - 685.

Volume 8 dated 3-28-50.

This volume contains the testimony of Haldore Hanson,  
pages 686 - 757.

Volume 9 dated 4-5-50.

This volume contains the testimony of the following individuals:

Mr. Donald L. Nicholson, pages 759 - 801

General Conrad E. Snow, pages 801 - 835

Mr. Seth W. Richardson, pages 835 - 861.

Volume 10 dated 4-6-50.

This volume contains the testimony of Owen Lattimore,  
pages 863 - 1030.

Volume 11 dated 4-20-50.

This volume contains the testimony of the following individuals:

Louis Budenz, pages 1032 - 1214

Brigadier General Elliott R. Thorpe, pages 1214 - 1243.

Volume 12 dated 4-25-50.

This volume contains the testimony of the following individuals:

Dr. Bella V. Dodd, pages 1245 - 1316

Larry E. Kerley, pages 1316 - 1334.

Volume 13 dated 4-25-50 (A. M.)

This volume contains a discussion of the procedure to be followed before the Committee and also contains the testimony of Louis Budenz concerning Owen Lattimore, pages 112 - 145.

Volume 14 dated 4-25-50 (P. M.)

This volume contains a continuation of the testimony of Louis Budenz concerning Owen Lattimore. In his testimony Budenz also mentions such people as Ella Winter, Joseph Barnes, Victor Yakhonteff, Harriet L. Moore, Gunther Stein, Haldore Hanson, Philip C. Jessup and others.

Volume 15 dated 4-27-50.

This volume contains the testimony of Earl Russell Browder, pages 1335 - 1430. All of this testimony principally concerns Owen Lattimore. A number of other individuals of interest to the Bureau are also mentioned.

Volume 16 dated 4-28-50.

This volume contains the testimony of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, pages 1431 - 1495.

Volume 17 dated 5-1-50.

This volume contains the testimony of the following individuals concerning Owen Lattimore:

Freda Utley, pages 1497 - 1646

Demaree Bess, pages 1647 - 1651.

Volume 18 dated 5-2-50.

This volume contains the testimony of Dr. Owen Lattimore, pages 1652 - 1837.

Volume 19 dated 5-3-50.

This volume contains a continuation of the testimony of Owen Lattimore, pages 1839 - 1948.

Volume 20 dated 5-4-50 (A.M.)

This volume contains the testimony of Frank Brooks Beilaski concerning the Amerasia case, pages 257 - 317.

OBSERVATIONS

The above table of contents is set forth as the result of a quick scanning of the transcripts presently in the possession of the Bureau. In keeping with the Director's instructions that, "As soon as copy (of the transcript) is obtained, we should go over it carefully for leads and information.", these volumes are currently being reviewed thoroughly for any information or leads that may be developed in connection with the case entitled "Owen Lattimore, Espionage - R," (Bureau file 100-24628). Incidental to that review, photostatic copies of pertinent portions concerning Lattimore will be prepared for transmittal to the Baltimore Office.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is suggested that copies of this preliminary memorandum be forwarded to the Internal Security and Loyalty Sections for their information and that a copy also be forwarded to Special Agent [redacted] who is charged with the supervision of the Amerasia case. Temporarily, these documents will be retained in a filing cabinet labeled as is this memorandum (key number Z-600 in Room 7614), the office of Special Agent [redacted] where they will be immediately available to Bureau personnel having an interest in their content.

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*These documents  
are now a  
building  
enclosure  
to serial 255  
of 121-23278  
EMG*

*The transcript  
is to be reviewed  
not only re Lattimore  
case but for info &  
leads - also other  
cases mentioned  
therein. Br*

*copies routed*

*Testimony analyzed  
& being handled re Internal  
Security matters referred to in this  
memo dated 7-5-50*

*Loyalty analyzing  
cases Re Loyalty  
CMB*

Assistant Attorney General  
James M. McInerney, Criminal Division

June 20, 1950

Director, FBI

CONFIDENTIAL

<sup>1</sup> SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE  
<sup>1</sup> FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Reference is made to our memoranda of April 24, 1950, and May 12, 1950, as well as to your memorandum of May 23, 1950.

It would be appreciated if you would advise us as to whether you have yet been successful in obtaining a copy of the official transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: July 11, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE

To submit for your information the results of a review of the proposed "Findings and Conclusions" of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning information appearing therein which directly relates to the FBI or FBI personnel, and to also highlight pertinent comments of the Subcommittee.

BACKGROUND

At 4:50 PM on July 10, 1950, a copy of the proposed "Findings and Conclusions" of the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was made available to the Bureau on a highly confidential basis, it being stipulated that no copies should be made nor any notations made thereon.

These proposed findings and conclusions have been reviewed for information which directly relates to the FBI or FBI personnel, special emphasis being placed on such information as reflects adversely on the Bureau. No attempt has been made to compare the conclusions set forth with the facts as contained in Bureau files and other than those which directly concern the Bureau, no attempt has been made to establish the accuracy or inaccuracy of statements appearing therein.

Generally, throughout the report of the findings and conclusions of the Subcommittee, references made to the FBI or FBI personnel are commendatory. The findings and conclusions of the Subcommittee are generally favorable to the individuals charged by Senator McCarthy, and no recommendations for dismissal are made.

ACTION

The attached memorandum is submitted for your information.

Attachment

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121 - 23278 - 198

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*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*



FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

The "Findings and Conclusions" of the subcommittee contain a condemnation of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Therein are quoted statements Senator McCarthy is reported to have made as to the number of Communists in the State Department, and a statement is made that there is not one member of the Communist Party or of a "spy ring" employed in the State Department known to the Secretary of State or other responsible officials of the Department. The report accuses Senator McCarthy of misrepresentation of fact and of misleading and deceiving the Senate, as well as of failure to cooperate with the subcommittee.

In their "Findings and Conclusions," the subcommittee reports that their review of the loyalty files concerning the "81" individuals charged by Senator McCarthy revealed that they did not contain truth to support these charges. The subcommittee reported that their investigation revealed that the Loyalty Program is of indispensable value and was being efficiently administered. In this connection, they found (page 7) "That the FBI's loyalty investigations are comprehensive and conclusive with respect to the facts."

The committee then announced their conclusions with respect to individuals publicly charged by Senator McCarthy. Inasmuch as these conclusions are specifically set forth in the subcommittee's report, which is being made the subject of a separate memorandum in this matter of even date herewith, they are not being repeated herein.

In connection with the conclusion that Haldore Hanson was not to be considered disloyal, or a man with proclivities on a mission to Communize the world, among other things, the conclusion was stated that the only testimony before the Committee indicating Hanson may have had any Communist convictions, is that of Louis Budenz, which leaves the Committee "to a degree, in wonderment;" that in the face of the results of the FBI investigation and the Loyalty Board's review of the Hanson case, and in consideration of the evidence before the Committee, the Committee could not accept Mr. Budenz' testimony as controlling.

With reference to Dorothy Kenyon, the conclusion was that the evidence before the Subcommittee failed to establish Kenyon as a Communist or an otherwise disloyal person. It was pointed out that it is apparent Kenyon was less than judicious in joining certain organizations during the late 30's and early 40's, but that significantly though her name has been associated in one manner or another with 20 different cited organizations, she was found to be connected on but one occasion with an organization

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after it was cited as subversive. The report further concludes that many of the alleged associations were denied or explained and in other cases, "she had a great deal of distinguished company."

The Committee further related that "where used for the purpose of attaching a stigma of disloyalty upon an individual, membership in Communist-front organizations assumes significance in direct proportion to the knowledge of the nature of the organization, the character and the extent of the participation therein, and the number of affiliations, after knowledge."

In connection with their conclusions concerning Owen Lattimore, the subcommittee reported (page 15) that they had found "no evidence to support the charge that Owen Lattimore is the 'top Russian spy' or, for that matter, any other sort of spy.....We have every confidence that were Mr. Lattimore an espionage agent the efficient FBI would long since have taken action against him. The fact that it has not done so and the further fact that we have seen a summary of the FBI's information concerning Mr. Lattimore confirms our opinion in this respect."

These latter conclusions, in so far as they concern the FBI, are, of course, unwarranted. It is not within the province of the FBI to institute prosecutive action against a subject of investigation, nor can the FBI summary of March 22, 1950 (since supplemented by additional investigation) be properly construed as a clearance of Lattimore in connection with the charges made against him.

The subcommittee reported (pages 15 and 16) that "Owen Lattimore is a writer and a scholar who has been charged with a record of pro-Communism going back many years. There is no legal evidence before us whatever to support this charge.....we are impelled to comment that in no instance has Mr. Lattimore on the evidence before us been shown to have knowingly associated with Communists."

In this connection, it is true that the FBI summary of March 22, 1950, containing information concerning Owen Lattimore which was displayed to members of the subcommittee, does not in itself constitute "legal evidence" of the information therein contained.

The committee makes the comment (page 17) that "We believe that the Lattimore case vividly illustrates...the imperative necessity that inquiries relating to matters of such character, where deemed relevant to our national security, should be handled by the duly constituted agencies of our government that are equipped to handle such matters by intelligent and proven methods designed to obtain the truth without injustice, character assassination, and a prostitution of the American concept of fair play."

Concerning the conclusions reached regarding John Stewart Service, the Subcommittee stated that after carefully considering the evidence, it concluded that Service is neither a disloyal person, a pro-Communist, nor a security risk. The Subcommittee indicated it was impressed with Service's frankness and cooperativeness; the fact that he appeared before the Grand Jury in August of 1945 where, by unanimous vote, he was not indicted; and the fact that he has been subjected to almost continuous scrutiny during the last five years, being cleared four times by either the State Department personnel board or the State Department Security and Loyalty Board. It is of interest to note the comment regarding "an accepted practice" for State Department officers to impart classified information to writers in order to give them background information for their articles. The Subcommittee stated that both Mark Gayn and Philip Jaffe were considered reputable newsmen and writers by the public in the Spring of 1945, and because of the limited number of writers specializing on China, it was natural that Service would expect experts in that field, like Gayn and Jaffe to show a greater interest in his material by the average writer. The Subcommittee concluded that "Service was extremely indiscreet in his dealings with Gayn and Jaffe, a fact which he readily admits; that perhaps the State Department's administration process was at fault in failing to brief its employees coming into Washington on short consultations on how they should treat the press during their stay; but that the Committee could not and would not conclude that his indiscretions in the Amerasia matter is sufficient to brand an otherwise competent and loyal employee of seventeen years service as disloyal, pro-Communist or a security risk.

AMERASIA CASE

The subcommittee in its findings and conclusions concerning this case made certain commendatory statements regarding the Bureau as follows:

o "(B) We find that, after the case was referred to it, the FBI conducted the investigation with dispatch and thoroughness and developed the identities of all individuals involved as could be revealed by an exhaustive investigation extending over a three-months period; that the FBI utilized techniques and methods in its investigation which the exigencies of the situation appeared to require, bearing in mind its dual and somewhat incompatible (under existing law) responsibility for counter-espionage in wartime on the one hand and the development of legally admissible evidence on the other. The FBI discharged its responsibility with an efficiency and thoroughness in keeping with the best traditions of that agency."

Despite the fact that such credit was given to the Bureau by the subcommittee, it is suggested that the words "and somewhat incompatible (under existing law)" be deleted from the above paragraph.

"(C) We find that all responsible officials were properly concerned relative to the serious implications of the Amerasia case, as it could be gauged at the outset, and that the President of the United States personally called an FBI official, instructing that the case should be handled with all possible dispatch."

"(H) We find that three bodies have now investigated the Amerasia case-- (1) a committee of the House of Representatives in 1946, (2) a special Grand Jury in New York City in 1950, and (3) this subcommittee--and that each inquiry has established that the case was not improperly handled either by the FBI in the investigation or the Department of Justice in the prosecution."

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I try to get  
this language  
deleted*

*7-11*

*I agree. It is usual  
to call a propa-  
ganda line.*

*Done  
7-11  
11:15 am*

*P. 16 of  
of subcommittee  
report has  
been changed  
to show this  
deletion*

*198*

Regarding the general charges of disloyalty in the State Department, the Committee stated it found that the sources were essentially: (1) material developed by investigators of a House Committee in 1947 from loyalty files, which material was considered by four separate committees of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress and was not regarded as justifying a report concerning the matter. (2) Information from a letter dated July 26, 1946, of Secretary James F. Byrnes giving a contemporaneous report concerning the screening and weeding out of questionable individuals transferred to the State Department from emergency wartime agencies. (3) A perversion of the testimony of General Patrick J. Hurley before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in December, 1945. (4) Alfred Kohlberg, New York importer and financial backer, "Plain Talk" magazine. (5) An article concerning the Amerasia case appearing in the October, 1946 edition of "Plain Talk" magazine, indicated to have been written by Emmanuel S. Larsen and subsequently repudiated by him.

In the list of conclusions, a statement is included regarding the Committee having been subjected to an organized campaign of unwarranted and unfair villification, which included repeated charges that the Committee was attempting to "whitewash" the State and Justice Departments.

In the conclusions set forth, the statement is made, "We are fully satisfied that the FBI and the security staff of the State Department are eminently qualified to ferret out individuals who may be disloyal in the State Department"; furthermore, that public Congressional inquiries on the question of disloyalty, particularly in view of the fact that the standard for judgment is necessarily highly subjective, tend inevitably to prejudice unfairly and with complete immunity and impunity the reputations, careers, and very livelihood of many innocent people; that the development of facts concerning charges of disloyalty, even where ample evidence exists in the initial instance to indicate its verity, should be done in an efficient, intelligent, and unobstrusive manner by the FBI with its thousands of trained investigators and nation-wide facilities.

In conclusion, the Committee stated that inquiries of the character impressed upon us are justified only where evidence exists that our duly constituted agencies of Government have failed to discharge their duty; that despite irresponsible representations to the contrary, the Committee found that absolutely no such evidence existed as a predicate for its inquiry in that after an intensive investigation, there is still no such evidence. The Committee went on to state that it felt that one of the most reprehensible aspects and unfortunate result of unwarranted charges of the type made in this

matter is the actual injury done to the true fight against Communism; that such charges, being unproved and not subject to proof, have the effect of dulling the awareness of our people to the menace of Communism necessarily embarrass and expose the methods and techniques of our intelligence agencies charged with protecting our security, interfere with and compromise their confidential investigations, destroy the effectiveness of confidential informants, and inevitably gives basis for ridicule of those who fight Communism with Truth, the only weapon with which it can be destroyed.

It is of particular interest to note the strong language used in the final conclusion of the Subcommittee, which states:

"At a time when American blood is again being shed to preserve our dream of freedom, we are constrained fearlessly and frankly to call the charges and the methods employed to give them ostensible validity what they truly are:— a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people. They represent perhaps the most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruth in the history of this Republic. For the first time in our history, we have seen the totalitarian technique of the 'Big Lie' employed on a sustained basis. The result has been to confuse and divide the American people, at a time when they should be strong in their unity, to a degree far beyond the hopes of the Communists themselves whose stock-in-trade is confusion and division. In such a disillusioning setting, we appreciate as never before our bill of rights, a free press, and the heritage of freedom that has made this nation great."

#### ACTION

The conclusion of the Subcommittee concerning the Amerasia case which referred to the FBI's "dual and somewhat incompatible responsibility" is wholly incorrect. The reference to incompatible responsibility appears to be a gratuitous statement which it is recommended should be deleted from the findings and conclusions.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744 7-11, 1950

- TO:  Director
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Belmont
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carlson
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy
- Personnel Files Section
- Records Section
- Mrs. Skillman

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Tolson
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Ladd
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Clegg
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Glavin
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Nichols
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Rosen
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Tracy
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Harbo
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Belmont
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Mohr
<input type="checkbox"/>	Tele. Room
<input type="checkbox"/>	Mr. Nease
<input type="checkbox"/>	Miss Gandy

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
 Stanley  
 Jones  
 Grogg

See Me For Appropriate Action

Send File Note and Return

*Note*

*Page 5*

*Page 5 handled JG*

Clyde Tolson



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

### FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The "Findings and Conclusions" of the subcommittee contain a condemnation of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Therein are quoted statements Senator McCarthy is reported to have made as to the number of Communists in the State Department, and a statement is made that there is not one member of the Communist Party or of a "spy ring" employed in the State Department known to the Secretary of State or other responsible officials of the Department. The report accuses Senator McCarthy of misrepresentation of fact and of misleading and deceiving the Senate, as well as of failure to cooperate with the subcommittee.

In their "Findings and Conclusions," the subcommittee reports that their review of the Loyalty files concerning the "81" individuals charged by Senator McCarthy revealed that they did not contain truth to support these charges. The subcommittee reported that their investigation revealed that the Loyalty Program is of indispensable value and was being efficiently administered. In this connection, they found (page 7) "That the FBI's loyalty investigations are comprehensive and conclusive with respect to the facts."

The committee then announced their conclusions with respect to individuals publicly charged by Senator McCarthy. Inasmuch as these conclusions are specifically set forth in the subcommittee's report, which is being made the subject of a separate memorandum in this matter of even date herewith, they are not being repeated herein.

In connection with the conclusion that Haldore Hanson was not to be considered disloyal, or a man with proclivities on a mission to Communize the world, among other things, the conclusion was stated that the only testimony before the Committee indicating Hanson may have had any Communist convictions, is that of Louis Budenz, which leaves the Committee "to a degree, in wonderment;" that in the face of the results of the FBI investigation and the Loyalty Board's review of the Hanson case, and in consideration of the evidence before the Committee, the Committee could not accept Mr. Budenz' testimony as controlling.

With reference to Dorothy Kenyon, the conclusion was that the evidence before the Subcommittee failed to establish Kenyon as a Communist or an otherwise disloyal person. It was pointed out that it is apparent Kenyon was less than judicious in joining certain organizations during the late 30's and early 40's, but that significantly though her name has been associated in one manner or another with 20 different cited organizations, she was found to be connected on but one occasion with an organization

after it was cited as subversive. The report further concludes that many of the alleged associations were denied or explained and in other cases, "she had a great deal of distinguished company."

The Committee further related that "where used for the purpose of attaching a stigma of disloyalty upon an individual, membership in Communist-front organizations assumes significance in direct proportion to the knowledge of the nature of the organization, the character and the extent of the participation therein, and the number of affiliations, after knowledge."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In connection with their conclusions concerning Owen Lattimore, the subcommittee reported (page 15) that they had found "no evidence to support the charge that Owen Lattimore is the 'top Russian spy' or, for that matter, any other sort of spy....We have every confidence that were Mr. Lattimore an espionage agent the efficient FBI would long since have taken action against him. The fact that it has not done so and the further fact that we have seen a summary of the FBI's information concerning Mr. Lattimore confirms our opinion in this respect."

These latter conclusions, in so far as they concern the FBI, are, of course, unwarranted. It is not within the province of the FBI to institute prosecutive action against a subject of investigation, nor can the FBI summary of March 22, 1950 (since supplemented by additional investigation) be properly construed as a clearance of Lattimore in connection with the charges made against him.

The subcommittee reported (pages 15 and 16) that "Owen Lattimore is a writer and a scholar who has been charged with a record of pro-Communism going back many years. There is no legal evidence before us whatever to support this charge.....We are impelled to comment that in no instance has Mr. Lattimore on the evidence before us been shown to have knowingly associated with Communists."

In this connection, it is true that the FBI summary of March 22, 1950, containing information concerning Owen Lattimore which was displayed to members of the subcommittee, does not in itself constitute "legal evidence" of the information therein contained.

The committee makes the comment (page 17) that "We believe that the Lattimore case vividly illustrates....the imperative necessity that inquiries relating to matters of such character, where deemed relevant to our national security, should be handled by the duly constituted agencies of our government that are equipped to handle such matters by intelligent and proven methods designed to obtain the truth without injustice, character assassination, and a prostitution of the American concept of fair play."

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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

AMERASIA CASE

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"(B) We find that, after the case was referred to it, the FBI conducted the investigation with dispatch and thoroughness and developed the identities of all individuals involved as could be revealed by an exhaustive investigation extending over a three-months period; that the FBI utilized techniques and methods in its investigation which the exigencies of the situation appeared to require, bearing in mind its dual and somewhat incompatible (under existing law) responsibility for counter-espionage in wartime on the one hand and the development of legally admissible evidence on the other. The FBI discharged its responsibility with an efficiency and thoroughness in keeping with the best traditions of that agency."

Despite the fact that such credit was given to the Bureau by the subcommittee, it is suggested that the words "and somewhat incompatible (under existing law)" be deleted from the above paragraph.

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- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
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- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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In the list of conclusions, a statement is included regarding the Committee having been subjected to an organized campaign of unwarranted and unfair villification, which included repeated charges that the Committee was attempting to "whitewash" the State and Justice Departments.

In the conclusions set forth, the statement is made, "We are fully satisfied that the FBI and the security staff of the State Department are eminently qualified to ferret out individuals who may be disloyal in the State Department"; furthermore, that public Congressional inquiries on the question of disloyalty, particularly in view of the fact that the standard for judgment is necessarily highly subjective, tend inevitably to prejudice unfairly and with complete immunity and impunity the reputations, careers, and very livelihood of many innocent people; that the development of facts concerning charges of disloyalty, even where ample evidence exists in the initial instance to indicate its verity, should be done in an efficient, intelligent, and unobtrusive manner by the FBI with its thousands of trained investigators and nation-wide facilities.

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#### ACTION

The conclusion of the Subcommittee concerning the Amerasia case which referred to the FBI's "dual and somewhat incompatible responsibility" is wholly incorrect. The reference to incompatible responsibility appears to be a gratuitous statement which it is recommended should be deleted from the findings and conclusions.

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM: C. H. Stanley

SUBJECT: LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: June 30, 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

PURPOSE

To comment on a document entitled "Photostats of Excerpts From Chief Investigator's Report of State Department Loyalty Files" found by the New York Office in going through the files of Dr. J. B. Matthews.

BACKGROUND

Dr. J. B. Matthews recently made available to the Bureau certain files maintained by him for examination for information of possible pertinence to the loyalty investigations of Philip Jessup, John Stewart Service, Richard Service and Haldore Hanson and the espionage investigation of Owen C. Lattimore. In connection with this examination the Agents came across a photostatic document entitled "Photostats of Excerpts From Chief Investigator's Report of State Department Loyalty Files." They asked Dr. Matthews where he had obtained it and, although he gave a rather evasive answer, he very readily offered to give the Agents a photostatic copy of the document. Furthermore, he did not seem concerned that this document was in his files nor did he make any effort to conceal its presence there.

An examination of the document in question reveals that it is obviously incomplete. It is labelled "Observations and Findings" and contains paragraphs numbered 8, 9, 10 and 17. From the nature of the document it apparently is the observations and findings of someone who conducted a survey of the security files of the State Department. Generally, the observations and findings indicate that the Security Division of the State Department has no records to clearly show who have or who have not been investigated and who is and who is not presently employed. A comment is made that instances were noted where the Division had pending investigations on applicants although neither D.P. (Domestic Personnel) nor F.P. (Foreign Personnel) had a record indicating they were considering these applicants. The document makes a further comment concerning the distribution of the caseload of Agents conducting investigations for the State Department in the Washington and New York areas and in this connection it is mentioned that a number of alleged Communist Party petition signers had never been checked out and cites as examples cases Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32. The document in question also refers to the inadequacy of the State Department system of charging out files and the over-all laxness in the handling of documents, citing as examples file jackets for which there were no cases in the files and jackets being out of file without charge-out, papers missing from files obviously belonging there and no charge-out slips to indicate whereabouts of missing papers.

In furnishing a copy of this document to the Bureau by letter dated June 8, 1950, the New York Office pointed out that the cases referred to by number in the document possibly might be identical with the numbers used by Senator McCarthy in

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connection with his recent allegations concerning the State Department. New York pointed out that the document, although not marked confidential, appeared to contain information which probably was not of the type to be disseminated outside the State Department and the Bureau might desire to confidentially advise the State Department that there are copies outside of that Department.

There is no way, of course, by which we can positively identify this document. However, it is my belief that it is a portion of the report made by former SA Robert E. Lee in connection with the hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations on the State Department appropriation bill for 1949. This belief is particularly borne out by the reference to cases Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32, which are case numbers used in Lee's report. Furthermore, the document in question refers to investigations to be conducted, presumably by State Department investigators, concerning employees who have signed Communist Party petitions and obviously this investigative jurisdiction now lies with the Bureau under Executive Order 9835. This factor further leads to the belief that this is a portion of the Lee report which was, of course, prepared at just about the time the Loyalty Program was getting under way. We, of course, have a copy of the Lee report insofar as it pertains to individuals but we do not have this complete report and it is believed that the document submitted by the New York Office probably is a portion of the summary of his observations and findings concerning the general condition of the State Department files at the time he made a survey of them for the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives. How this material came into the possession of Dr. J. B. Matthews, of course, is unknown.

#### RECOMMENDATION

Since the document is believed to be a portion of the Lee report, there would appear to be no reason for advising the State Department of the fact that copies are in the possession of individuals outside the Department of State. From the recent allegations of Senator McCarthy, it is quite obvious that other copies of this material are in the possession of individuals outside the Executive Branch of the Government. It is, accordingly, recommended that no further action be taken with respect to this particular matter.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: August 31, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: DOCUMENTS FOUND AT THE SHERMAN HOTEL,  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AUGUST 16, 1950, PERTAINING  
TO ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
CONCERNING COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

PURPOSE:

To advise you the attached material, found at the Sherman Hotel, Chicago, on August 16, 1950, pertaining to allegations by Senator McCarthy concerning Communists in the State Department, contains no data not previously known to the Bureau; and to recommend that the attached material be returned to Senator McCarthy.

BACKGROUND:

By memorandum dated August 24, 1950, the Chicago Office forwarded to the Bureau seven documents which had been furnished by Mr. George Karpovich, aka George Karp, 9827 South Carpenter Street, Chicago, Illinois. At the time Mr. Karpovich turned this material over to the Chicago Office he advised that he had found the documents in the Crystal Ballroom of the Sherman Hotel, Chicago, at about 9:30 P.M., on August 16, 1950.

The Chicago Office has advised that Mr. Dan Murphy, House Detective, Sherman Hotel, had informed them on August 18, 1950, that the National Food Distributors had held a conference in the Crystal Ballroom of the Hotel Sherman on August 16, 1950, at which conference Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was a speaker. An examination of the documents reflects that all the material contained therein has previously come to the attention of the Bureau in connection with the allegations by Senator McCarthy concerning Communists in the State Department and has previously been appropriately handled. The documents furnished by Mr. Karpovich appear to be material used by Senator McCarthy in connection with his speech before the National Food Distributors conference on August 16, 1950.

Specifically, the documents found by Mr. Karpovich are as follows:

1. The case presented to the Senate as a typical file covering individuals whose cases were given to the Senate and Senator McCarthy.
2. Information concerning the Ambassador Jessup case.
3. Photostats of two documents appearing in newspapers stapled with a letter to Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy dated July 10, 1950, from J. Edgar Hoover.
4. A file on Chew Hong and Dr. Chi.

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

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INDEXED - 104

RECORDED - 104

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SEP 8 1950

Attachment  
HJP:js

SEP 11 1950

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5. Page 30 of a 106 page secret report prepared by a State Department Security Officer for the head of the Security Division.
6. A report dated June 10, 1947, from the Sub-Committee of the Senate Appropriations Committee.
7. A statement received from a State Department employee who worked on a project of removing all evidence of Communistic activities, etc., from the files of the State Department employees.

With regard to Document No. 1 listed above, it is noted that this document is identical with the "exhibit" which served as the basis for the Bureau's investigation in the case entitled "Unknown Subject, Source of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Information Regarding Government Employees, Removal of Government Property, Loyalty of Government Employees." (121-23278)

Document No. 2 consists of ten pages of miscellaneous material concerning Ambassador Philip C. Jessup showing his purported relation with various Communist front organizations and containing copies of four checks reflecting contributions to the Institute of Pacific Relations by Frederick V. Field during the time Ambassador Jessup was supposedly connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is noted that a very thorough Loyalty of Government Employees investigation has been conducted concerning Jessup and the allegations of association with all Communist front organizations listed in the attached material, as well as the contributions of Frederick Vanderbilt Field to the Institute of Pacific Relations, have been fully explored during the Bureau's loyalty investigation of Dr. Jessup. (121-9893)

Document No. 3 consists of two pages of material. The first page reflects an article from the New York Herald Tribune dated June 22, 1950, and on the same page appears a reproduction of an article from the New York Times dated June 22, 1950, concerning the Tydings Committee's investigation of Senator McCarthy's charges of Communists in the State Department. The second page of the document is a reproduction of a letter from you to Senator McCarthy dated July 10, 1950, informing him that the FBI had not as of that date made an examination of the 81 State Department loyalty files and advising him that the Bureau was not in a position to make any statement concerning the completeness or incompleteness of the State Department files.

Document No. 4 consists of fourteen pages of material concerning one Chew Hong and Dr. Kung Chuan Chi in relation to the Owen Lattimore case. It is noted that this identical information was previously furnished to the Bureau. Efforts to prove or disprove the allegation that Owen Lattimore "loaded" the Office of War Information with pro-Communists and anti-Chiang Kai-shek personnel are at the present time being made in the Lattimore case. (100-24628) The data concerning Chew Sih Hong and Dr. Chi, as well as the attached picture, is duplication of material already in possession of the Bureau and is therefore considered of no interest in so far as the Owen Lattimore case is concerned.

Document No. 5, which purports to be page thirty of a secret report prepared by the State Department Security Officer for the head of the Security Division, contains the charts previously alleged by Senator McCarthy to have been prepared by the FBI showing the number of "agents," "Communists," "sympathizers" and "suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. This material has long since been in possession of the Bureau and has been appropriately handled.

Document No. 6 is a copy of a report dated June 10, 1947, from the Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee to Secretary of State George C. Marshall calling his attention to conditions which had reportedly developed and still flourish in the State Department under the administration of Dean Acheson. The report alleges that there was a deliberate, calculated program being carried out not only to protect Communist personnel in high places but to reduce security and intelligence protection to a nullity. This report appears to refer to Hamilton Robinson since he was at one time head of the Office of Controls Section of the State Department and was a cousin of Robert T. Miller, III, a former State Department employee and a subject in the Gregory case.

Document No. 7 is a reproduction of a signed statement of Paul E. Sullivan, former employee of the State Department, dated July 6, 1950, concerning his employment with the State Department and alleged "stripping" of derogatory material from the State Department personnel files. This signed statement has previously been made available to the Bureau and appears to be of no additional interest.

ACTION:

Photostatic copies of the seven documents mentioned above have been made for the completion of the Bureau's files. Inasmuch as all the material contained herein has previously been made available to the Bureau and appropriate action taken there appears to be no further action necessary concerning this material. Inasmuch as the material was without doubt left in the Crystal Ballroom of the Sherman Hotel by Senator McCarthy on the occasion of his speech on August 16, 1950, it is recommended that a representative of the Bureau contact Senator McCarthy and advise him of the manner in which this material came into the possession of the Bureau. If it is definitely determined at that time that the material belongs to Senator McCarthy it is further recommended that the material be returned to him.

ADDENDUM:

Subsequent to the typing of the above memorandum a letter was received from the Chicago Office forwarding another complete set of seven documents identical with those listed above. No explanation was given by Chicago as to how they came into possession of this second set of documents. However, the existence of more than one set of such documents indicates that the documents furnished by Mr. Karpovich were

not personal documents inadvertently left in the Sherman Hotel by Senator McCarthy, but probably documents which he had prepared for distribution to the audience at the time of his speech there on August 16th.

In view of this fact, and since the documents contain no material not previously known to the Bureau, it is suggested that the above recommendation be reconsidered and the material not be returned to Senator McCarthy, and that no further action be taken.

*Jayne*  
*OK*

*Jayne*  
*H.*





Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: August 28, 1950

FROM : SAC, Chicago

REGISTERED MAIL

SUBJECT: Documents Found at the Sherman Hotel  
on August 16, 1950  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Remylet August 23, 1950 captioned as above.

Enclosed are copies of the same material as indicated in referenced letter.

Encs.

*allegations by Sen. McCarty  
Regarding the State Department*

WLR-JCS  
62-0

7 ENCL.  
6/12

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

~~RECORDED~~ RECORDING

*WLR*

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

RECORDED - 67

121-23278 - 242

INDEXED - 67

AUG 30 1950  
198

SEP 23 1950

5

121-23278-243, 244, 245

**CHANGED TO**

121-41663-3, 2, 1

NOV 17 1952

BB

C

# ALFRED KOHLBERG INC.

## Chinese Textiles

TELEPHONES  
8477  
8478  
WISCONSIN 7 8479

WEST 37<sup>TH</sup> STREET  JUST OFF FIFTH AVE.

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

June 27, 1950

OPEN LETTER

for release A.M. editions - July 3, 1950

Honorable Frank Buchanan  
House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Buchanan:

At your request we furnished your Committee on June 8th with all the information you requested.

Our Government has certain documents which I, as an interested citizen, would like to see. These have been kept secret from me, and from you, yet they must be known to our sworn enemies, the servants of the Soviet Union. I hope you will agree I am as entitled to these as was Mr. Jaiffe of AMERASIA to the documents from John S. Service. The State Department approved Mr. Service's actions. I wrote Senator McCarthy asking him to request them of Senator Tydings. Copy of letter enclosed. So far I have no answer.

It occurs to me that if your Committee is authorized to ask sweeping and confidential information of taxpayers, you might also be authorized to ask specific data from our servants, the Executive departments. Hence I am forwarding to you this letter to Senator McCarthy with a request for the documents enumerated. I can assure you that each of the 17 enumerated actually exists.

If public opinion is to have confidence in our President in this present crisis, it must know who disarmed the free nations, who betrayed Poland and China, etc., etc. If the same people, or their proteges, are still guiding our destinies, we want to know. These 17 documents will make it clear to us and to the Governments of the rest of the world, who now fear the worst.

Hoping you will have these documents ready when you call me before your Committee, I am,

Most respectfully yours,

Alfred Kohlberg

File 94-37208

RECORDED - 80

INDEXED - 80

441 121-23278-245X

AUG 25 1950

ENCL 80

AK:am  
Enc

W

# ALFRED KOHLBERG INC.

## Chinese Textiles

TELEPHONES  
WISCONSIN 7 { 8477  
8478  
8479

1 WEST 37<sup>TH</sup> STREET  JUST OFF FIFTH AVE.

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

June 6, 1950

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

Senator Tydings (Dem.) recently said that the Communist Magazine AMERASIA had only been given 1700 classified Government documents--mostly "teacup gossip." Only 1% were top secret, he said.

As publisher of PLAIN TALK for the past four years, I haven't received a single classified government document. It isn't fair.

Could you ask Senator Tydings to ship me 1700 such documents. I don't care if 99% are "teacup gossip," if that's the kind of stuff Secretary Acheson deals in 99% of the time. I always suspected as much. His statement in 1945 that Russia was entitled to a "friendly government" in China may be "teacup" too. 400 million Chinese "teacups."

What I am most interested in is the 1% of top secret documents. I would like my 17 to be:

- (1) The secret report that Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada brought in person to President Truman in 1945 naming 150 of the Soviet atom spies in the U.S.A.; of whom not one has been arrested.
- (2) The secret agreement of Teheran, dated December 1945, turning over Poland to the U.S.S.R.
- (3) The full Henry Wallace report on China, written by Lattimore (about 70 pages) and the two telegrams by Wallace from New Delhi dated June 28, 1944.
- (4) The telegram from Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek dated Quebec about Sept. 19, 1944, demanding the turning over of the civil government to Stilwell and the Commies on pain of breaking our alliance and throwing China out of the U. N.
- (5) The secret instructions to General Marshall when he left for China about Dec. 15, 1945.

121-23278-245X

121-23278-27  
SURE

June 6, 1950

- (6) The orders to General Eisenhower to stop General Patton's advance in Czechoslovakia and his own advance on Berlin, so the Russians could have both.
- (7) The White House order, signed by Lauchlin Currie, about June 1945, countermanding the Joint Chiefs of Staff order to General Eisenhower assigning surrendered German arms to China. It ordered all destroyed, instead.
- (8) The secret order to General Sultan in India, about July 1945, ordering all arms, ammunition and planes, en route to China (both American and Chinese Lend-lease) destroyed.
- (9) The secret G2 report on the Katyn Massacre, where the Russians, in 1941, slaughtered 10,000 surrendered Polish officers.
- (10) The secret Potsdam Agreement, July 1945, recognizing Soviet supremacy in all the undeveloped, backward areas of Asia.
- (11) General Douglas MacArthur's report of 1948 to the Secretary recommending policy for the Far East.
- (12) The full list of assets, of all kinds, of former Prime Ministers H. H. K'ung and T. V. Soong of China, which Assistant Secretary of State Hickerson claims total \$850 million. Senator Knowland informed the Senate that Messrs. K'ung and Soong authorize its publication.
- (13) The secret Memo of conversation with Prime Minister Nehru of India last Fall, advising that he recognize Communist China, to be followed by Britain and then by us.
- (14) The secret Memos from Lattimore, to Jessup, to Trygve Lie, to Abraham Feller, advising that Nationalist China be replaced on the Security Council of U. N., even without recognition, and that the United States would approve.
- (15) The secret White House order for the postwar destruction of American arms and planes in Europe, accounting for the full equipment of more than 60 divisions, according to the Hoover Report. Secretary Acheson now wants you to vote new billions to replace these arms for our European allies (?).
- (16) The 30 other secret reports by so-called Far Eastern experts, which the State Department says were requested by Ambassador Jessup at the same time as the Lattimore Report of last August.
- (17) The secret agreement on China, dated Moscow about Dec. 27, 1945.

June 6, 1950

If I get these 17, I won't be fussy about the other 1683 pink "teacup gossip" secret documents. Tell Senator Tydings to just bundle them up and send them along--express collect.

Possibly Senator Tydings might like to consult former Senator Wheeler of Montana (Dem), now living in retirement in Washington. Senator Wheeler sprung the Teapot (not teacup) Dome scandals in 1924 and demanded the files be opened. When Attorney General Daugherty (Rep.) refused, Republican President Coolidge fired Daugherty and opened the files. The press applauded.

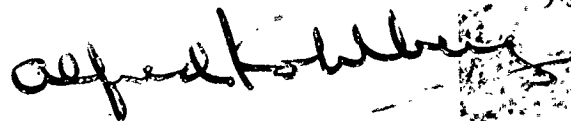
Those who know that Louis Budenz realized that unsavory items in his past would be exposed if he dared to speak out against Communism admire his courage and wonder what threats are silencing others.

Although I know you are a Wisconsin farm boy, I hope there is enough Irish in you to enjoy a good fight. With the mountain of evidence you have, and the stuff that Asst. Sec. of State Peurrifoy, Asst. Att.-Gen. McInerney, Senator Chavez and the Whitewash crew are spilling, you can't lose.

Some day before the Far East is lost and Washington, Oregon and California have become our front line, I hope we'll get responsibility out of the hands of the pink "teacup" boys into the hands of an American like Douglas MacArthur. General MacArthur will have the responsibility, anyway, when the chips, or bombs, are down. Why not give him the authority and responsibility now?

Congratulations on the job you are doing.

Sincerely,



Alfred Kohlberg

AK:am

Extra copy enclosed for Senator Tydings.

121-23278-246, 247, 248,  
249, 250

**CHANGED TO**

121-41668-6, 18, 19, 22, 25

NOV 17 1952

BY

*C*

W

W

September 8, 1950

PR-1

Honorable Millard E. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

*in the*

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

In response to your inquiry as to whether the FBI reviewed the State Department personnel files that were under consideration by your Committee for the purpose of ascertaining whether reports submitted by the FBI to the State Department were incorporated therein, this is to advise you that at the request of the Attorney General, we did make such a check on July 13, 1950 and found that the State Department files were intact, as indicated in the letter from the Attorney General to you dated July 17, 1950.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

*S/ J. Edgar Hoover*

CT:LBN:DSS

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

INDEXED - 20  
RECORDED - 20  
*1/11*

*121-23278-251*  
SEP 12 1950

*sent by  
Special Messenger  
10:55 pm - 9/8/50  
LBN/fmc*

SEP 8 4 16 PM '50  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: September 6, 1950

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

For record purposes, the Attorney General called me during the last week in August and inquired as to whether the Director could be reached by phone. I told him that I doubted it.

*Millard E.*

*J. Laughlin*

The Attorney General then stated that Senator Tydings desired to talk to the Director regarding the letter the Attorney General sent to the Senator reporting the Bureau's investigation of the contents of State Department files which Senator McCarthy charged had been raped.

*Stark*

I told him that I was certain the Director was in a travel status but at the earliest opportunity I would pass the word on.

The Attorney General then suggested he have Tydings call me.

I told the Attorney General I knew the Director would personally resent the fact that apparently Tydings was questioning the Attorney General's word and that I thought it amazing when the head of the Department, who was the spokesman for the Department as far as the Senator was concerned, had to have his word verified and that obviously the Director's position would be the same as the Attorney General's position.

The AG said that he was certain that this was not the problem and that Tydings did not mean any offense. He stated that he thought he would call Tydings and tell him that the Director was out of town and his return was indefinite.

By reference from the Director's Office, I talked to Tydings on September 5. The Senator wanted to talk to the Director sometime today and did not give any indication as to what he wanted to talk about.

LBN:mb

*V. [Signature]*

RECORDED - 43  
INDEXED - 43

*121-23278-252*

SEP 12 1950  
24

*[Signature]*

*Allegations by Senator McCarthy regarding State Department*

*Allegations by Senator Joseph McCarthy regarding the State Department*

56 SEP 21 1950

121 23278-253  
**CHANGED TO**  
121-41668-26

NOV 17 1952

B B

C

Sevierville, Tennessee  
June 29, 1950

Mr. D. M. Ladd,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ladd:

Just after the last war I worked for a short time under Assistant Secretary of State, William Benton, in the division that had taken over the Office of War Information. I was secretary to Mr. Robert Ward, now Consul General in Switzerland. Mr. Ward suggested to Mr. Benton that they go ahead and hire employees and then screen them later in order to save time, because if Mr. Benton really wanted them they would be hired regardless of what their investigation showed. Later on we received a letter asking if Mr. Benton was a Communist. Mr. Ward said he didn't know how to answer that because he believed that he was. I was the only person present when these statements were made.

I am a former employee of yours. My maiden name was E. Kathleen Brinkmeyer.

Sincerely yours

/s/ Mrs. John Murray

*Comm. on Int. Sec. - John Murray*

RECORDED - 2  
INDEXED - 28

151-55-254  
SEP 18 1950  
48

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

SEP 16 1950

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : A. H. BELMONT

DATE: July 3, 1950

FROM : C. E. HENNRICH

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE OF SENATE  
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

19647

To make a part of the case file in this matter 20 volumes of the official transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

BACKGROUND:

On May 29, 1950, 20 volumes of the official transcript of testimony presented before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were obtained from Senator Millard Tydings. These volumes are attached hereto.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that they be made a part of the case file in this matter.

EMG:mes  
Attachments  
62-91922

121-23278

ENCLOSURE ON BULKY RAMP

RECORDED - 12

JUL 10 1950

37

121-23278-255

INDEXED  
SERIALIZED  
FILED

174

State Department

0

*This material lodged in  
Printed Series  
see memo L.B. Nichols  
Mr. Waitart 10/2/50  
(Serial 267X12)*

*9-25-50  
Vol. #1 Missing  
from Encl. Will  
be returned for  
Xing when located*

*no feet. o.g.m.  
2/6/50  
with memo dated 5-1-51  
Zwick (RHS)  
7 other copies attach  
11/15/52  
from GTR  
sum*

*Retained 9/30/73 per form  
4-341 dated 3/28/73  
JAB/B*

SEARCHED



In the report prepared by Samuel Klaus there is a section entitled "Case Studies" in which information is set forth regarding the following individuals. You will note that the names William Chaiken and Clarence Nelson have been set out above.

Ida Wallack  
William Chaiken

19646

~~████████████████████~~  
Dorothy Cheney Goodwin  
Clarence John Nelson

You will immediately recognize that some of the individuals named above are not presently employed with the U. S. Government, such as Alger Hiss, Mary Jane Keoney and Carl Marzani. However, the Bureau is furnishing you with the complete list of names and desires that you take the following action. In each case where the files of your office indicates the person is not presently employed no further action need be taken. In each case where the files of your office does not indicate the present employment of the individual, the records of the State Department and the Civil Service Commission should be checked to determine if the individual is presently employed with the U. S. Government. When it is determined that an individual is presently employed with the federal government, sufficient information should be furnished the Bureau so an adequate check can be made of the indices of the Bureau.

Upon completion of this survey, the Bureau should be furnished with a complete summary of the action taken by your office regarding each individual which summary should be included in one communication captioned as above.

Bureau deadline July 13, 1950.

0

AGENTS:

1. ~~X~~ Borah, Woodrow W (ARI) ✓
2. ~~X~~ Dunaway, Philip (ORI) ✓
3. ~~X~~ Eastman, C. (FLC) ✓
4. ~~X~~ Greenberg, Michael (ESP) ✓
5. ~~X~~ Halpern, Maurice (ARI) ✓
6. ~~X~~ Hilmer, Lucien (ESP) ✓
7. ~~X~~ Hiss, Alger (PA) ✓
8. ~~X~~ Keeney, Mary Jane (ESP) ✓
9. ~~X~~ Levitan, David (ESP) ✓
10. ~~X~~ Lewis, James (FD) ✓
11. ~~X~~ Miller, Robert (RP) ✓
12. ~~X~~ Nontman, P. Bernard (ESP) ✓
13. ~~X~~ Rogers, Marvin (ARI) ✓
14. ~~X~~ Scott, Helen (IMP) ✓
15. ~~X~~ Smith, H. Bowen (ESP) ✓
16. ~~X~~ Soraco, Theresa (ARI) ✓
17. ~~X~~ Tobias, M (FLC) ✓
18. ~~X~~ Vallimarascu, Serban (EAI) ✓
19. ~~X~~ Wheeler, Donald (EAI)
20. ~~X~~ Wood, Minter (OIG) ✓

✓ Wentz

✓ Baumgardner

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

*[Handwritten signature]*

44-109-1000  
100-5-51000

AGENTS:

1. Borah, Woodrow W (ARI)
2. Dunaway, Philip (ORI)
3. Eastman, G. (FLC)
4. Greenberg, Michael (ESP)
5. Helpern, Maurice (ARI)
6. Hilmer, Lucien (ESP) - cl. PI - 121 - 21164
7. Hiss, Alger (PA)
8. Keeney, Mary Jane (ESP)
9. Levitan, David (ESP)
10. Lewis, James (PD) - James Vernon Lewis, Pd. F.F. - H  
2 cl. P.I.'s, 2 cl. F.F.'s
11. Miller, Robert (RP) - cl. P.I., Police (see - 121 - 1)
12. Nortman, P. Bernard (ESP)
13. Rogers, Marvin (ARI)
14. Scott, Helen (INP)
15. Smith, H. Bowen (ESP)
16. Soraco, Theresa (ARI)
17. Tobias, M (FLC)
- ✓ 18. Vallimarascu, Serban (EAI) (183 entry)
19. Wheeler, Donald (EAI)
20. Wood, Minter (OIC)



COMMUNISTS:

1. ~~X~~ Chaiken, William (OCD) ✓
2. ~~X~~ Drozdoff, L. (MI) ✓
3. ~~X~~ Elchibegoff, Ivan (ESP) ✓
4. ~~X~~ Hawes, Bess (OIG - NY) ✓
5. ~~X~~ Kinkead, Robin (OIG) San Francisco ✓
6. ~~X~~ Lowenberg, R. (OIG - San Francisco) ✓
7. ~~X~~ Marzani, Carl (PN) ✓
8. ~~X~~ Nelson, Clarence (DC) ✓
9. ~~X~~ Robinson, Jay (ESP) ✓ *let Korinkov*
10. ~~X~~ Taylor, Jeanne (PN) ✓
11. ~~X~~ Vucinich, Alexander (EAI) ✓
12. ~~X~~ Wilhelm, M. (PL) ✓
13. ~~X~~ Zablotdowsky, David (PN) ✓

COMMUNISTS:

1. Chaiken, William (OCD) - *cl. FF Army - 121-8273*
2. Drozdoff, L. (MI)
3. Elchibegoff, Ivan (ESP)
4. Hawes, Bess (OIC - NY)
5. Kinkead, Robin (OIC) San Francisco
6. Lowenberg, R. (OIC - San Francisco)
7. Marzani, Carl (PN)
- ✓ 8. Nelson, Clarence (DC) - *Clarence John Nelson, cl. FF State*
9. Robinson, Jay (ESP) - *cl. FF State, no file #*
10. Taylor, Jeanne (PN) *Jeanne Taylor*
11. Vucinich, Alexander (IAI)
12. Wilhelm, H. (PL)
- ✓ 13. Zablocki, David (PN) - *cl. PI - 121-22297*

*Security  
copy*

Tolson\_\_\_\_  
Ladd\_\_\_\_  
Clegg\_\_\_\_  
Glavin\_\_\_\_  
Nichols\_\_\_\_  
Rosen\_\_\_\_  
Tracy\_\_\_\_  
Harbo\_\_\_\_  
Belmont\_\_\_\_  
Mohr\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm\_\_\_\_  
Nease\_\_\_\_  
Gandy\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten:*  
Hend  
CHS  
(with)

### McCarthy Has New Census of State Dept. Reds

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) gave the Senate today a photostat of a page of a "secret" report stating that in May, 1947, the FBI found 124 Communist agents, sympathizers and suspects in the State Department. Only 18 were discharged in the following two months, the report said.

Sen. McCarthy told the Senate three persons listed by the FBI as "agents" still are in the State Department and that their names are available to the Senate or its Communist investigating subcommittee. (Earlier story on Page 6.)

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

*Handwritten:* 121-23278-256

SAC, Washington Field

July 17, 1950

Director, FBI

SPECIAL MESSENGER

ALLEGED COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
Allegations by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Rebulet June 23, 1950 furnishing a list of names of individuals at one time employed by the Department of State and setting forth the necessary action to be taken. Duded July 13, 1950 and your reply not received to date. Advise status and when reply will reach Bureau.

U

RER:es

EX. - 83

RECORDED - 73

1-1-3-72 - 257  
JUL 19 1950  
37

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JUL 17 1950

7-19-50

FBI WASH FIELD

19

10:40a

DIRECTOR

DEFERRED.

ALLEGED COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, LGE. REBUIET JULY SEVENTEEN, LAST. INVESTIGATION COMPLETED TODAY. REPLY WILL BE DICTATED THURSDAY, JULY TWENTY, NEXT AND WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE BUREAU AS SOON AS TRANSCRIBED.

*W. J. ...*

*Respectfully*

HOTTEL

KVH:hk  
121-14547

RECEIVED  
SEP 19 1950

EX. - 83

RECORDED - 73

121-23278-259

SEP 19 1950  
37

*BH*

*Bohr*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. V. P. *KEAY*

FROM : C. W. *Cates*

SUBJECT: ALLEGED COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
 ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY  
 LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DATE: August 3, 1950

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Stanley*

Reference is made to memorandum from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Belmont dated July 28, 1950, recommending that Liaison determine from the Army whether or not Dorothy Cheney Goodwin is still employed by the Army in Tokyo.

*John C. ...*

This request was made of Lieutenant Colonel John Lynch on August 1, 1950. Colonel Lynch stated it would be necessary for G-2 to make inquiry of the Far East Command in Tokyo for the desired information.

ACTION:

This matter will be followed with G-2 and results obtained.

CWB:lw lw

*R/S to Potter  
9-11-50 to follow  
Lynch  
with*

4

9

RECORDED - 123

INDEXED - 123

121-23278-259  
SEP 19 1950  
37

59 OCT 3 1950

*Per*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. V. P. KEAY *VPK*

DATE: September 8, 1950

FROM : C. W. ~~BATES~~ *BATES*

*opened  
6-23-50*

SUBJECT: ALLEGED COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to memorandum from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Belmont dated July 28, 1950, asking Liaison to determine from the Army whether or not Dorothy Cheney Goodwin is presently employed by the Army in Tokyo. *u*

Lieutenant Colonel John Lynch of G-2 has now informed that Goodwin is currently employed as an Agricultural Economist, GS-12, in the National Resources Section, GHQ, Far East Command, APO 500. *u*

ACTION:

It is recommended that this memorandum be furnished to the Loyalty Section. *u*

CWB:hke

Conversion ( )
Type.....
Date Rec'd.....
File #.....
Form 79 prepared ( )
Initials.....
Closing PI ( )
File #.....

*no sled & take*

*no further action  
F.F. on Goodwin  
121-9979 incorporate  
similar info. to that  
in McCarthy charges  
originating from  
Sami K. Lewis, et al.,  
in 7948  
Goodwin retained  
Processed under  
D. 7.808*

*Alister  
CWB  
(CWB)*

RECORDED - 123

INDEXED - 123

121-23278-260  
SEP 19 1950  
37

*J CWB*

*651  
OCT 3 - 72  
[Handwritten signature]*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

FROM : C. H. Stanley *CHS*

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED BY SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY

DATE: August 31, 1950

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*100-2255*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 1/11/80 BY SP-5 KJG/KH

PURPOSE:

To point out that the Loyalty Section is taking no action regarding the attached material furnished by Senator McCarthy and to recommend that it be reviewed by the Accounting, Fraud, Selective Service and Civil Section of the Investigative Division.

BACKGROUND:

The Washington Field Office has furnished the Bureau with photostatic copies of the following documents received from Senator McCarthy, (1) Letter dated 4-26-50 from [redacted] together with copies of a letter he forwarded to President Truman on 1-5-50, (2) A letter to him from C. L. Chennault dated 1-23-50, and (3) A biographical summary concerning [redacted] the name of [redacted] (100-24628-2255) *U*

In his letter to Senator McCarthy, [redacted] points out that a Chinese employee of the State Department in Hong Kong, China, has acquired tremendous wealth during the past six months. This resulted, according to [redacted] from a scheme worked by State Department employees in Hong Kong of gaining unlawful entry for Chinese nationals into the United States for \$10,000 or \$20,000. *U*

[redacted] also alleged that a Mr. Strong, Vice Consul of Taipei, has been everything but helpful to the Nationalist Government of China and has made statements to the effect that the Communist Government would be better for the Chinese people. *U*

There is no disloyal information in the files of the Bureau that can be identified as pertaining to Mr. Strong. *U*

RECOMMENDATION:

Due to the non-specific nature of the allegations regarding Mr. Strong, it recommended that no further action be taken by the Loyalty Section. It is suggested that this memorandum be forwarded to the Accounting, Fraud, Selective Service and Civil Section of the Investigative Division for any action necessary regarding possible violation of the passport and visa laws.

*U* *Pennington*  
*GARY*

b7D

b7D

b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-2255

*52 OCT*  
*From new. by [redacted]*  
*with [redacted]*  
*primary [redacted]*  
*not passed a [redacted]*  
*ASAC of [redacted]*

RECORDED  
 INDEXED *mul*

*121-23278-261*  
 SEP 10 1950  
*[Signature]*



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. NICHOLS

DATE: 8-11-50

710

FROM : MR. WAIKART *gwc*

SUBJECT: REPORT OF TYDING'S SUB-COMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## *Communist in the State Department*

The Bureau is in possession of 27 volumes of the verbatim testimony of this committee. After due consideration by the supervisors handling the above matter, they have requested that this verbatim testimony be indexed thoroughly. *u*

The Records Section is receiving, from time to time, summary memoranda of the pertinent portions of the testimony which are being indexed into the appropriate case file. *u*

Reference is made to your memorandum of July 18 to Mr. Waikart requesting that the report of The Sub-Committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations be cut up and the pertinent portions pertaining to the special individual should be placed in the case file on the individual. This matter is being brought to your attention in order that you may be aware of the fact that we are receiving the same information in various forms, and unless advised to the contrary the verbatim testimony will be indexed completely; the summary memoranda will be indexed into the appropriate case files; and the Sub-Committee Report will be cut up and the main portions thereof placed in the appropriate case files. *u*

GPR:nle

*OTU*  
*W* *R*

RECORDED - 95

INDEXED - 95

121-123278-262  
OCT 12 1950  
5

58 OCT 12 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. WAIKART  
FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

DATE: July 18, 1950

SUBJECT: Report of Findings Subcommittee of  
Committee on Foreign Relations

19644

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Communist in the State Department

There are attached 4 copies of this report. U

A copy of this report should be cut up and the portions pertaining to the specific individuals should be placed in the case file on the individual. For example, anything on Haldore should go in the Haldore Hansen file; the section on the should go in the Philip Jacob Jaffe file. U

Two copies, in addition should be placed in our publication file.

LBN:FML  
Attachment

*Wor*

R

*4-10-50*  
*2 Encls. detached and Excerpts filed in Respective Case Files.*  
*2. incl. detached for publication.*

RECORDED - 95  
INDEXED

NET-23278-263  
OCT 12 1950

*151*  
*UUI 101071*

September 7, 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. NICHOLS  
MR. LADD

11:26

*Memo*

Senator Tydings called me today and advised that every now and then he gets a letter from somebody stating that it is funny that the FBI hasn't said that they have checked over the CI files. He said, of course, that Attorney General McGrath had advised him I had checked them over but he would like to have a letter from me to this effect, the reason for this being that Senator McCarthy has a letter that we didn't go over them. I advised Senator Tydings that this letter was written prior to the time Tydings made his request that they be gone over. I inquired what he wanted me to do. He stated he had talked to Attorney General McGrath about it and he had no objections and he would like me to write him a letter as follows: 'In response to your request for a reply as to whether or not the FBI went over the CI files made available to the President to see whether the FBI data in them on loyalty was in fact, this is to advise you that at the request of the Attorney General, we did make such an investigation on such and such a date with the report that they were in fact as contained in the Attorney General's letter.' I told Senator Tydings I would be very glad to do this. He asked that it be made comprehensive enough so that the 'average dumbbell' will know what they are talking about. Senator Tydings inquired how soon he could get the proposed letter and I advised him it would be taken care of immediately, that I was going out of town but would try to get it to him before I left.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. H.*

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

74

JEH:mpd

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 1:20 PM  
DATE 9-8-50  
BY [initials]

RECORDED - 5

INDEXED - 5

121-2357-263X

SEP 11 1950

52 SEP 11 1950

12L 23278- 263X1, 263X2,  
263X3, 263X4  
**CHANGED TO**  
12L 41662- 28, 29, 30, 31

NOV 17 1952

BB

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: October 3, 1950  
12:30 pm

FROM : hwg

SUBJECT: Booklets handed out at meeting before which Senator McCarthy spoke.

The attached booklets were left at the Directors office for his information by a person who attended a Republican Rally meeting which was held in Hyattsville Maryland, on September 22, 1950.

Senator McCarthy's group distributed the pamphlet entitled "WHERE THERE'S A SMELL".

The other pamphlet, "THE REAL FACTS", was distributed on the street outside of Belmont the meeting place, obviously by the opposition to Senator McCarthy.

- Mr. Tolson ✓
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd ✓
- Mr. Nichols ✓
- Mr. Rosen ✓
- Mr. Tracy ✓
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

Comm. on sub. to S. S. State Dept. file

*Belmont*  
*Hendricks*

RECORDED - 116

INDEXED - 116

121-23278-26  
OCT 11 1950

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

2 ENCL  
116

EX-32

*[Handwritten signature]*

59 OCT 30 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON ✓  
 FROM : L. B. NICHOLS  
 SUBJECT:

DATE: October 11, 1950

Tolson ✓  
 Ladd ✓  
 Clegg ✓  
 Glavin ✓  
 Nichols ✓  
 Rosen ✓  
 Tracy ✓  
 Harbo ✓  
 Belmont ✓  
 Mohr ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Nease ✓  
 Gandy ✓

*Communists in the State Department*

Russ Turner of Fulton Lewis' office advised Mr. McGuire that he understands the letter the Director sent to Senator Tydings on September 8, 1950, regarding the Bureau's having made a check of State Department files and finding them intact is being widely used in Maryland by Tydings in his campaign.

Turner wondered what the interpretation of that letter meant as he felt the Bureau was speaking only for having checked on FBI information in the State Department files and that the Bureau was not in a position to have checked the State Department files for any other information except data previously furnished by the FBI.

Mr. Turner was advised that his interpretation was correct as the Bureau had found the State Department files intact insofar as FBI information was concerned.

FBI  
 DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
 COMM.

JJM:LH

✓ JBM  
 JBM

2

RECORDED - 113

INDEXED - 113

121-23278-265  
 OCT 17 1950  
 5

EX-100

58 OCT 20 1950

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR. Broadcast  
Radio Station WEAM, Washington, D. C.  
7-7:15 P.M., October 12, 1950

DATE: October 13, 1950

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Rosen

Tracy

Harbo

Belmont

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

Mr. Lewis devoted his entire fifteen minutes to a discussion of a pamphlet published under the auspices of Senator Tydings on the subject "The Truth About The Senate Sub-Committee's Investigation of Communists in the State Department". Lewis explained that this pamphlet is designed to off-set charges that the Senate Sub-Committee headed by Tydings, had given the State Department a "white wash" and was issued by Tydings strictly for political purposes in the interest of his re-election. Lewis claimed that Tydings engaged in gross misrepresentation in the pamphlet by quoting out of context and giving only partial quotes of statements by Senator Lodge and others interested in this investigation. U

Near the conclusion of his broadcast, Lewis stated that the following night he would discuss a letter written by the Director which was quoted in the pamphlet. He did not identify the letter further. It is to be noted that this broadcast may be heard in Washington over Radio Station WEAM at 7 P.M., October 13, 1950. U

This matter was discussed with Inspector J. M. McGuire and it is believed that Lewis is making reference to a letter written by the Director to Senator Tydings under date of September 8, 1950, in which it was stated that the FBI had made a check of State Department files on July 13, 1950, at the request of the Attorney General, and it was found that the State Department files were intact, "as indicated in the letter from the Attorney General to you dated July 17, 1950." (Bureau File No. 121-23278-251) U

**RECOMMENDATION:** It is recommended that Lewis' October 13, 1950, broadcast be closely followed in connection with his discussion of the Director's letter. U

GJN:vrh

RECORDED - 75

INDEXED - 75

OCT 18 1950

50 OCT 24 1950

50 OCT 24 1950

Communist. IS in the State Dept.

121-23278-266  
 OCT 18 1950  
 Jones  
 and memo  
 re: [unclear]

Starkey  
 Johnson  
 [unclear]

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: October 2, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

SUBJECT:

① Senate Foreign Relations Committee

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Tele. Room
- Nease
- Gandy

I took a call from Don Surine in Senator McCarthy's Office. He wanted to know if we could have an Agent contact him in Room 5-A of the Senate Office Building this morning.

He stated that he had some information on what looked like a very good informant in Europe, which he wanted to turn over to the Bureau.

If approved, I will arrange to have an Agent contact Surine.

DML:dad

Alright but I describe a discredited ex - Agent calling & insisting upon an Agent coming to see him. As to his turning any informant in Europe over to us that is CIA jurisdiction not ours.

to committee on Foreign Relations

memo dated 10.1.50 Re: Don Surine dml

65-2193-68

Called SAC Haverhill 1:30 p.m. 10/2/50. W.F. family home agent contact Surine.

OCT 19 1950

RECORDED - 4  
INDEXED - 4

OCT 20 1950  
37

21-23273-267

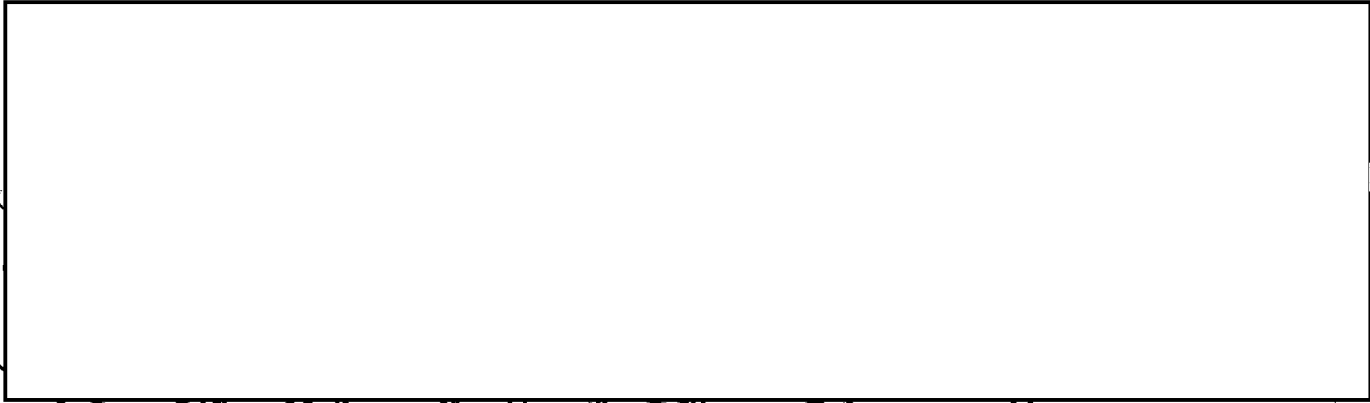
EX-100

FILED

b7D







b7D

*He is to get absolutely nothing. H.*

Bureau regulations concerning the confidential nature of FBI files was made known to Surine and he was advised that as a former Agent he should be aware of these regulations. In addition it was pointed out to him that any information he wished to give us as a loyal United States citizen should be done so without qualifications. However, Surine insisted that the Bureau advise him of any pertinent information in our files concerning the reliability of [redacted]

b7D

(Source: Washington Field Office letter 10-2-50, [redacted] 105-12869)

no. H.



b7D

OBSERVATIONS:

In view of the above it appears that further contacts with Don Surine should be avoided. For your approval there is attached a letter to the Washington Field Office and to the Baltimore Office, advising those offices of the above.

*I most certainly  
concur.  
H.*

*✓ [Signature]*

121 23278-267X1  
**CHANGED TO**  
121 41668-32

NOV 17 1952

BB

*C*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: October 5, 1950

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: DON SURINE  
FORMER SPECIAL AGENT

64195

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

Tolson	✓
Ladd	✓
Glavin	✓
Harbo	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	✓
Nease	✓
Gandy	✓

### PURPOSE

(1) To advise you that when Don Surine told us if we gave him a copy of the summary report on Lattimore, it would be handled in the same manner as was done in the Posniak case, he was undoubtedly unthinkingly referring to the document distributed by Senator McCarthy on July 25, 1950, which purported to be a Civil Service Commission summary of the investigation of Edward G. Posniak.

(2) To suggest we do not interview Surine concerning the above.

(3) To advise you that Donald Surine called the Bureau on October 2, 1950, not August 2, 1950.

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

You will recall on September 15, 1950, Don Surine advised an Agent of the Washington Field Office he would like to get a copy of the Bureau's summary report on Lattimore, and in this regard Surine volunteered if he had the Lattimore summary report, it would be handled in the same fashion as was done in the Posniak case. You noted, "Just what does he mean by this?"

You will recall that Senator McCarthy on July 25, 1950, made a statement on the floor of the Senate concerning "Mr. X" in the State Department, who was subsequently identified as Edward G. Posniak, subject of a full field loyalty investigation by the Bureau. In making his statement, Senator McCarthy distributed copies of a document which purported to be a Civil Service Commission summary of the investigation of Posniak. On July 25, 1950, the Attorney General asked us to conduct an investigation to determine the source from which Senator McCarthy obtained his document. The investigation disclosed that Senator McCarthy's document is apparently not an authentic copy of any document prepared by the CSC, the State Department or the Loyalty Review Board, according to representatives of these three Agencies. In addition, the document distributed by Senator McCarthy contains inaccuracies, and it was prepared in such a way as to indicate it could not have been prepared as a CSC summary of the investigation of Posniak. In addition, you will recall that on March 23, 1950, the Baltimore Office advised us that Don Surine had advised an Agent of that office that Senator McCarthy was going to expose Walter N. Posniak, a State Department employee. At that time,

RECORDED - 47

SGR:eas:jpa

INDEXED - 47

cc: 121-23278

121-23278-261 X2  
FEB 18 1951

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

*[Vertical handwritten notes on left margin]*

121-41668-1  
SEE COPY FILED IN

55 FEB 28 1951 EX-127

Surine had in his possession a memorandum, apparently from Senator McCarthy's office, which included quoted material, apparently from Bureau investigative reports. The possibility exists that the document which Senator McCarthy used on July 25, 1950, is the same document which Surine had in his possession on March 20, 1950, and the possibility further exists that this is the document that Surine was referring to on September 15, 1950, as noted above. It would further appear from the above that Surine was not thinking when he said what he did on September 15, 1950.

At the suggestion of the Attorney General, I interviewed Senator McCarthy on August 4, 1950, as to the source of the document which accompanied his press release regarding Edward G. Posniak. Senator McCarthy refused to disclose his source, and he further said he had instructed the employees in his office not to disclose the source of any of his material, since he felt it his duty to protect his sources.  
(121-23278-223)

In view of the above, it is respectfully suggested that we do not interview Don Surine concerning his statement given to us on September 15, 1950.

For your information, the investigation requested by the Attorney General concerning Senator McCarthy's document, which is captioned, "Unknown Subject; (Source of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Information Re. Government Employees) Removal of Government Property; Loyalty of Government Employees" is continuing.

With reference to your inquiry concerning the correctness of the date on which Don Surine called the Bureau you are advised that the correct date is October 2, 1950, and not August 2, 1950, which date appeared in the memorandum from Mr. Belmont to me dated October 4, 1950. We regret that this inaccuracy occurred and we have corrected it.

*Page 2*

121-23278-26.7X3  
**CHANGED TO**  
121-41668-33

NOV 17 1952

BB

C

DATE: Oct. 11, 1950

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Chicago

REGISTERED MAIL

EDWARD GEORGE POSNIAK  
Economist  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.  
LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~ 9747

In connection with the above case, there is transmitted herewith to the Bureau a copy of a document bearing the caption of the "U.S. Civil Service Commission, Report of Investigation", which is stamped "Secret" and which bears a sticker with the name of JOHN L. NORMOYLE and the notation "Personal File Copy." This document is a resume of the various FBI reports submitted in connection with the above investigation but has the names obliterated.

This document was found on the street on Ashland Avenue between Beech and Blackhawk Streets, Chicago, by Mrs. HELEN JASIAK, 1629 W. Julian Street, Chicago, on October 2, 1950, and was turned over to this office by Mrs. JASIAK on October 4, 1950.

According to Mrs. JASIAK, she checked the telephone directory and finding a listing for JOHN L. NORMOYLE, 1619 Beech Avenue, Chicago, telephoned Mr. NORMOYLE concerning the above material and was advised by him "Just destroy them. I can get another copy."

A pretext telephone call to Mr. NORMOYLE's residence reflects that he is employed by the Military Order of the Purple Heart, 179 W. Washington Street, Chicago. The Chicago files are negative concerning Mr. NORMOYLE and no investigation is being conducted in this matter unless instructed by the Bureau.

Enc.

LAL-JCS  
121-877

~~ENCLOSURE~~

~~ENCLOSURE ATTACHED~~

RECORDED - 47  
INDEXED - 47

121-23278-267 X 4  
OCT 11 1950  
25

LET-X

EAM

Copy of Foreign  
Resistant Committee

59 FEB 26 1951

64194

121-23248-267X5, 267X6

267X7, 267X8, 267X9, 267X10

**CHANGED TO** 267X11

121-41668- 34, 35, 36

38, 39, 40

NOV 17 1952

B P

29011





# For Informational Purposes Only

The originals removed from this file and replaced with duplicate copies of the original were accessioned to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) pursuant to the JFK Records Collection Act of 1992. Provision of the JFK Act allowed for certain information to be postponed from public release until the year 2017; therefore, the pages have NOT necessarily been released for public review in their entirety.

Under the JFK Act, originals to all material deemed assassination records must be accessioned to NARA regardless of whether the material is open in full or released with information postponed. Therefore, any documents or pages from FBI files accessioned to NARA pursuant to the JFK Act are no longer considered the possession of the FBI. The duplicate pages have been inserted strictly for research purposes.

The copies contained herein do not necessarily show the most up-to-date classification.

To attain a copy of the publicly released version of any materials maintained in the JFK Collection at the NARA facility in College Park, MD, you may contact the JFK Access Staff, at 301/713-6620.

The following materials were removed from this file and are maintained in the JFK Collection at NARA:

File & Serial Number

JFK Subject Identifier  
(for NARA purposes)

121-23278-267X12

Edward Pierpont Morgan

# For Informational Purposes Only

8

*Shedd*  
*W. Richards*  
*W. Belmont*

# The

*W. W.*  
*Shedd*  
*W. W.*  
*W. W.*

99681

# Truth

about

The Sub-Committee's

Investigation of the State Department

91

INDEXED - 103

NOT RECORDED  
5 OCT 20 1950

268

When you hear the charge that the investigating committee "white-washed" or "covered up" disloyal employees in the State Department, tell them THE TRUTH! Here it is:

**1. TELL THEM** That the official record shows that these same persons were investigated not by *one*, but by *four separate committees of Congress during the years 1947 and 1948, at a time when Congress was overwhelmingly controlled in the House and Senate by the REPUBLICAN PARTY.*

How come these 4 Republican committees did not turn up any Communists from the same charges? Were the *Republicans* "whitewashing" a Democratic administration?

**2. TELL THEM** That in a speech made on the floor of Congress by Representative Jonkman, *Republican of Michigan*, (of a sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs investigating these same charges) page 9793 of the Congressional Record of August 2, 1948, said:

"But before the 80th Congress adjourns, I want the Members to know that there is one Department in which the known or reasonably suspected subversives, Communists, fellow travelers, sympathizers and persons whose services are not for the best interests of the United States, have been swept out. That is the Department of State."

**3. TELL THEM** What Senator Lodge, *Republican* member of the investigating sub-committee, had to say, as quoted from the Congressional Record of July 21, 1950:

"... I did not find any Communists in the State Department but I went to all lengths to which I think any man could go, in that I personally interviewed the State Department agents and special agents covering a large part of the United States, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, and I asked every one of them whether they knew of any Communists in the State Department. All of them said they did not."

# MILITARY RECORD of SENATOR TYDINGS

Enlisted with Company D, Maryland National Guard, June 1916, and saw service on the Mexican Border. Upon returning from this duty, while discharge from service was still in the mail, war with Germany broke out and again was called out April 6, 1917, and thus served continuously until May 30, 1919, being promoted through the ranks from enlisted man to Lieutenant Colonel.

Upon completion of studies at Ft. Sill, Okla., graduated first in class and was awarded Division Instructor's Certificate in Musketry. Upon completion of studies in Second Corps Machine Gun School at Chatillon-sur-Seine, France, graduated first in class and was awarded Corps Machine Gun Instructor's Certificate from said school.

While with the 29th Division in Olsace, commanded the machine gun units covering raids on German trenches and also had charge of the harassing machine gun fire program which called for shooting up enemy targets with machine guns six times each 24 hours.

Participated in Meuse-Argonne Offensive and while in this engagement, worked out a flanking machine gun attack on German positions which was successful and which is set forth in one chapter of an Army publication called "Infantry in Battle," one of the text books used at the West Point Military Academy.

Cited by Generals Pershing, Morton, and Upton; awarded Distinguished Service Medal and Distinguished Service Cross.

# HERE'S THE PROOF.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

September 8, 1950

Honorable Willard E. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

In response to your inquiry as to whether the FBI reviewed the State Department personnel files that were under consideration by your Committee for the purpose of ascertaining whether reports submitted by the FBI to the State Department were incorporated therein, this is to advise you that at the request of the Attorney General, we did make such a check on July 13, 1950 and found that the State Department files were intact, as indicated in the letter from the Attorney General to you dated July 17, 1950.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "J. Edgar Hoover", is written below the typed name.

Senator McCarthy has repeatedly attacked Secretary of State Dean Acheson, but the Congressional Record, page 469, shows that on January 18, 1949, he voted along with the vast majority of Democratic and Republican Senators to confirm Acheson's appointment.

Don't be fooled by politicians in an election year by falsehoods, mud-slinging and political propaganda designed to incite the voters to defeat tried and true public officials who painstakingly went over Senator McCarthy's charges and found them unsupported by any evidence Senator McCarthy had to offer.



# RE-ELECT MILLARD E. TYDINGS

A man of international stature

Keep a patriot with a fine record in office, where he has helped and is continuing to help keep America strong. Millard Tydings is known and respected from Maine to California. He has put Maryland on the political map.

By authority of Thomas J. Henry

**NOTE:** The original printed hearings of the 4 committees and the Congressional Records containing the Jonkman speech and Senator Lodge's remarks are available for your inspection at the Tydings Headquarters in the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland.

*The F.B.I. will be glad to get any information from McCarthy or anyone else concerning Communists in Government. It's their job to ferret them out—and they do just that when they have evidence to support the charges.*

The Investigating Committee turned over *ALL* the evidence it received to the F.B.I.

Senator McCarthy specifically charged that an investigation and examination of certain specified eighty-one loyalty files and records would prove his charges were true. The Investigating Committee consisting of three Democrats and two Republicans obtained the eighty-one files and records and examined them. When the Committee stated it had not found evidence in the files to support Senator McCarthy's charges, Senator McCarthy then said that the files were "raped, rifled, or incomplete."

The Investigating Committee asked the F.B.I. to run down this new Senator McCarthy charge.

So—if you hear that the files and records examined by the Investigating Committee were "raped, rifled or incomplete," tell them the F.B.I. says "No."

The official printed hearings containing all the evidence show that Senator McCarthy before the investigating committee never called a *single person a Communist*. Following from the printed hearings on Page 29:

Senator Tydings: Senator McCarthy, you are making charges?

Senator McCarthy: I am *not* making charges, I am giving the committee information . . ."

Thus, when called up to make good the Senator made a complete retreat.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

19639

October 23, 1950

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED - 84

121-23277-269

EX-2

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter received from Senator Owen Brewster, dated October 21, 1950, together with a copy of my reply of October 23.

This is being submitted to you in accordance with the request made by Mr. Peyton Ford to Mr. D. M. Ladd of this Bureau.

*DML*  
Enclosure

DML:dad

G. I. R. - 7

2909  
ON 4/14/78 DAD / DEC

RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
NOV 7 12 04 PM '50

RECEIVED DIRECTOR B. L.  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
OCT 24 - 11 03 AM '50

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) DATE 4-27-78 BPT  
DEC 1 1955

EX-26

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



October 29, 1950

19641

Honorable Owen Brewster  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your letter of October 21, 1950, referring to an examination made by this Bureau of certain files of the State Department which had been under examination by the Tydings Committee.

It is noted you enumerate in your letter six statements. For your information, the six statements which you listed reflect an accurate statement of the FBI action in connection with these files.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ J. Edgar Hoover

4

100-2-21-269

C O P Y

UNITED STATES SENATE  
Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce  
October 21, 1950

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Ninth and Pennsylvania  
Washington, D. C.

19540

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Some confusion seems to have arisen as a result of a letter which you wrote to Senator Willard Tydings of Maryland under date of September 8, 1950. In order to clarify the exact facts of the matter, may I ask if the following is a full and accurate statement of your position:

1. That the F.B.I. prior to the investigation by Senator Tydings' subcommittee had provided from time to time certain information for inclusion in these State Department personnel files.

2. That the F.B.I. has kept a full and accurate record of the material thus furnished to the State Department.

3. That on July 13, at the request of the Attorney General, the F.B.I. made an examination of certain State Department personnel files, then under examination by the Tydings' committee to determine whether the F.B.I. material was still contained in these files.

4. That this investigation showed that all F.B.I. records furnished to the State Department were (with one minor exception) still in the State Department personnel files and insofar as the F.B.I. contributions were concerned the files were intact.

5. That the F.B.I. investigators did not then nor have at any other time, before or since, examined the State Department personnel files to find out whether they were intact in their entirety. In other words, the F.B.I. investigation did not concern itself with material that might be included in the State Department files from sources other than the F.B.I.

6. That the F.B.I. has at no time stated or intended to convey the thought that the State Department personnel files are "intact" in their entirety, or indeed, "intact" beyond the extent of the F.B.I.'s own material contained therein.

Cordially yours,

(s) OWEN DREWSTER  
U.S.S.

- 2169

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

9. 21

Date Oct. 21, 1950 Time 11:27AM

Senator Owen Brewster (R-Maine)

tele thru Dexter, Maine, opr.

19642

Phone No. \_\_\_\_\_

REMARKS Department

When advised of Mr. Hoover's absence from the office, he consented to speak to the Acting Director. After checking, he was referred to Mr. Ladd.

Mr. Ladd advises that the Senator was calling about the Tydings' Committee. He desired to know, ~~that~~ at the time the FBI reviewed the State Department files whether or not the Bureau checked for FBI material only, or if the files were checked for material from all agencies and outside sources. Mr. Ladd advised him the Bureau checked only for FBI material in the files.

RECORDED - 84/21-23278-201

Senator Brewster stated he would send a letter to the Bureau concerning this matter.

INDEXED - 84

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 Proposed action suggested by Ladd should be the only action taken  
 Brewster  
 Spe. Director  
 127 1950  
 EX-26  
 39. whether  
 A

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR  
FROM : MR. D. M. LADD  
SUBJECT:

DATE: October 21, 1950

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

*pl*

*2-1*

*owen*

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

State Department

I took a call from Senator ~~Brewster~~ of Maine, by reference from your office, on Saturday, October 21. He was calling from Maine. He stated that he has had a number of inquiries on the State Department files which were supposedly checked by the Bureau for the Tydings Committee. He stated that with reference to the letter from the Bureau to Tydings indicating that the FBI had examined the State Department files, he, Senator Brewster, wanted to know whether the Bureau had checked the State Department files only as to the FBI material or whether the files had been checked as to material from any and all sources. I told him that the files had been checked only as to the FBI material.

Senator Brewster stated that he was going to submit a letter to the Bureau and he would appreciate receiving a letter concerning this matter.

When the letter is received, it is believed that it can be answered by furnishing a copy of the Bureau's letter to Senator Tydings and a copy of the letter from the Attorney General or Peyton Ford to the Tydings Committee.

RECORDED - 84  
INDEXED - 84

*121-2327*

7 1950

*Memorandum  
10-23-50  
D-26*

*DM*  
NOV 9 1950

*Car*

*2170*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *104*

DATE: October 19, 1950

FROM : M. A. *Boyer*

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR. BROADCAST  
RADIO STATION WEAM, WASHINGTON, D.C.  
7-7:15 P.M., OCTOBER 19, 1950.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Pennington
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Tele. Room
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

*121-23278-266*

Reference is made to my memorandum dated October 16, 1950, concerning the Fulton Lewis, Jr., broadcast.

COMMUNIST IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
Senator Millard Tydings' broadcast was heard over the  
Fulton Lewis, Jr., broadcast and devoted his full time to a refutation  
of charges made by Fulton Lewis, Jr. At no time was the FBI mentioned.  
It is to be noted that the broadcast did not commence until 7:05 P.M.  
and the announcement was made that technical errors were experienced  
by the broadcasting company and it was impossible to bring the opening  
statements of Senator Tydings. During the period in which he was  
heard Senator Tydings reviewed point-by-point allegations made by  
Fulton Lewis, Jr., and the conclusion of his remarks was that at no  
time did his Committee "whitewash" anything.

He pointed out that in 1948 four committees studied and investigated the same individuals who were alleged to be disloyal in 1950. He indicated that assuming all four committees did a good job and removed all the ones found to be disloyal, how could there be a "whitewash" of these individuals in 1950. He made the point that assuming the same employees did not merit citation as being disloyal in 1948, then the four committees of a Republican-controlled Congress was actually "whitewashing" the Administration. The Senator then mentioned the case of Carl Marzani who was removed from his position with the State Department and convicted for false swearing and the dismissal of fifteen other employees which followed. He pointed out that the Senate Appropriations Committee had nothing to do with the Marzani case since he was removed in 1946. Senator Tydings then took up a second point of Lewis' charges concerning the dismissal of 134 individuals from Government employment. According to Lewis the investigation was conducted by a one-man committee headed by Representative Jonkman (phonetic) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Senator Tydings stated that Representative Jonkman merely observed that 134 individuals were separated from the Government, many for reasons not involving security.

The next point covered by Senator Tydings was an investigation by the House Appropriations Committee and resulted in the compiling of a list of individuals who were previously investigated. Senator Tydings pointed out the inaccuracies and distortions of Fulton Lewis, Jr. statements.

RECORDED - 123

*121-23278-271*  
OCT 24 1950

INDEXED - 123

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52 OCT 31 1950

EX - 14

Memo to Mr. Nichols

October 19, 1950

The Senator in his closing remarks pointed out that Fulton Lewis did not challenge Representative Jonkman's statement before the 80th Congress that the State Department had been swept clean and Senator Tydings concluded that if the State Department had been swept clean in August 1948 how could his Committee whitewash it in 1950. He then mentioned that he, Senator Tydings, had read all 81 files whereas Senator Hickenlooper and Senator Lodge had read a combined total of 17. Senator Tydings closed on that note.

✓ *[Handwritten signature]*

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**CHANGED TO**

121-41668-41, 42

NOV 17 1952

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October 23, 1950

Honorable Owen Brewster  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

RECORDED: 15

My dear Senator:

*272*  
I have received your letter of October 21, 1950, referring to an examination made by this Bureau of certain files of the State Department which had been under examination by the Tydings Committee.

It is noted you enumerate in your letter six statements. For your information, the six statements which you listed reflect an accurate statement of the FDI action in connection with these files.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

DML:CSH

*10/23/50*  
*approved by P. Ford.*  
*df.*

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Hers  
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Boy



EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO., CHAIRMAN  
 NEST W. MCFARLAND, ARIZ.  
 WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.  
 FRANCIS J. MYERS, PA.  
 BRIEN MCMAHON, CONN.  
 HERBERT R. O'CONNOR, MD.  
 LYNDON B. JOHNSON, TEX.  
 LESTER C. HUNT, WYO.

CHARLES W. TOBEY, N.H.  
 OWEN BREWSTER, MAINE  
 HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.  
 JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO  
 JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.

EDWARD S. JARRETT, CLERK

United States Senate  
 COMMITTEE ON  
 INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

October 21, 1950

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
 Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Department of Justice  
 Ninth and Pennsylvania  
 Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Some confusion seems to have arisen as a result of a letter which you wrote to Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland under date of September 8, 1950. In order to clarify the exact facts of the matter, may I ask if the following is a full and accurate statement of your position:

1. That the F. B. I. prior to the investigation by Senator Tyding's subcommittee had provided from time to time certain information for inclusion in these State Department personnel files.

2. That the F. B. I. has kept a full and accurate record of the material thus furnished to the State Department.

3. That on July 13, at the request of the Attorney General, the F. B. I. made an examination of certain State Department personnel files, then under examination by the Tydings' committee to determine whether the F. B. I. material was still contained in those files.

4. That this investigation showed that all F. B. I. records furnished to the State Department were (with one minor exception) still in the State Department personnel files and insofar as the F. B. I. contributions were concerned the files were intact.

5. That the F. B. I. investigators did not then nor have at any other time before or since, examined the State Department personnel files to find out whether they were intact in their entirety. In other words, the F. B. I. investigation did not concern itself with material that might be included in the State Department files from sources other than the F. B. I.

6. That the F. B. I. has at no time stated or intended to convey the thought that the State Department personnel files are "intact" in their entirety, or indeed, "intact" beyond the extent of the F. B. I.'s own material contained therein.

Cordially yours,

Owen Brewster  
 Owen Brewster, U. S. S.

Comments to the State Department

RECORDED - 43 121-23278-272  
 INDEXED - 43  
 OCT 31 1950

RECEIVED  
 DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION  
 OCT 20 1950

Let to Sen Brewster dated 10-23-50  
 I have to Mr. Ladd

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: October 24, 1950

FROM : M. A. Mohr

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR. BROADCAST  
RADIO STATION WJLA, WASHINGTON, D.C.  
7:00-7:15 p.m., OCTOBER 24, 1950

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

- Tolson
- Glavin
- Nichols
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Nease
- Gandy

Lewis' program was devoted to a continuation of the controversy involved in an attempt by Senator Millard Tydings to refute charges by Lewis that Tydings and his committee "whitewashed" the State Department with regard to its infiltration by Communists.

At the beginning of the program Lewis played recordings of remarks made by Tydings in broadcasts on October 19 and 20, 1950. These remarks of Tydings were to the effect that the list of names of alleged Communists in the State Department was the same group which had been investigated by four different committees of the Republican 80th Congress. Tydings also contradicted the charge by Lewis concerning the House Appropriations Committee.

Lewis then stated that the simple question regarding investigation of persons named on the lists could best be settled by the former chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Representative Taber of New York, and by Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Representative Taber was then heard from Auburn, New York. He said that late in 1947 and early in 1948 investigators from the House Appropriations Committee went to the State Department and copied data regarding employees considered to be of questionable loyalty. Mr. Taber said he has kept records regarding this and he knows that there were still 16 of these questionable individuals on the State Department rolls as of April 1, 1949, and of these there were still 13 on the rolls as of February 1, 1950. Mr. Taber said he has checked the McCarthy list of alleged Communists and has found that it contains 30 names which were not on Mr. Taber's original list. Mr. Taber stated flatly that he knows of no complete investigation conducted by the House or Senate concerning the infiltration of the State Department by Communists. He refuted Senator Tydings' claim that such an investigation was conducted by four committees of the 80th Congress, Mr. Taber asserting that there were no open hearings and that there were no reports written by these committees.

Mr. Taber declared his list was as positive as the same as Senator McCarthy's list. He further declared that the

RECORDED - 37

INDEXED - 37

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56 NOV 21 1950

51

Memo to Mr. Nichols from M. A. Jones

October 24, 1950

Tydings committee was requested to investigate the alleged Communists in the State Department, but it did not do so.

Senator McCarthy then spoke by transcription from Chicago, and the substance of his remarks follows. The Tydings committee were given details regarding 81 cases of Communists in the State Department. Nine of these cases were made public prior to the time when the Tydings committee ruled that the remainder of the cases would be heard in closed session. Only one of these nine cases has been investigated, the Brunauer (phonetic) case. The remaining eight cases involved Lattimore, Jessup, Duran, et al and were not investigated by the Tydings committee. In the case of Gustavo Duran the Tydings committee received an Army Intelligence report stating that Duran had been head of the European branch of the SIM, reputedly the counterpart of the Russian Secret Police. The Tydings committee and the State Department immediately claimed that this was a reference to another person having the same name.

McCarthy sent an investigator to Europe who obtained a photograph of Duran in the uniform of the "Secret Police" and the photograph was given by McCarthy to Senator Tydings. Nevertheless, the Tydings committee did not call Duran to testify, and at the time Duran was screening Displaced Persons seeking entry into the United States. (This causes Senator McCarthy to wonder how many more members of the "Secret Police" are in this country under the Displaced Persons program.) When Senator McCarthy urged the State Department and the Tydings committee to place Duran on the witness stand, Tydings refused, saying that Duran had been cleared by the State Department Loyalty Board.

McCarthy closed with a flat contradiction of the claims of Senator Tydings and challenged the latter to produce evidence that any investigation was conducted by the Tydings committee in eight of the nine cases mentioned above.

*[Handwritten initials and a checkmark]*

19638

121 23248-273X, 44  
273X2,

**CHANGED TO**

121 41668-43, 44, 1

**NOV 17 1952**

*[Handwritten signature]*

DOC LAB NOTE

ITEM (S)

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BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

BOOKLET



# Congressional

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 81<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND

Vol. 96

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1950

## House of Representatives 60433

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

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

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

...the SPEAKER: Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi? There was no objection.

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

...MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE A message from the Senate, by Mr. McDaniel, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution (S. Res. 229):

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. SCOTT L. ORS BARR, late a Representative from the State of Virginia.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the Secretary of the House.

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

...The idea is that from January to April 28 this year, the average man works for the Government. He

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

...The SPEAKER: Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi? There was no objection.

...PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

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

...The SPEAKER: Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas? There was no objection.

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

...THE READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

...The SPEAKER: Pursuant to the special order agreed to on February 16, the Chair designates the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. McSWENNY) to read Washington's Farewell Address immediately after the reading of the Journal on Wednesday, February 22, 1950.

...EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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

...PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

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

...The SPEAKER: Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida? There was no objection.

...FREEDOM DAY

...Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, in connection with their campaign in behalf of good government at less cost, the Florida Retailers Association has suggested a new and splendid national holiday to celebrate tax freedom.

...The idea is that from January to April 28 this year, the average man works for the Government. He

...be liberated on April 28, a work for himself and his remainder of this year.

...I commend this organization's campaign to call to the attention of every workingman the fact that of every dollar goes, 10 cents of that amount are covered or hidden taxes.

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

...Mr. ELLIOTT asks permission to extend his Record in two instances on extraneous matter.

...Mr. BRYSON asks permission to extend his Record and to revise and extend last Friday.

...Mr. BOLLING asks permission to extend his Record and include United States Day speech by

...Mr. DAVIS of given permission in the Record to include extraneous

...Mr. PASSMA asks permission to extend his Record.

...Mr. PATTERSON asks permission to extend his Record.

...Mr. CROOK asks permission to extend his Record and include C. Price, Department No. 10 work

121-23278-11

After the last drastic tax cuts, unemployment in Canada dropped to less than 2 percent. At a time when the jobless in our country, where there has been no tax reductions, rose to triple that percentage.

Sounds like a miracle, doesn't it? But it isn't. It's just proof of what can be done through ability and imagination.

Ability, on the part of Canadian leaders, to realize that the prosperity of a country does not lie in the money taken out of the pockets of its citizens, but in how much money is left in their pockets.

Canadian Finance Minister Douglas Abbott is one economist I can understand.

Taxes, he said, should cause as little harm and irritation as possible. Amen. He said he wanted his people, the taxpayers, to have more money to spend, so that they would be able to buy more of the goods raised by the farmers, made by the manufacturers. Makes a great amount of sense to me.

But stop a minute and recall what another leader said recently about taxes. Just the reverse as I remember it. I quote now from President Truman. He argued:

"Events of the last few years have proved that our economy can grow and prosper . . . at the same time that individuals and businesses are paying taxes high by prewar standards."

But what about our budget? It's not balanced.

What about our deficit spending—to the tune of some five billion?

Is that a prosperous economy?

Canada is putting her money back to work. She's on a mounting spiral of increased national income. Less taxes; more money to spend. More spending; more production.

The more I found out about what our good neighbor is doing the more I wondered if anybody in Washington was thinking along these lines. So I made a few phone calls. I had two particularly interesting conversations.

One was with Senator PAT MCCARRAN, Democrat, from Nevada, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and a high-ranking member of the Appropriations Committee. I thought you might like to hear what he had to say so we made a recording. Here he is now. Come in Senator MCCARRAN.

"Well, Mr. Montgomery, I am certainly for any sound program for reducing all taxes, income and excise. Since before World War II, the Federal budget has been pyramiding and the burden on the American taxpayer has been increasing to the point where this burden can no longer be borne. As more services are performed for the people, a greater share of the people's income goes for taxes and they are less able to perform these services for themselves. If the economy is to grow, it must be encouraged, and what better way than to leave the people enough money so they will be able to buy the goods they make.

"The figures you mention, Mr. Montgomery, indicate that the Canadian people have prospered as a result of the sweeping tax-reduction program."

Thank you very much, Senator.

Now, what about those excise-tax cuts we've been hearing about. Cuts already made by Canada. What's Congress going to do about them. Let's hear a word from Representative JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Republican, House minority leader, as recorded during my talk with him. Come in Congressman MARTIN.

"Bob, I believe Canada is on the right track. The history of previous tax reductions is that every tax cut is followed by an increase in revenues. However, our immediate problem is the elimination of the wartime "discouragement" taxes—the taxes that discourage you from buying, from traveling, from telephoning, and actually take your jobs away. Those taxes were enumerated in the American Weekly articles.

"The wartime taxes should be repealed now. There is a feeling throughout the country that long overdue action to reduce these excessive rates is coming in this session of Congress. Consequently, buyers are adopting a "wait and see" attitude. We must not wait for tax revision 6 months hence."

Thank you. I hope we don't have to wait much longer. President Truman has talked of a trillion-dollar national income by the year 2000. I'll swap my share of the Truman trillions for sound, honest tax cuts tomorrow morning.

## A \$50,000,000 Bubble

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 20, 1950

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, here we have further evidence that our American foreign policy is the American dollar. We are trying to buy our way all over the world and without appreciable success.

Mr. Henry Hazlitt, writing in *Newsweek* for February 20, 1950, calls the turn on Senator McMAHON's proposal of last week. He suggests that it is a wholly absurd proposition and millions of Americans agree. At this point I include a copy of Mr. Hazlitt's article:

#### FIFTY MILLIONS FOR TRIBUTE?

(By Henry Hazlitt)

Senator BRIEN McMAHON's proposal that our Government contribute \$50,000,000 over 5 years for a global Marshall plan is the culmination, the reductio ad absurdum, of the befuddlement on foreign economic policy in which Washington has wandered for the last 5 years.

Senator McMAHON's proposal is, to put it baldly, a proposal to pay unparalleled tribute. No other word fits. "Tribute" is defined in the dictionary as "a stated sum . . . paid by one sovereign or state to another in acknowledgment of submission or as the price of peace, security, protection, or the like."

When we were small and considered weak, our minister Charles Pinckney, on being told by Talleyrand that a gift to the directory might avert war with France, made his famous reply: "Millions for defense, sir, but not 1 cent for tribute." Yet today Senator McMAHON, at a time when we are by far the strongest Nation in the world, proposes that we pay up to \$50,000,000 as the price of Stalin's promise to stop threatening us with atomic or hydrogen bombs.

This mere proposal, by the chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, is certain to be taken by the leaders behind the iron curtain as a sign of fear and weakness. The leaders of the iron-curtain countries have already found that they can with impunity plant spies in our midst, blockade us at Berlin, beat or imprison our envoys, and insult and vilify us every day. What further move may they not be encouraged to take by this timorous offer of ransom? Even Secretary Acheson's emphatic rejection cannot fully offset this blow to our prestige.

The McMAHON proposal obviously lacks sense. Would we make ourselves safer by pouring billions of our dollars into Russia, by reducing our economic and military strength to increase hers, by intensifying the problems of our free-enterprise system to mitigate the problems of her Communist system? And if

for 4 years Stalin has unwaveringly refused to call off the atomic-bomb race, even when we were far ahead of him, and even at the risk of the annihilation of millions of Russians and of his own regime, does it make sense to suppose that he will reverse his stand now for a mere monetary bribe?

It is time we asked ourselves frankly, in fact, whether an atom-bomb agreement might not actually be more dangerous than the present known lack of agreement, by binding us and not the leaders of Russia. These are the same leaders who have broken promise after promise, who believe that the end justifies any means, who live by systematic perjury. The proposals for international inspection of the vast depths of a totalitarian Russia are not realistic. Even if our inspectors finally did catch up with a plant in Russia that had been working on the bomb—after we had poured in our \$50,000,000,000 to help finance it—what recourse then?

But the real point of this article is economic. Senator McMAHON himself calls his proposal a "global Marshall plan," and casually drops point 4 inside it. It is a super-give-away program. It is not only politically preposterous, but it rests on the same fundamentally false economic assumptions as the Marshall plan and point 4. It wrongly assumes that the American capital thrown into such schemes is a net addition to the world's capital. It is in fact a mere diversion of such capital. And it is a diversion, in the main, from productive private enterprises into far less productive collectivist projects.

Such schemes do not encourage private lending abroad; they discourage such lending. They do not speed up recovery and development of world resources; they retard that recovery and development. For as long as foreign countries can get easy money, seized from our taxpayers, out of the United States Government, they will neither give the assurances nor make the economic reforms that they would have to make to attract private investment.

It is time we called a halt to the give-away mania.

## Two From St. Louis

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 16, 1950

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, it gives me real pleasure to include under unanimous consent an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Tuesday, February 14, 1950, which gives well-deserved recognition to two of my distinguished colleagues from Missouri:

#### TWO FROM ST. LOUIS

A perfect attendance record may not be the supreme test of a Representative's devotion to duty. There are times when he may be of much greater service at a congressional committee meeting than by being on the floor to answer a relatively unimportant roll call.

Still, it was something of an achievement to have been on hand each of the 121 times during the 1949 session that the House of Representatives was asked to vote "yea" or "nay." Only 16 of the 435 Members managed to achieve this record. And two of the 16 were from St. Louis.

For this, a bow to Representative JOHN B. SULLIVAN and Representative FRANK M. KARSTEN.



# Daily Digest

60443

## HIGHLIGHTS

Senate adopted small-business resolution.

House passed six miscellaneous bills.

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

## Senate

### Chamber Action

*Routine Proceedings, pages 1995-2011*

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

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

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

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

Adopted: By 55 yeas to 27 nays, Wherry amendment (in the nature of a substitute) creating a Select Senate Committee on Small Business to make investigations of small-business problems. *Pages 2011-2024*

**Cotton Marketing:** Senate debated motion of Senator Lucas to take up H. J. Res. 398, revising cotton marketing quota law. Senate stayed in late session after rejecting in early evening by 16 yeas to 18 nays, Lucas motion to adjourn. *Pages 2034-2042*

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

### Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

#### APPROPRIATIONS—FOREST SERVICE

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

#### APPROPRIATIONS—DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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

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

#### APPROPRIATIONS—LOWER MISSISSIPPI, WEST VIRGINIA, AND VIRGINIA

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



# LOYALTY OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
J. Edgar Hoover, Director

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		<u>PAGE</u>
CASE NO. 1	(HERBERT ABNER FIERST)	1
CASE NO. 2	(JOHN CARTER VINCENT)	3
CASE NO. 3	(PEVERIL MERIOS)	7
CASE NO. 4	(GIZELLA ILLYEFALVI-VITEZ)	11
CASE NO. 5	(JAY ROBINSON)	13
CASE NO. 6	(FRANCES MYRLE TUCHSCHER)	16
CASE NO. 7	(MARCIA RUTH HARRISON)	18
CASE NO. 8	(STANLEY GRAZE)	20
CASE NO. 9	(DAVID DEMAREST LLOYD)	23
CASE NO. 10	(MARGERY S. POSNER)	26
CASE NO. 11	(FRANCES FERRY)	27
CASE NO. 12	(HELENE YUHAS)	29
CASE NO. 13	(CARLETON WOLSEY WASHBURN)	31
CASE NO. 14	(ERNST THEODORE ARNDT)	33
CASE NO. 16	(ROBERT T. MILLER III)	36
CASE NO. 17	(JEANNE H. TAYLOR)	40
CASE NO. 18	(EDYTHE J. LEMON)	41
CASE NO. 20	(SAMUEL STEPHENSON SMITH)	42
CASE NO. 28	(LEANDER BELL LOVELL)	44
Tolson _____ CASE NO. 29	(GERALD GRAZE)	47
Ladd _____		
Clegg _____ CASE NO. 30	(JOSEPH JOSEPHSON)	49
Glavin _____		
Nichols _____ CASE NO. 31	(LEWIS ROSS)	51
Rosen _____		
Tracy _____		
Harbo _____ CASE NO. 32	(ROBERT ROSS)	52
Mohr _____		
Tele. Room _____		
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Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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		<u>PAGE</u>
CASE NO. 33	(HERMAN SIGGEL)	54
CASE NO. 34	(ELIA MORRIS MONTAGUE)	55
CASE NO. 37	(OLGA F. OSMATCH)	56
CASE NO. 38	(ARTHUR MILTON KAUFMAN)	57
CASE NO. 39	(MAX ABRAHAM VOLIN)	59
CASE NO. 40	(ESTELLE GORDON)	61
CASE NO. 41	(DANIEL FRANK MAROOLIES)	62
CASE NO. 42	(GOTTFRIED THOMAS MANN)	64
CASE NO. 43	(SAM FISHBACK)	66
CASE NO. 44	(WILLIAM D. CARTER)	68
CASE NO. 45	(NORMAN THEODORE NESS)	70
CASE NO. 46	(WILLIAM TREADWELL STONE)	71
CASE NO. 47	(DR. ESTHER COOKIN BRUNAUER)	74
CASE NO. 48 and 49	(ROBERT WARREN BARNETT) (PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT)	77 77
CASE NO. 50	(SYLVIA SCHIMMEL)	79
CASE NO. 51	(ROWENA SHILDON BELLOW ROHMEL)	81
CASE NO. 52	(PHILIP RAINE)	83
CASE NO. 53	(RICHARD HOWELL POST)	85
CASE NO. 54	(VAL R. LORWIN)	86
CASE NO. 55	(GERTRUDE GRIMWOOD CAMERON)	88
CASE NO. 56	(PAUL ALEXANDER LIFANTIEFF-LEE)	90
CASE NO. 57	(FRED WARNER NEAL)	92
CASE NO. 58	(LOIS CARLISLE)	94

		<u>PAGE</u>
CASE NO. 60	(CORA ALICE DU BOIS)	96
CASE NO. 61	(ALICE MARGARET DEMERJIAN)	98
CASE NO. 62	(ISHAM W. PERKINS)	100
CASE NO. 63	(STANLEY WILCOX)	102
CASE NO. 64	(HOLLIS W. PETER)	105
CASE NO. 65	(VICTOR M. HUNT)	107
CASE NO. 66	(DAVID RANDOLPH)	109
CASE NO. 67	(JOHN RICHARD LINDSEY)	111
CASE NO. 68	(AARON JACK GROSS)	113
CASE NO. 69	(SYLVIA CLEMENTINA MAGUIE)	115
CASE NO. 70	(HAROLD ARTHUR BERMAN)	116
CASE NO. 71	(STOIAN STOIANOFF)	117
CASE NO. 72	(ARNOLD D. MARGOLIN)	119
CASE NO. 73	(LEONARD HORWIN)	121
CASE NO. 74	(JOSEPH THADDEUS JANKOWSKI)	122
CASE NO. 75	(MRS. PRESTON KESLING LEWIS)	124
CASE NO. 76	(JOSEPH T. FORNO)	125
CASE NO. 78	(ANDREW M. KAMARCK)	126
CASE NO. 79	(T. ACHILLES POLYZOIDES)	129
CASE NO. 80	(JOHN TIPTON FISHBURN)	131
CASE NO. 81	(RUBY ALMEDA PARSON)	132

HERBERT ALBERT PIERST  
AKA (1913, 1917) PIERST

2/24/50

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

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

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

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

"A memorandum of November 29, 1946, pointed out that this individual and the previously mentioned Communists whom he succeeded in having placed were connected with an alleged Russian espionage agency. Nevertheless, this individual still occupies an important position in the State Department. I should like to point out at this time, however, that the security groups which was then operating in the State Department, was apparently doing a good job. It presented the entire picture to the Secretary of State. This individual who, the investigating agency of the State Department says, is a Communist, got a general innocently to bring two other Communists into the State Department, and he is today in the State Department and has access to the secret material. As I say, his name is certainly available to my Senate committee that wants it."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Herbert Almer Pierst. Bureau records reflect that a Loyalty investigation was conducted concerning Herbert Almer Pierst, who as of October, 1949, was adviser to Assistant Secretary for Occupied Areas, Department of State, Washington, D. C. This investigation developed that during 1946, 1947 and January, 1948, the employee had frequent contacts with David R. Noble (Nabl), had casual contacts with Max Lowenthal, had associated with Henry Hill Collins, Jr., was in frequent association with Maurice Halperin in 1946, 1947 and 1948, and was a friend and close associate of Demetri Lee during 1946 and 1947.

Role \_\_\_\_\_  
Lead \_\_\_\_\_  
Class \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Title \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_

R. H. Egan; Jmm

PHE

David R. Wahl was reliably reported to have been a member of the Communist Party underground in the late 1930's and the early 1940's, a member of the Board of Directors of the Washington Bookshop Association, a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the American Peace Mobilization. Max Lowenthal was General Counsel for the International Juridical Association. Henry Hill Collins was reliably reported to have been a member of the Communist Party underground in Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and early 1940's. Maurice Halperin was reliably reported to have been involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in New York City in the late 1930's and early 1940's. Duncan Lee was reliably reported to have been a member of a conspiracy involving Soviet espionage in the latter 1930's and early 1940's.

Herbert Pierst admitted having been a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

At the State Department Herbert Pierst formerly worked under Major General John H. Hildring.

The Washington Bookshop Association, Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the American Peace Mobilization appear on the list of organizations named by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The International Juridical Association and the National Lawyers Guild were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee on un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

The loyalty reports were sent to the Civil Service Commission on September 15, 1948.

The Loyalty Review Board by letter dated October 7, 1949, advised that Herbert Abner Pierst had been declared "eligible on loyalty."

(121-7630)

JOHN CARTER VINCENT

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 2

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

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

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

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

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

EHM:jo

*EHM*

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is John Carter Vincent. The Bureau files reflect that we have not conducted any investigation of Vincent. The Bureau files do, however, contain the following pertinent information relating to Vincent:

Vincent has served in various positions with the Department of State since 1924. Bureau files reflect, in brief, that Vincent was selected by former Vice President Henry Wallace to accompany him, Wallace, to China and Siberia in the Spring of 1944. Vincent is reported to be a close friend of Lauchlin Currie, subject in the Silvermaster espionage case. An informant of the Boston Office has advised that Vincent's name had been on every contact list furnished by Communist authors to the publishing firm of Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, Massachusetts. Major General Patrick J. Hurley, former Ambassador to China, is quoted as having testified before a Congressional Committee in December, 1945, that State Department career men were trying to destroy the Chinese National Government by having American Lend-Lease equipment given to Chinese Communists. Hurley blamed John Carter Vincent, then Chief of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, with actions which were contributory factors toward Hurley's retirement as Ambassador. (121-11900-8)

On October 16, 1946, the State Department furnished the following information concerning Vincent:

On September 28, 1946, a State Department building guard found a raincoat in the men's room on the first floor of the State Department. A search of the pockets revealed papers written in Russian. An examination of the papers showed they were the work of a Russian language student and no significance was attached to the papers. On October 4, 1946, John Carter Vincent telephoned the Guards Office to inquire what had been done with the raincoat. He indicated he knew what had been contained in the pockets of the raincoat. He denied owning the coat but claimed someone had left it in his office. He stated he had borrowed it and inadvertently left it in the men's room. He instructed that the coat be returned to his office so that he might return it to the rightful owner if and when it was called for. The memorandum from the State Department pointed out that it was believed the coat belonged to Vincent although the reason he denied owning it was not known. (62-80659-2)

An article appeared in the Washington Daily News on February 27, 1948, under the heading of "Top U. S. Diplomat a Red Spy?" This article reported that the House Appropriations Committee had developed information during a hearing on State Department appropriations which indicated that a confidential White House

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



telegram to Chungking, China, reached Moscow before ever leaving Washington. It was alleged that Moscow obtained the telegram through a top United States diplomatic official identified only as "No. 52." It was further indicated that investigations had disclosed that the diplomatic official referred to as No. 52 was seen contacting a man in Washington and was trailed to the Soviet Embassy. The Bureau received information that the individual referred to as No. 52 was John Carter Vincent.

In view of Vincent's position, the information appearing in Bureau files concerning him was furnished the Attorney General by memorandum dated May 17, 1948, with a request that the Bureau be advised whether a Loyalty investigation should be conducted. Mr. Peyton Ford, the Assistant to the Attorney General, in turn furnished this information to Assistant Secretary of State, John E. Peurifoy, with the request that Mr. Peurifoy advise Mr. Ford whether he wished the Bureau to conduct a Loyalty investigation of Vincent.

By memorandum dated June 9, 1948, Mr. Ford furnished a copy of Mr. Peurifoy's reply wherein it is stated that virtually all the information regarding Vincent was in the possession of the State Department at the time of Vincent's appointment; that a review of Vincent's full record convinced the Department of State of his loyalty to the United States. With regard to the information set out above indicating that Vincent was responsible for a confidential White House telegram to Chungking, China, reaching Moscow before ever leaving Washington, Mr. Peurifoy advised that this information was originally reported to the State Department, Division of Security and Investigations, by an informant who, it was subsequently learned, was either grossly mistaken or misinformed. Mr. Peurifoy further advised that the alleged original source of this information, described as a person of unquestioned reliability, subsequently stated to a Special Investigator of the State Department, that he did not know anything about a telegram prepared in Washington which reached Moscow before its official release nor did he know anything about Mr. Vincent having been observed contacting a man who was later followed to the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. Ford suggested that the Bureau review such information concerning Vincent as was available in the Security files of the State Department. He further stated, "unless, however, the information thus secured, coupled with the information now available, produces a lead which would seem to require additional investigation, I do not believe that it is necessary to undertake a full field Loyalty investigation in this case at the present time." The State Department Security file was reviewed and it contained no pertinent information not already in the possession of the Bureau.

The Attorney General was advised by memorandum dated July 13, 1948, that no Loyalty investigation of Vincent would be conducted and the State Department was advised by the Liaison Section on July 16, 1948, that no Loyalty investigation would be conducted.

Vincent's Loyalty Form was returned to the Civil Service Commission on April 18, 1949, with the notation on the reverse side that information available concerning him in the files of this Bureau had been furnished to the State Department, and that in the absence of a special request, no Loyalty investigation would be instituted. (121-11900-8)

FEVERIL MEIGS

Allegation by Senator McCarthy:

"Case No. 3. This individual was born in Flushing, N. Y., in 1905. He was employed with OSS in 1942. In 1945 he was transferred to the State Department and assigned to Research and Intelligence. The State Department's file shows that he is a member of a number of Communist-front organizations, and that his pals are known Communists. The file further shows that this fact is admitted by him. The original report in which this information is contained is dated July 3, 1942. The security report of April 18, 1946, indicates that numerous witnesses, including college professors and police officers in California, testified he was a radical and a fellow traveler. He was very friendly and sympathetic toward Harry Bridges, and strongly opposed any move to deport Bridges. The report also shows that he was also a close friend of Ralph Friedman, secretary of the Communist Party in California. Another security report, dated November 13, 1946, quotes his associates as saying that he favored the Chinese Communists in China and favored Russia in most respects.

"The State Department officials themselves, according to this report, describe him as being overly sympathetic to Russia and the Communist experiment. This is all a part of the report. Another Government official said the individual frequently blamed the capitalists for all the trouble in Russia, and constantly praised Russia as the ideal. So far as I know, everything in this individual's file indicates that he is actively working with and for the Communists."

Possible Identification:

This individual apparently is Feveril Meigs. The Bureau's files reflect that he was investigated by the Bureau in May and June of 1942 as an applicant for the position of geographer with the Office of the Coordinator of Information. Inquiry at Baton Rouge where he had been employed as an instructor in geography at Louisiana State University during the school year 1938-1939, disclosed that he was considered radical in his views although sincere, indiscreet in the expression of his views, socialistically inclined, very active in California politics and married to a confirmed socialist. Inquiry at San Francisco, California developed that references considered Meigs a competent and excellent teacher but liberal to "pink" in his political views. Neighbors and confidential informants declared that Meigs held radical political views and was a Communist. Several other confidential informants stated that Meigs was a member of several Communist fronts and openly associated with Communists. Copies of the four reports written on this investigation were furnished the OCI in May, June and July, 1942.

(77-24518)

PJC:dhb

PJC

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In June, 1947, the Department of State requested that the Bureau place Kelgs under physical and technical surveillance as soon as practicable, advising at the same time that he was reported to be president of the State Department Local of the United Public Workers of America. However, it was determined by the Liaison Section that the State Department had been investigating Kelgs since April, 1946, and had developed information to the effect that he had been associated with known Communists on the West Coast and Washington, D. C. Since it appeared that the State Department was apparently trying to develop cases on their own personnel as was done in the Harman case, the Bureau declined to undertake the surveillance requested and Assistant Secretary of State John K. Fowles, by memorandum dated July 18, 1947, was so advised. The Bureau's proper jurisdiction in loyalty matters was also pointed out to him at that time. (65-20165)

On January 5, 1948, the War Department requested a loyalty investigation of Kelgs because of information reportedly available in the Department of State's files, which related to Kelgs' membership in various Communist front organizations. Such an investigation was instituted on January 13, 1948. This investigation disclosed among other information the following:

Kelgs entered Government service on June 1, 1942 pursuant to a war service appointment as a geographer with the Office of the Coordinator of Information, later known as the Office of Strategic Services. In 1944 he was detailed as an associate board member and editor of the Joint Intelligence Study Publishing Board, later being designated as Editor in Chief of this Board. Kelgs remained in his capacity when the functions of the OSS were assumed by the Department of State. When the Board was dissolved in 1947 and Kelgs' name was submitted along with others for transfer to the CIA the latter refused to accept his transfer on security grounds. As no other positions were available in the State Department to which he could be transferred, he was dismissed on November 25, 1947, the reason given being "reduction in force." At the time of his departure from the Department of State, Kelgs was employed as a research analyst in the Office of Intelligence Research. (121-342-45)

A former associate described him as a man of high principles and excellent character who would, if put to the test, be completely loyal to the United States but who was rather naive and believed the Russian system to be democratic. Another associate described Kelgs as honest and sincere and sympathetic to the "under" man. This source stated Kelgs does not advocate revolutionary or violent changes of method but that Kelgs has stated his friends do believe in revolutionary changes. Another associate said Kelgs became engaged in political activities of a socialist nature and made many speeches in behalf

of Upton Sinclair during the latter's campaign for the Governorship of California. Most of Meigs' socialism dealt with public control of utilities, being actively opposed to the "Power Trust." (Ibid. Ser. 9)

Another associate referred to Meigs as being an extreme liberal who had an academic interest in social reform and was a strong advocate of municipal ownership of power, racial equality and organized labor. This source referred to Meigs as having defended the Russian point of view during World War II but as having denied membership in the Communist Party. He declared Meigs, while sympathetic to the economic and social aspects of the Russian system, was opposed to its political structure. He said Meigs was critical of the United States Government but loyal to the United States. (Ibid. Ser. 17)

Meigs was depicted as "liberal" and "left of center" by former OSS associates who defined these terms as meaning Meigs believed in the kind of social thought which resulted in legislation during the "New Deal." Meigs was quoted as saying that the activities of the Council of American-Soviet friendship were worthy of support. (Ibid. Ser. 20)

Investigation in Washington disclosed that Meigs was a member of the Washington Bookshop Association in 1944 and 1946. Former neighbors characterized him as extremely pro-Russian but believed him to be a fundamental loyal American. It was also determined that he denied Communist affiliations at a Civil Service Commission here in October, 1943 and in a statement to the Office of Controls in the State Department in November, 1947. Professional associates in Washington characterized him variously as a "champion of oppressed peoples," loyal to the United States but also as an individual of such strong pro-Russian sympathies as to make him a security risk in the handling of confidential Government matters.

Inquiry at Los Angeles disclosed that Meigs had been listed as a sponsor on the 1941 letterhead of the American Beacon Ship Mission which was reportedly a fund raising campaign under Communist sponsorship. (Ibid. Ser. 28)

The San Francisco Office determined that Meigs, while an instructor at Chico State College in California from 1929 until 1942 (except 1938-1939), was known to have fostered "socialistic ideas." He had the reputation also of supporting Communist ideals and was a close associate of Ralph Friedman, later identified as a Communist Party organizer. One individual advised he could identify Meigs as having been in attendance at a meeting in Chico of the Communist Party. (Ibid. Ser. 31)

Copies of reports on the loyalty investigation of Meigs were furnished to the Civil Service Commission by letter dated April 19, 1948 and by letter dated February 23, 1949 to Assistant Attorney General Alexander M. Campbell.

On April 15, 1949 the Civil Service Commission, with respect to the disposition made of Meigs' loyalty case, advised that Meigs had been retained as an employee of the Department of the Army in the capacity of economist and educational specialist. At the request of Assistant Attorney General Campbell copies of the charge and answer thereto, interrogatories and answers thereto and a transcript of the record of proceedings before the Loyalty Board were furnished to him on June 13, 1949. (Ibid. 121 Ser. 41)

On June 17, 1949, Assistant Attorney General Campbell advised that the Bureau reports in the Meigs case failed to disclose any available evidence of a violation of title 18, section 1001, or of any other federal statute. (Ibid. Ser. 38)

GIZELLA ILLYEFALVI-VITZ

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

Case number - 4: "The individual came to the United States from Hungary in 1944. He was employed as a translator and script writer for OAI, and later by the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. The report of January 3, 1947, indicates that he is an active member of a Communist front organization, and that he lost his former job because of his constant arguments in favor of communism. A former employer, according to the file, stated that this individual boasted of being a member of the Communist Party. A third informant also stated that this individual boasted of his Communist connections and argued that communism was superior to democracy. The fourth informant said that he constantly argued politics, and that communism was the ideal system for this country. Two of the references on his application for citizenship were members of at least one Communist-front organization and contributors to Communist periodicals. Another reference refused to recommend him, questioning his loyalty, and saying that he was a Communist. Another reference, of April 24, 1947, showed that this employee's supervisor in the State Department felt he was a fellow-traveler. This individual has been contributing to the Hungarian Communist magazine, N. C. S.

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

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Gizella Ilyefalvi-Vitez. According to the files of the Bureau inquiries concerning this individual were conducted in connection with the case entitled "Nicholas Torzs, Special Inquiry - State Department, Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America)." This individual was identified as the sister-in-law of Torzs. Inquiries revealed that Vitez was employed in the Hungarian Language Section, International Broadcasting Station, United States Department of State, 224 West 57th Street, New York City, as a Hungarian translator. She was transferred to the Department of State from the Office of War Information. She was described by former employers and associates as an active member of the International Workers Order and contributed articles to "Magyar Jero" a Hungarian language paper sponsored by the IWO. Associates also stated that in the event of war between United States and Russia she would undoubtedly follow the Russian line. She allegedly openly criticized the United States Government and advocated the ideals of Communism and the Russian Government.

ERC:gmu

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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Vitez resigned her position with the Department of State on March 5, 1948. According to the files of the Bureau she has not been re-employed by the Department of State since that time. (123-43-15 and 18)

Vitez was investigated by the Civil Service Commission in 1944 and 1945, for a translator position with the Office of War Information. She was declared eligible on March 8, 1946, by the Civil Service Commission Loyalty Rating Board. (62-17890-607 page 5181)

In April 1946, the Department of State was advised that the files of the Bureau contained no information concerning Vitez. This was a routine record check made at the time all OWI employees were transferred to the Department of State. (62-80335-34)

The investigation of Torss was completed in May of 1948. It was during this investigation that the above information concerning Vitez was obtained. Vitez has not been the subject of a Bureau investigation. (123-43)

Investigative reports containing the above information concerning Vitez were furnished to the Department of State on June 1, 1948, and to the Civil Service Commission on September 20, 1948. (123-43-15 and 18)



JAY ROBINSON

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 5

"He was born in North Carolina in 1900. He was employed by the Foreign Economic Administration from August 1942, to August 1945, and was then transferred to the State Department and placed on Research and Intelligence....

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

"A professor at the University of California stated that he was acquainted with this individual since September 1937; that he did not trust him; he considered him in the class of Harry Bridges; that under no circumstances would he hire him, and also that there was something about him that aroused his intuition, and caused him to be afraid of his outside connections, and under no circumstances would he recommend him to the Government.

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

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

C. F. CARTER:EFF

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*E.K.*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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

"The State Department's own Security Board then submitted four subsequent reports, the first one dated September 12, 1947, in an attempt to convince the Department that this man was dangerous and should be discharged. Subsequently this man's position was abolished. However, he was not discharged....He was transferred to the Division of Research...."

#### Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Jay Robinson, also known as Jakob Rabinowitz, Jacob Rabinowitz, Jakob Robins, Jack Robins, Liu Yu-Ts'ai.

The Bureau files reflect we conducted the following investigations of this individual:

Internal Security - Hatch Act; April 16, 1943 to April 22, 1944

Loyalty of Government Employee; May 28, 1948 to June 11, 1948

Espionage - R; March 9, 1949 to the present

The Bureau files disclose that Robinson was born in New York City of Russian-Rumanian parents in 1900, under the name Jacob Rabinowitz, which he legally changed to Jay Robinson in 1938. He was educated in colleges in China in 1921-1936, receiving a B.A. Degree. Thereafter, he took graduate work at the University of California, Columbia University and Harvard University. From 1942 to 1946 he was employed by the Board of Economic Warfare, Washington, D. C., as an authority on Far Eastern Affairs. From 1946 to April 16, 1948, he was employed as a Research Analyst by the State Department. In May 1949, following his resignation, he departed with his wife for China, where he was

Last reported in November, 1949, as within Communist territory, representing Chicago and New York business firms. (100-69218; 121-9036; 100-366324.)

Robinson was the subject of a State Department investigation of alleged alteration of his United States passport in 1921-1922. (100-69218-12 and.)

While in China in 1921-1936, Robinson was known to associates as a Communist and claimed to have made a trip to Russia. He was for Chinese agrarian reform and very Socialist-minded. At the University of California and at Harvard, he was noted for his outspoken admiration of Communism and the Soviet Government, and his tactless arguments antagonized many persons. The rumor that his education at the University of California was paid for by Communists was not substantiated. It is noted he was discharged from the Navy School at Harvard in 1942 for poor grades and suspected Communist activity.

Robinson's membership in the Communist Party, USA, was never directly alleged or indicated. References to persons of the same or similar names, who had signed Communist Party petitions in the New York vicinity in 1939-1940, could not be identified with Robinson. Fellow ex-LYGOs and superiors at the Foreign Economic Administration and in the State Department regarded him generally as tolerant, broad-minded, and liberal in his views, and loyal to the United States. Last reports from China indicate Robinson and his wife as being favorable to the Communist regime. Investigation in the Richard Sorge espionage case has revealed that Robinson is not identifiable as the unknown American newspaperman named "Jacob" mentioned in that investigation. (100-124 (2-67, 93, 109))

The results of the Hatch Act investigation were referred to the Foreign Economic Administration, but no administrative action resulted. The loyalty investigation was never completed nor the results disseminated, it being revealed that Robinson had resigned from the State Department at that time. The State Department has been advised that a number of documents, some of which were classified, believed to be the property of the State Department were found at a former Washington residence of Robinson in August, 1949. Present investigation seems to determine if subject is engaged in espionage.

According to the Bureau files, this man was employed by the Department of State from 1946 to April 16, 1948, and his employment was terminated by resignation for the purpose of returning to private business.

FRANCES MYRLE TUCHSCHER

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

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

Possible Identification

The individual is apparently Frances Myrle Tuchscher, who as of February 4, 1949, was employed as Editor - Writer Employee, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Bureau records reflect that a loyalty investigation was conducted concerning Frances Myrle Tuchscher under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 and the results of this investigation, which was conducted during February and March, 1948, were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission by letter dated March 13, 1948.

The loyalty investigation reflects the following pertinent information:

That Frances Tuchscher had made remarks that she finds many things objectionable in the Capitalist system followed in this country and has pointed out the superiorities in the form of government existing in Russia, particularly the absence of racial prejudices and freedom from the influence of wealth;

That on one occasion she stated that in her opinion Russia had borne the brunt of the war against Germany and that England and this country were now seeking to prevent Russia's recovery by ganging up on her;

That she is presently Chairman of Local #3, State Department Branch, United Public Workers of America Union;

That she was against the President's Executive Order concerning the loyalty of government personnel;

That she admitted that she was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare during 1946;

J. I. Grealy:man

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

That she is believed to be a close follower of the Communist Party line and supported a motion during a meeting of the UPWA to send a delegate to a concert featuring Paul Robeson, and on another occasion, supported sending a delegate to a convention of the National Negro Congress;

That she is listed as a stockholder of the corporation called "Presentation Associations Incorporated";

That she formerly roomed with Katherine Shryver, a member of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party, USA, and the National Negro Congress were cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, 79th Congress, on March 29, 1944.

It was reported that members of the Presentation Unit of the State Department formed a corporation called "Presentation Associations Incorporated" and it was believed that this corporation was being used as a means to develop official information of the State Department and to disseminate it to outside unauthorized sources. It was further reported that members of this corporation were Communists or Communist sympathizers.

The Loyalty Review Board advised by letter dated February 4, 1949, that the employee had been "retained." (121-2117)

MARCIA RUTH HARRISON

Allegation by Senator McCarthy:

"Case number seven. This individual was an associate business economist to August 1944; with FEA from August 1944 to August 1945, and then transferred to the State Department as an economist. This individual is a member of the Young Communist League. He was affiliated with four other organizations which are named by the Attorney General as having been Communist fronts. This individual admits membership in the Young Communists, and in the other Communist-front organizations, but claims to have changed his view since that time, and therefore was given top secret clearance by the State Department. I may say incidentally I am using the pronoun "he" in all these cases, although some of the individuals are not of the male sex."

Possible Identification:

The individual apparently is Marcia Ruth Harrison. Bureau records reflect that a loyalty investigation was conducted by this Bureau under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 regarding Miss Harrison, who, as of June 7, 1949, was employed as a Divisional Assistant, Division of Commercial Policy, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Miss Harrison, during the course of a Hatch Act investigation in 1942, admitted to Bureau agents in a sworn signed statement that she was a member of the Young Communist League for two or three months in 1938 while she was attending Vassar College. Miss Harrison stated that she stopped paying dues as soon as she left college and her opinion has changed since that date. Miss Harrison also admitted former membership in the American Student Union and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action in the referenced sworn signed statement.

Miss Harrison admitted to a representative of the Security Investigations Division of the State Department in 1946 that she was a former member of the Washington Bookshop, the American Student Union, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, and the Young Communist League.

A reliable informant advised that Marcia Harrison was in the Young Communist League at Vassar College and was one of the most active members of the Library of Congress unit of the Communist Party in 1939. According to this informant, Miss Harrison was also very active in the Communist Party generally and was closely associated with David Wahl, Philip O. and Mary Jane Keeney, Paul Boswell and Ogden Kelly, all of whom have been reliably reported

as being members of the Communist Party underground group which operated in Washington, D. C. in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

Informants further advised that employee's name appeared on the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization in 1940 and on the indices of the United American Spanish Aid Committee in 1942.

Employee endeavored to justify membership in the various mentioned organizations by stating that she has always been interested in social planning and methods of solving social and economic problems; therefore, she had participated in various organizations in order to understand their respective points of view.

The Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the Washington Bookshop Association, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the American Peace Mobilization, and the United American Spanish Aid Committee have been cited by the Attorney General as organizations coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, March 29, 1944.

The reports reflecting the results of a loyalty investigation were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission on April 20, 1948 and by memorandum dated June 7, 1949 the Loyalty Review Board advised that the employee was "eligible on loyalty." (121-1163)

STANLEY CRAZE

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 8,11

This individual was born in New York City in 1918. He was employed as an accountant and analyst with the OSS in the State Department from June 1945. Previous to that time he worked for the War Production Board. He was assigned again to research and intelligence in the State Department. This man, according to the State Department files, was an active member of a number of Communist-front organizations; was a very close friend of several men who are under suspicion by the FBI of being connected with Russian espionage cases and has two brothers who have been openly working for the Communist Party.\*

Possible Identity/Classification

This individual apparently is Stanley Craze, born in 1918, who was the subject of a Loyalty Investigation completed in March, 1948, (Bureau file 121-638), and of a Security Matter - C Investigation, opened June 20, 1948, which is presently in a closed status, (Bureau file 100-363993).

The following information is contained in the Loyalty file:

This investigation was opened at the request of the State Department which was dated January 8, 1948, and which advised that the subject was a member of the American Student Union while a student at the College of the City of New York, and had signed a petition which appeared in the "Daily Worker" on August 6, 1940. As a further basis for requesting an investigation, the State Department advised the FBI had previously reported the subject to have been in frequent association with Mary Jane Kearney, Victor Fazio, and Harry S. Magdoff, and that the subject's brothers, Cyril and Gerald Craze were reported Communist Party members.

The results of the Loyalty Investigation are as follows:

The subject listed Harry Magdoff as a reference in completing his application for employment by the State Department. The subject went to work for the State Department in October, 1945. Magdoff was also observed by Bureau Agents in the subject's company at a party on November 30, 1946, at the home of the subject's brother, Gerald Craze in Arlington, Virginia.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ETB:rd/ehw:real

ERS.



The subject and his wife were also determined to be friendly with Mary Jane Keeney and Philip Keeney, who have been identified as Communist Party members in the late 1930's and early 1940's in Washington, D. C. Mary Jane Keeney was observed to visit the apartment of subject and his wife, Mildred, at Arlington, Virginia on October 26, 1945, December 14, 1946 and April 27, 1947. (121-638-15, p. 2)

Gerald Graze and his wife Ruth Gordon Graze, brother and sister-in-law of the subject, have been reported as members of the Communist Party underground group in Washington, D. C. during 1933 and 1934. (121-638-15, p. 3)

Washington Field Office [ ] said the subject and his wife appeared to be quite friendly with Mr. and Mrs. Victor Perlo. Magdoff and Victor Perlo were involved as principals in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York City in the early 1940's. b7D

Perlo was also reported to be a friend of subject's brothers Cyril and Gerald and of his father, Alfred Graze. On November 24, 1945 and November 26, 1945, the subject and his wife were observed to visit the home of Victor Perlo. (121-638-15, p. 3)

The subject's brother Cyril was reported as a Communist Party member in 1944 and to have been a delegate to the May, 1944 Communist Party Convention in New York City. (121-638-15, p. 3)

Records of the City College of New York, where the subject attended from September, 1935 to June, 1939, reflect that one Stanley Graze was a member of the American Student Union in 1938. (121-638-14, p. 1)

The name Stanley Graze appeared in the "Daily Worker" of August 6, 1940, among those members of the CCNY Staff who signed a public statement opposing American entry into the war. Subject was on the staff at CCNY at that time. (121-638-14, p. 2)

A hearing was afforded the subject by the State Department on September 12, 1947, at which time he admitted joining the American Student Union and having been made Membership Director of the Executive Committee of the ASU in 1937 or 1938. With reference to the "Daily Worker" article mentioned above, subject stated he could not recall signing the statement, but that if he had done so, it was without full knowledge. He admitted that he and his wife were acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Philip Keeney and that he was casually acquainted with Victor Perlo during 1943 - 1947. He denied, however, that he was a close friend of these persons. (121-638-14)

Reports of the Loyalty investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on March 3, 1948 and to the Attorney General on May 29, 1949. The Bureau received from the Loyalty Review Board a disposition sheet dated March 25, 1949, reflecting the disposition of this case as: "Resigned or otherwise separated from Federal Service." Serial two of 100-363593 reflects that Civil Service Commission records show the subject resigned from the State Department on April 30, 1948, to enter private business and this same file reflects that he is privately employed.

DAVID DEMAREST LLOYD

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

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

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

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

"Case No. 77. This young man applied for a position in the State Department. The file indicates he is a very close friend of reported Communists, and that he is closely associated with members of Communist-front organizations. The file indicates that his wife belongs to an organization listed as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and that a relative of his has a financial interest in the Daily Worker.

"Mr. President, I believe I have covered this case before, and what I have just said seems to be a repetition. This is the case of a young man who ended up as a speech writer in a well-known house in Washington."

Possible Identification

Cases No. 9 and 77 apparently relate to David Demarest Lloyd.

The Bureau has conducted the following investigations of Lloyd:

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Departmental Applicant, 1937-1938 (reports sent to the Department);  
Internal Security, 1941, (report to Department);  
Hatch Act, 1942, (report to OIM, May 1942, which advised Lloyd retained  
in employment at OPA; report sent to State Department, December 1946;  
to Mr. Dawson, White House, November 10, 1948; and summary of infor-  
mation furnished orally to Secret Service, White House Detail,  
January 3, 1949;

G.E. GOTSCHALL:hke

Special Inquiry - White House, 1948, (blind memorandum of information furnished Mr. Dawson, White House, November 19, 1948, and oral summary to Secret Service, White House Detail, January 3, 1949); Loyalty of Government Employees, 1949, (reports to CSC and Department, May 9, 1949. Department advised no criminal prosecution, May 26, 1949. No disposition received in file from CSC to date)

The loyalty investigation which was initiated at the specific request of the Civil Service Commission disclosed the following information:

Lloyd was a member of the National Lawyers Guild in 1938, and his wife, Charlotte, was a member in 1940. From 1937 to 1941, Mrs. Lloyd likewise was alleged to be a member of the League of Women Shoppers, and in 1941-1942 she was said to be a representative on the National Executive Board of that organization. Lloyd himself was alleged to have been entertained on one occasion in 1940 by this League.

In an interview in January, 1943, with a representative of the Office of Naval Intelligence, Lloyd stated he had joined the Washington Bookshop. He said he had read at one time the "IJA Bulletin," official publication of the International Juridical Association; the "Daily Worker" and "New Masses." In this latter connection, he said he had studied Communism quite a bit and enjoyed watching what they had to say but certainly did not agree with them. He also mentioned that he and his wife had once attended a meeting of the Descendants of the American Revolution.

Lloyd's great aunt, Caroline Lloyd Strobell, an admitted member of the Communist Party, who died in 1940, was formerly one of the "dummy owners" of the "Daily Worker." A second cousin, William Bross Lloyd, was convicted of syndicalism in Chicago previous to 1920. Lloyd is also said to be distantly related to Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, wife of Harvey O'Connor, both alleged Communists in Chicago.

A second cousin described Lloyd's ideas from 1927 to 1935 as "radical to the point of bordering on Communism" and characterized Lloyd as a "radical Socialist."

Lloyd's associates have included alleged members of the Communist Party and front organizations. For example, in an application for employment in 1938 Lloyd listed as a reference the name of John Abt, who has been identified by Elisabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers as being involved in Communist underground espionage activity in Washington during the late 1930's and early 1940's. Another good friend of Lloyd is said to be Luke Wilson, an alleged Communist.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The National Lawyers Guild, the League of Women Shoppers and the International Juridical Association, above-mentioned, were named as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in March 1944. The Descendants of the American Revolution was similarly described by the same Committee in June 1942. The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast daily Communist newspaper, while "New Masses" has been characterized by the House Committee as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party." The Washington Bookshop was cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

In the Hatch Act interview with Lloyd in March 1942, he stated he had never been a member of the Communist Party or knowingly subscribed to any Communist organization or cause. Various associates of Lloyd consider him loyal. One associate stated that Lloyd was one of the initial organizers of the Americans for Democratic Action and that Lloyd had expressed pleasure at this opportunity to fight Communism. Other persons who consider Lloyd loyal are Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois.

Donald Dawson, of the White House, confidentially informed a Bureau representative in April 1949 that the White House was familiar with Lloyd's background, and that it was the consensus of himself, Matt Connelly, Clark Clifford and Charley Ross that this did not preclude Lloyd's use in the work he was doing, that is, preparing drafts of legislation, speeches, etc. Mr. Dawson indicated that Lloyd was a very valuable man and that nothing of a disloyal nature had been observed in his work.

(77-9063; 100-2155; 121-16509)

MARGERY S. POSNER

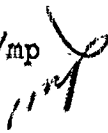
Allegations of Senator McCarthy

"Case Number 10: This individual is in the Biographical Information Division of the State Department. Her husband signed a Communist Party election petition, stating he was a member thereof. She is active in the UPWA. The mere fact that her husband was a Communist may not make her a Communist, but she also has been given top secret clearance."

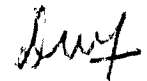
Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Margery S. Posner. A review of the Bureau files discloses no information identifiable with her other than the information furnished to the Bureau on a confidential basis by former Special Agent Robert Lee on January 29, 1948 which refers to Margery S. Posner as "Case No. 7" and sets forth substantially the same information as alleged by Senator McCarthy. In this connection it is noted that the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of the testimony before the House Appropriations Committee concerning the Department of State appropriation bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 28, 1948, there appears information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 7" (identified in Lee's material as Margery S. Posner) was not employed in the Department of State, having resigned on January 9, 1948.  
(62-39749-1109)

DWF/mp



- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Tolson  
Loyalty Section

FRANCIS PERRE

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 11: This individual was an analyst in OSS from July, 1943, to August, 1945, and was employed in the Division of Map Intelligence in the State Department after August, 1945. He is a close pal of a known Communist and has stated it would be a good idea if the Communist would take over in this country. He is a regular reader of the Daily Worker. This individual is not in the State Department at this time, but has a job in the CIA as of today. None is what we find. Such individual's use the State Department as a stepping stone to start their agency. This man, who works around with Communist, who is satisfied, according to the files of the State Department, that Communist should take over this country, is not in the Central Intelligence Agency."

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Francis Perry, a woman. It is noted that Senator McCarthy refers to this individual as a man. The Bureau files reflect we conducted a Loyalty Investigation from May 7, 1948, to September 2, 1948. We also conducted an efficient investigation for the Central Intelligence Agency from September 30, 1947, to November 14, 1947. These investigations disclosed that Nelson Francis Perry, also known as Francis Perry, was last employed as a diagrammatic map indexer for the Central Intelligence Agency. She was originally employed by the Office of Emergency Management, War Relocation Commission on October 27, 1942 and transferred to the Office of Strategic Services on July 5, 1943. Her services were terminated with OSS on August 31, 1945, due to a reduction of forces. During part of her employment with OSS she was assigned to the Research and Analysis Branch. On November 12, 1945, she reentered on duty with OSS and transferred to the State Department by executive order on September 30, 1945. Her services terminated with the State Department on December 28, 1947, and she was transferred to the Central Intelligence Agency. During part of the time when she was employed by the State Department she served as a diagrammatic map indexer, Division of Map Intelligence and Cartography, Map Library Branch, Processing Section.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_ 121-5979  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_ 118-2560  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WFO:spw:abw

*Handwritten initials*

Mrs. Cornelia R. Yuditsky, 1756 Columbia Road, Northwest, Washington, D. C., who had known the subject since 1935, stated that Frances Ferry had made reference to "Poppa Joe Stalin" during the early years of their acquaintanceship. At this time Ferry's attitude towards life was Communistic and she felt that everybody should share in this world's goods. Mrs. Yuditsky stated that subject was a close friend of Mr. and Mrs. John Butler who lived in Hume, Virginia, and that she heard Mr. Butler say on one occasion something to the effect that he believed a revolution would do this country good. This statement was made during a conversation between Mr. Butler and Miss Ferry. She recalls that Miss Ferry believed that everybody should have the same amount of money and property. Mrs. Yuditsky stated that while Miss Ferry resided at 1744 X Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., she observed several copies of the "Daily Worker" in her room and that for this and the reasons that she previously mentioned, she concluded that Miss Ferry was a Communist or at least a definite Communist sympathizer.

Mr. Ray C. Wills, 1621 L Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., a son of Mrs. Yuditsky, stated that Frances Ferry spoke on various occasions about equal distribution of land, money and clothing being a good thing and that she read Communist literature, but he could not recall the title of any of the publications.

The records of the Division of Security and Investigations, Department of State, reflect that the subject was questioned by the State Department at one time. The subject denied any sympathy for Communism or with the Communist Party and stated that she had read the "Daily Worker" merely for curiosity while living in New York City.

The investigation by the Bureau during the loyalty investigation and the applicant investigation failed to reflect any additional information indicating subject's disloyal activities or sympathies. Investigation failed to reflect that Mr. John Butler was known to have been sympathetic towards Communism. All associates, contacts, and neighbors described subject as a person who possessed no disloyal sympathies for the United States.

Investigative reports in the applicant case were disseminated to the Central Intelligence Agency on November 14, 1947. Investigative reports in the loyalty case were forwarded to the Civil Service Commission on September 2, 1948. The Civil Service Commission advised by letter dated January 28, 1949, that Frances Ferry had been retained in her position.



## HELENE YUHAS

### Allegations by Senator McCarthy

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

### Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Helene Yuhas. An investigation concerning her was conducted by the Bureau in 1945 at the request of the State Department. Yuhas was employed at that time in the office of the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton. The State Department advised that Yuhas had been employed from November 1940 to April 1944 at the White House as a correspondence secretary at \$2700 per annum. Her duties consisted of answering letters for Mrs. Roosevelt and handling confidential matters for the former President and Mrs. Roosevelt. In May 1944, according to the State Department, Yuhas was employed by the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D.C., as Assistant Editor for the "Soviet Information Bulletin." She remained in this employment until February 1945, when she applied for employment at the State Department. They were unable to employ her at \$2700 per annum, but she stated that she would be willing to accept \$1800 in order to get into the Department. After one-month's employment in the State Department, she asked specifically to be placed in Mr. Clayton's office and received a position as personal assistant to Edward S. Mason, Deputy to Mr. Clayton. The State Department requested the Bureau to place Yuhas under a discreet surveillance for a two-weeks' period to determine her contacts outside the State Department. The Bureau investigation failed to reflect any pertinent contacts outside the State Department but reflected that Yuhas regularly received the "Soviet Information Bulletin," that she had a copy of the "Constitution of the USSR" in her room, was a recently enrolled member of the Washington Bookshop Association, and was allegedly engaged to a Brigadier General connected with [ ] U.S. Army. This latter allegation was never substantiated. A copy of the FBI report was forwarded to the State Department. (100-343051-1,4,5)

b7D

The September 12, 1947, issue of the "Washington Evening Star" published an article reporting the resignation of Yuhas from the State Department. The article stated that Yuhas said that she had resigned from

C.M. Noone:hke

the State Department because she could not fight any longer against "witch hunts."  
(100-343051-9)

A loyalty investigation concerning Yuhas was initiated by the Bureau in May 1948 while she was employed as a clerk-stenographer by the Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. The loyalty investigation was predicated largely on the foregoing facts. Yuhas resigned from the Commerce Department in March 1948, and the loyalty investigation was, therefore, discontinued. No reports had been submitted by the field. By letter dated June 11, 1948, CSC was advised of the resignation of Yuhas and that no further investigation was being conducted under the loyalty program. (121-4757-A,2,9)

During April 1949, Representative George A. Dondero (R.-Mich.) spoke in the House of Representatives concerning the "frightening and almost unbelievable" story of Helene Yuhas. His remarks received considerable publicity in the press.  
(121-4757-A)

CARLETON WOLSEY WASHBURNE

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

\*Case Number 13: This individual is a foreign reserve officer under the information and cultural program. He was appointed to this position in September 1947, and assigned to Milan, Italy, where he took part in the educational program. This individual spent time in Soviet Russia in 1927 as a member of the trade-unions delegation to Soviet Russia, which delegation was repudiated by William Green, president of the A. F. of L. He was the sponsor, organizer, and member, respectively, of various Communist-front organizations. He has been cited by the Daily Worker a number of times for his work. The records of the industrial detail of the Chicago police department list him as a Communist as early as 1930. This man's file shows that members of the churches in Italy and high officials of the National Catholic Welfare Council objected to his being assigned to educational duties in Italy, basing this objection upon his communistic activities. Lt. Col. Gayre, of the British Army, who was this individual's supervisor in Italy, indicated that he was a "wild leftist theorist," who would veer entirely to the left if given the opportunity. This individual is described as a pedantic, tedious, conceited, impractical, pompous man, and this applies to so many of them, a man who would enjoy the pleasures of the right, but popularity with the left."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Carleton Wolsey Washburne. The Bureau files reflect that we conducted an Internal Security - C investigation of Carleton Wolsey Washburne from December 9, 1941, to January 23, 1942, and a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation from March 4, 1948, to May 18, 1948. (100-44105; 121-1863)

The investigations disclosed that Washburne was a member of a trade-union delegation to Soviet Russia in 1927. He was a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the Teachers' Committee of the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee, both of which were described as Communist Party fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He was a sponsor for the Chicago Committee for Russian War Relief in 1941, and the Chicago Repertory Group in 1938. A reliable confidential informant described these organizations as Communist dominated and indicated that many members were not Communists. He was a member of the American Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom and the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Both of these organizations were described as Communist Party fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

D. W. Kuno: mm

LWT

Washburne was an associate of Nathan Berman, reliably reported in 1942, as a Communist Party member. In 1943, Berman and Washburne worked together in setting up an organization, the purpose of which was to exchange materials and information between artists, writers, scientists, musicians and educators in the United States with those of a like profession in Soviet Russia.

Washburne was a member of the American Civil Liberties Committee in 1931, which was described by the Fish Committee on Un-American Activities as being closely affiliated with the Communist Party. Six teachers employed by him while he was Superintendent of Schools at Winnetka, Illinois, have been reliably reported to have been engaged in Communist Party activities.

The "Daily Worker," a Communist dominated newspaper, for July 31, 1940, lists him as a signer of an open letter sent by the League of American Writers to Secretary of State Hull and the Pan American Conference in behalf of the Anti-Fascist Refugees "trapped" in France. The League of American Writers has been described as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The "Daily Worker" for April 20, 1929, publicized a speech which was to be given by Washburne. Records of the Industrial Detail of the Chicago Police Department were checked in 1948, and were found to contain no information regarding Washburne.

The majority of people interviewed in connection with the loyalty investigation considered him loyal, but two people considered him not loyal because they believed he had hired Communists on his teaching staff at Winnetka. One described him as anti-Capitalistic and as favoring Socialism, and another described him as having Communist Party tendencies but probably loyal to the United States.

Reports were disseminated to the Intelligence Division of the Army on March 28, 1949. Four carbon copies of the loyalty investigation were distributed to the Civil Service Commission on June 7, 1948, and one carbon copy of the reports was sent to the Attorney General on June 7, 1948.

On October 1, 1948, the Civil Service Commission reported the following disposition of his case, "retained."

According to this individual's file, he worked for the State Department from September, 1946, to September, 1948. The State Department on September 27, 1948, advised that Washburne had been terminated from his position with the Foreign Service because of completion of assignment.  
(121-1863)

ERNST THEODORE ARNDT

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Ernst Theodore Arndt. The Bureau files reflect we conducted a Loyalty investigation of Arndt from December 14, 1948, to March 3, 1949; a Departmental applicant investigation from June 15, 1938, to December 12, 1938; an Espionage - G investigation from February 20, 1940, to August 26, 1942; and he was afforded an interview under the provisions of the Hatch Act on March 4, 1942. (121-13297; 77-9361; 65-800)

Investigation has disclosed information that Arndt was reported to have exhibited pro-Nazi sympathies and to have associated with members of the German Embassy. Investigation developed no evidence of espionage or subversive activities.

Investigation reflected information indicating Arndt possessed homosexual tendencies. In 1938 two acquaintances of Arndt furnished information concerning an incident indicating homosexual activities on the part of Arndt. The case files revealed that one of these acquaintances on March 2, 1946, executed an affidavit for the Secretary of State to the effect that this acquaintance had never seen Arndt engage or attempt to engage in any immoral conduct at any time. This individual subsequently advised that he affirmed the information he previously supplied the Bureau in 1938 concerning Arndt and stated that the aforementioned affidavit had been urged falsified by Mr. Joseph Panuch, who identified himself to this individual as employed in Assistant Secretary of State Russell's office. A similar affidavit had been executed on March 18, 1946, by the other above-mentioned acquaintance of Arndt.

According to Bureau files, Arndt has indicated he was employed by the State Department from December 6, 1945, to May 13, 1948, when he resigned. He had also been employed by the State Department in 1936 as a German translator. From 1936 to 1939, he was employed by the Department of Justice in the Alien Property Division. In October, 1946, information was received from the Office of Naval Intelligence that Arndt was employed by the State Department in the Special War Projects, German Embassy Group, in the Office of Research and Records. It was reported by ONI that at the time Arndt applied for a position with the State Department, the Division of Controls disapproved Arndt's appointment, but this disapproval was overruled by the then Acting Secretary of State, whose name was not known, and Arndt was subsequently appointed.

Case files reflect that Arndt has stated he was dismissed by the State Department on February 19, 1946, and was subsequently cleared by the Secretary of State who had delegated the case to Deputy Assistant Secretary

of State J. Anthony Panuch. Arndt has furnished information that he was formerly cleared by the State Department on April 1, 1946, as to loyalty and security. Arndt was appointed as a research analyst (translator) on August 3, 1948, with the Department of the Air Force, Washington, D. C., which is his last known employment.

Reports reflecting the results of the loyalty investigation were furnished the Civil Service Commission under date of March 3, 1949. The Civil Service Commission under date of November 7, 1949, advised regarding the disposition of the case that Arndt was "eligible on loyalty."

In addition to the Civil Service Commission, information relating to Arndt has been disseminated to the following: The Attorney General, Office for Emergency Management, Department of State, Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, Department of the Army, and the Office of Naval Intelligence.  
(121-13297; 77-9361; 65-800)

ROBERT T. MILLER, III

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

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

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

"In September further information was requested. As of October 15, 1947, nearly a year and a quarter later, there was nothing in the file to indicate whether the individual was with the Department or what the final action was in his case. I later learned that 6 months after the original recommendation of dismissal was made, he finally resigned. He was not discharged. He resigned on December 13, 1947. For what Federal agency he is working at this time, I frankly do not know. I have attempted to get that information from the Civil Service Commission. It has been very helpful, but there are so many individuals of the same name that the Commission has had difficulty in furnishing the information."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Robert Talbott Miller, III. The Bureau's files reflect we conducted an "Internal Security - Hatch Act" investigation from August 8, 1944, on Miller. At that time he was an employee of the Near East Division of the State Department. The investigation was based on the allegation that he was a Communist. This investigation continued until November, 1945, when Miss Elizabeth Bentley's allegations were received by the FBI, which included information on Miller. Thereafter, he was investigated as a suspected Soviet espionage agent. The investigation is presently continuing under the character "Internal Security - R; Registration Act."

According to Miller's file, he accepted an appointment as an Analyst for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs on or about September 11, 1941. He subsequently became Director of the Division of Sports of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In July, 1944, Miller transferred to the State Department where he was later assigned to the Near East Division. Miller resigned effective December 13, 1946. (It is noted that the Congressional Record reads that Miller resigned on December 13, 1947.) Miller is presently associated with J. H. Randolph Feltus in a public relations business at 128 East 56th Street, New York City.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



On July 31, 1948, Elizabeth Bentley testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities regarding Communist espionage in the U. S. Government. She admitted membership in the Communist Party and of serving as a courier for a Soviet espionage conspiracy in the early 1940's. Miss Bentley testified Miller was a dues-paying Communist and included him, among others, as a member of the Soviet espionage conspiracy. She stated in April or May, 1941, Jacob Golos, her superior, introduced her to Robert Miller, who then operated the Latin American news service "Hemisphere."

After Miller was employed by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Miss Bentley stated she obtained from him pamphlets and other information which he obtained through official connections. At that time Miller informed Miss Bentley he had the opportunity to see reports from the Office of Naval Intelligence, the Military Intelligence, the Office of Strategic Services and the FBI concerning Latin American matters. She stated during her initial contacts with Miller in Washington he gave her typewritten summaries of information appearing in the O. N. I., [redacted] and FBI files. This material always concerned Communist or Russian activities in Latin America. Miss Bentley stated Miller subsequently became alarmed over giving her typewritten notes and, thereafter, would verbally inform Bentley of the material he had observed in the above-mentioned Government reports. Her last contact with Miller was in December, 1944. She never received information from Miller after he was employed by the State Department. b7D

The investigation of Miller developed that he was in frequent contact with Joseph B. Gregg, also employed with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Washington. Miss Bentley advised Gregg was a dues-paying member of the Communist Party and also furnished Golos with information.

On December 1, 1945, Miller and his wife visited in the home of Maurice Halperin. Miss Bentley stated she was introduced to Halperin by Jacob Golos in 1942 and she later collected Communist Party dues from Halperin. She further stated that Halperin delivered to her information from reports prepared by the Office of Strategic Services and also supplied her with excerpts from State Department cables to which he had access.

It was ascertained that on several occasions Miller visited with Paul Milan Marsalka, 3317 R Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. In 1941 Marsalka was dismissed from the Office of Price Administration because of charges of being a Communist and of having Communistic tendencies.

On April 5, 1946, the following persons were observed entering the residence of Robert Miller, 3223 Northampton Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.: Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, a man believed to have been William Ludwig Ullman, Maurice Halperin and his wife, Edith, Mrs. Polya J. Habicht and Florence Levy.

Miss Bentley advised that Silvermaster was the head of a group who supplied information to her which she, in turn, gave to Jacob Golos. She further advised that the Silvermasters and Ullman were dues-paying members of the Communist Party. Polya Habicht is a Russian-born woman who, at one time, was interned by the Russians as a political prisoner, and in 1941 was exchanged to the United States for Caik D. Cvakinian, the alleged head of a Soviet espionage organization in the U. S. from 1934 to the time of his arrest in 1941 as an unregistered agent of a foreign principal. Florence Levy is the sister-in-law of Robert Miller and was dismissed from the State Department on June 23, 1947, for doubtful loyalty.

On April 13, 1946, Miller was in contact with Victor Perlo. Miss Bentley advised that in early 1944 she met the alleged head of the espionage group in Washington who was identified as Victor Perlo, also a dues-paying member of the Communist Party. Later Perlo supplied Miss Bentley with information concerning aircraft activities which he procured from the War Production Board.

On November 19, 1946, a reliable source advised that Miller had invited David and Edith Wahl to his home for dinner November 22, 1946. The source advised that Wahl was a member of the Communist Party underground movement in Washington, D. C.

A further review of Miller's file reflects that on August 23, 1946, Miller was interviewed by members of the Security Committee of the State Department in connection with his further employment. He was questioned concerning his connection with Communist activities which he denied and revealed nothing.

On April 15, 1947, Robert Miller was interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI. He admitted having been employed by the Spanish Loyalist Government News Service in Paris commencing in July, 1937. He was aware that Joseph Gregg, previously mentioned, and Jack Fahy, Miller's associates in the Hemisphere Corporation, were truck drivers for the Spanish Loyalist Forces in Spain. Miller could not recall meeting Jacob Golos, alias Jacob Daisin, and described as "ridiculous" the accusation that he had been a Soviet political agent. He admitted he and his wife knew Miss Bentley as "Helen" in New York, and she later visited them in Washington. He denied she had been given reports. He denied being a member of the Communist Party.

Copies of the FBI reports bearing the character "Internal Security - Hatch Act" were disseminated to the State Department. Thereafter, summaries of the investigation conducted in the "Nathan Gregory Silvermaster - Espionage - R" case were furnished intermittently from December 4, 1945, to November 27, 1946, to the White House, Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, White House, the Attorney General and to Mr. George Allen, Presidential Adviser, all of which contained information on Miller.

On November 25, 1945, the Director of the FBI met with the Secretary of State pursuant to the request of President Truman in connection with the allegations of Elizabeth Bentley. At this time the Secretary of State was furnished information concerning Miss Bentley's allegations and was advised

of the identity and employment in the U. S. Government of individuals alleged by Miss Bentley to have been engaged in Soviet espionage. Included in this group was Miller. Hereafter, from December 5, 1945, to November 25, 1946, summaries were furnished to the State Department, which included information on Miller and his activities and connections with the espionage ring.

(101-6611) - Summaries dated August 24, 1948  
65-56402

HWL:eas

H.W. LITTLE/ea

JEANNE H. TAYLOR

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

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

Possible Identification

This individual, possibly identical, is mentioned in the confidential investigative files of the U. S. Civil Service Commission. Their files reflected that one Jeanne Taylor, 42 Union Square, New York City, New York, registered and enrolled as a member of the Communist Party in 1935; that one Jeanne Taylor, 444 West 20th Street, New York City, New York, was a Communist petition signer #5399 for Amter and Santiago on September 14, 1941, Third Assembly District, Twenty-second Election District, New York County, New York, and that one Jeanne Taylor, 444 West 20th Street, was a Communist petition signer (Page 994) for candidate Carl Bradsky, September 14, 1941,  
(121-18092-20)

Jeanne Taylor resigned from the State Department in April, 1947 and was classified in the State Department as an undesirable employee.  
(100-359343-1)

No investigation was conducted by the Bureau on this individual.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

J. T. Harrington:mk  
*[Handwritten initials]*

[Redacted]

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

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

b6  
b7C

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly [Redacted]. No investigation has been conducted concerning her by the Bureau. Bureau files fail to reflect any information which can be identified with her other than information provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert S. Lee on a confidential basis wherein [Redacted] is referred to as "Case No. 16" and is described as [Redacted] although no information concerning Communist activity as alleged by Senator McCarthy is set forth. In this connection it is noted the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 28, 1948, there is set forth information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 16" (identified in Lee's material as [Redacted]) was not employed in the State Department, having resigned November 28, 1947. (62-39749-1109)

LCN:gmu

*gmu*

- Toison \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- See \_\_\_\_\_

[Redacted]

b6  
b7c

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 20: "This individual's file shows close connections with a number of Communist-front organizations. The individual, his sister, and his father [Redacted] The report, which is dated July 7, 1947, shows that [Redacted] This man is still in the Department as of today.

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

"Mr. MCCARTHY. I yield.

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

"Mr. MCCARTHY. I do not know. The information was not in the file. I was curious about that particular question myself. I was told that he had top-secret clearance. That would indicate that he was handling rather important documents. Frankly, what he was doing, I do not know. Let me check on the actual case, if I may, so that we may have any information on it that may be available. He is in the Office of Information and Educational Exchange. What he is doing there, I do not know."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently identical with [Redacted] [Redacted] Bureau main files fail to reflect that we have ever conducted an investigation of this person. Bureau files fail to reflect any disloyal information on his complete name other than the information provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948 by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on a confidential basis. In Lee's material, [Redacted] is referred to as "Case No. 20" and the information is set forth that he is an applicant for a position with the Office of Information and Educational Exchange. It is further indicated that "in an evaluation report of February 19, 1947 it is indicated that he had been an employment risk. He belonged to numerous 'liberal' organizations, such as the 'American League for Peace and Democracy' and the 'National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.' His associates say that he is a liberal, not 'Red' but rather unstable. He, his sister, and father [Redacted] A report dated July 7, 1947 shows that his [Redacted] As of September 29, 1947 he was still being investigated. In this instance, there appears to be no justification

b6  
b7c

- Tolson\_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd\_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg\_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin\_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols\_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen\_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy\_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo\_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr\_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_
- Nease\_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

SGRILEY:jpa/hsb

for continuing this investigation."

In connection with the above, it is noted that the Bureau also obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation on January 28, 1948, there appears information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 20" (identified in Lee's material as [redacted] was not employed by the State Department, being an "applicant under consideration." (62-39749-1109)

b6  
b7c

LEANDER BELL LOVELL

Allegation of Senator McCarthy

Case No. 28: "This individual has been with the State Department as a Foreign Service career officer since 1936. He is still holding a high salaried job with the Government, and to the best of my knowledge he is now stationed at Frankfurt, Germany. A report of June 23, 1947, indicates that he is a member of the Communist Party, that he attended the Youth International in Russia in 1935. While working in the State Department, the file indicates, he showed an intense interest in getting information on anything pertaining to Russia, including any figures and records, whether or not the information had any connection with his particular job. He had been discharged previously from the AFL Federation of Government Employees, on the charge of communistic activity. Both he and his wife have been members of a number of Communist-front organizations, and he has been very closely associated with known communist-front workers. The file discloses the interesting information that he is a member of the central group, whose task it is to spearhead an attack on J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. These fellows do not like J. Edgar Hoover at all. The man is a member of the central group which is the spearhead of such an attack. This is all in his file. He is still working for the Government."

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Leander Bell Lovell. The Bureau files reflect that we have conducted several investigations of this individual as follows:

1. Special Inquiry - The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense which was opened November 5, 1940 and completed in August, 1941.
2. Internal Security - Hatch Act which was opened October 21, 1941 and closed in January, 1942.
3. Special Inquiry - State Department (Greece-Turkey Aid Bill) which was instituted August 19, 1947 and completed September 20, 1947.
4. A Loyalty of Government Employees Investigation was instituted April 19, 1948 which was completed in May 1948, and reports transmitted to the Civil Service Commission May 27, 1948. A form letter dated August 19, 1949, received from the Civil Service Commission in connection with the LGE investigation of Lovell contained the notation "as loyee cleared on security."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DFXC:gmu  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*



5. On December 30, 1949, The Economic Cooperation Administration requested that we conduct an investigation of Lovell who was then employed by the Economic Cooperation Administration in a civilian capacity at Frankfurt, Germany. The investigation was completed and results transmitted to ECA on February 6, 1950. This investigation has since been reopened at the request of ECA for further inquiry and is currently pending.

Bureau files reflect that Leander Bell Lovell was reported as a member of a group in the American Federation of Government Employees Union, who tried to make the Union "Communistic," and that he was active in union demonstrations with individuals with Communist reputations. He was believed to be a Communist because of these associations and he reportedly attended a young Communist meeting in Moscow in 1935. Lovell signed a petition in 1934, protesting the suspension of a student who was an active Communist.

During the investigation of Lovell he was described by fellow employees in the Department of State as an impractical idealist with extremely liberal social ideas and radical political beliefs and it was also stated that Lovell was intensely interested in everything pertaining to Russia and had at various times sought confidential information concerning Russian affairs which was not believed pertinent to the type of work he was doing for the State Department. Lovell's name appeared on the active indices of the Washington Chapter of American Peace Mobilization, Washington Committee for Aid to China, United American Spanish Aid Committee and the Marian Anderson Citizens Committee. In 1942, Lovell denied under oath being a Communist or going to Moscow. Passport records failed to reveal a passport issued to Lovell for travel to Russia. He also denied belonging to the American Peace Mobilization or the Communist Party. (101-1086; 121-5012; 124-4205)

Lovell was employed by the Department of State from March 11, 1936 to September 30, 1940, at which time he resigned. He was employed in October, 1940, by the National Defense Council and later the Office of Emergency Management, being affiliated with the Office of Price Administration. Lovell resigned from the Office of Price Administration on May 3, 1947, due to a reduction in force order. Effective September 21, 1947, Lovell was appointed Commercial Specialist, Office of the United States Military Government, European Command, assigned to Germany. His date of termination from this employment is unknown and he is presently employed in a civilian capacity by the Economic Cooperation Administration in Frankfurt, Germany.

Summaries of information in Bureau files or investigative reports concerning Lovell have been furnished to the following individuals and

organizations: Sidney Sherwood, Assistant Secretary to the Council of National Defense; Wayne Coy, Office of Emergency Management; Matthew F. McGuire, Department of Justice; The Attorney General; The Department of State; Douglas W. McGregor, The Assistant to the Attorney General, The Intelligence Division of the Army, The Civil Service Commission, Congressman Taber of New York (oral), and the Economic Cooperation Administration.  
(101-1086; 121-5012; 124-4205)

No identifiable information applicable to Lovell was located relating to "the central group, whose task it is to spearhead an attack on J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI," mentioned by Senator McCarthy.

GERALD GRAZE

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 29."

"..... He is still working in Government work. Whether he is in the State Department or not I have not been able to find out, but I know he was in the State Department not too long ago, and he is still in the Government service..... This individual according to the State Department's own Security Division is a known Communist member. A file dated April 13, 1947 shows that he is a member of an underground Communist group in Washington, D. C. Both he and his wife have been in close touch with a functionary of the Soviet espionage ring in Washington, D. C. .... His brother who either was or is in the State Department was a member of the Jackson Heights, Long Island, New York Branch of the Communist Party. This file indicates that this man is not only very active as a Communist but is a very dangerous Communist."

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Gerald Graze who was the subject of a Loyalty investigation which was completed in May 1948. (121-1521)

He is also the subject of Bureau File 62-82869 reflecting a closed Security Matter - C; LOE investigation.

The basis for the Loyalty investigation was information furnished by Mrs. Kathryn Mills Perlo, former wife of Victor Perlo, that Gerald Graze and Ruth Gordon Graze were members of the Communist Party underground in Washington, D. C. during 1933 and 1934, at a time when Mrs. Perlo was also a member. This information was furnished in 1944.

The results of the Loyalty investigation were as follows:

Gerald Graze and Ruth Gordon were married in 1937. Gerald Graze did not move to Washington until 1935.

His brother, Stanley Graze (an employee of the State Department) was a member of the American Student Union while in college. Another brother, Cyril Graze, was a member of the Jackson Heights Branch of the Communist Party in New York. Gerald GRAZE and his wife, Ruth Gordon Graze were acquainted with Harry Magdoff and Victor Perlo, who were involved as principals in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York City in the early 1940's.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BTBird/ehw

It was developed that Gerald Crase had during 1947 associated closely with Ann Rosen, a Communist Party member for eight years and with Eleanor Cullen Balsek, who reportedly acted in the capacity of secretary of the underground group of the Communist Party in Washington, D. C. during part of 1946. (121-1521-15; 13)

It is noted Senator McCarthy states the subject "was in the State Department not too long ago." The Loyalty investigation, however, reflects no information to indicate that the subject has been employed by the State Department. From February 17, 1947 to April 1, 1947, he was, however, employed by the Office of Temporary Controls and it is possible that the OTC at that time might have been under the State Department. The Loyalty investigation reflected that Gerald Crase has been employed by the Federal Security Agency, United States Public Health Service from October, 1947 to the present time. It is believed that the facts relative to the subject's Communist connections might have appeared in Senator McCarthy's files by virtue of the fact that the subject's brother, Stanley Crase, was a State Department employee from October, 1945 to April, 1948. Stanley Crase was also the subject of a Loyalty investigation, reports of which also reflected Communist activities by his brother, Gerald Crase. Therefore, the facts relative to Gerald Crase would appear in the State Department files only for this reason and apparently not because Gerald Crase was himself a State Department employee.

Reports of the Loyalty investigation of Gerald Crase were furnished to the Civil Service Commission May 8, 1948, to the Attorney General October 8, 1948 and to the Honorable Matthew Connally, Secretary to the President, The White House, on January 19, 1949.

In January, 1949, the Federal Security Agency declared the subject ineligible on the grounds of loyalty to continue his employment with that Agency. He subsequently appealed and on March 25, 1949, in reporting the disposition of this case, the Loyalty Review Board advised the employee had been "retained-restored after appeal to Loyalty Review Board."

JOSEPH JOSEPHSON

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

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

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Joseph Josephson. Bureau files fail to reflect that Joseph Josephson was investigated by the Bureau. No disloyal information which can be identified with this individual is contained in the Bureau files, however, this individual is apparently identical with "Case Number 28" referred to in the material furnished to the Bureau on January 29, 1948 by former Special Agent Robert Lee on a confidential basis. It is noted in this connection that the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of the testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee concerning the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 28, 1948, there appears information indicating that the individual involved in "Case Number 28" (identified in Lee's material as Joseph Josephson) was not employed by the State Department by reason of reduction in force on December 7, 1947. The material provided by Lee shows only that a man by the same name from 1746 East 13th Street, Kings, New York City, signed a Communist petition in the State of New York in 1942. (62-39749-1109)

A loyalty form was received in May, 1948 reflecting that one Joseph Josephson, 5302 15th Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, filed an application with the Civil Service Commission. This loyalty form reflects that Joseph Josephson was employed by the State Department, Motion Picture Division, New York, New York from December, 1945, to December, 1947. This form fails to reflect that this Joseph Josephson ever resided at 1746 East 13th Street, Kings, New York. This form was returned on June 4, 1948, to the Civil Service Commission stamped "No Disloyal Data, FBI Files." (121-631649)

Bureau files reflect that one J. Josephson, a dentist, residing at 1746 East 13th Street, Brooklyn, New York, sent May Day greetings to

F.C.Zinck:tg

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

the Daily Worker in 1943. (100-3-4-A Daily Worker 5-28-43) The files also reflect that a J. Josephson, DDS, 1746 East 13th Street, Brooklyn, New York, corresponded with the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C. in 1949. (65-30092-3569) This individual may be identical with the above-mentioned petition signer.

LEWIS ROSS

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 11. This individual has been in Government service since July 1942. He was stationed in the Office of Information and Education of the State Department. The information was not in the file, but the hearings before the Un-American Activities Committee showed that he had signed a petition in New York in 1940 to the effect that he was a member of the Communist Party."

Possible Identification

A check of our files reveals that this individual is possibly identical with Lewis Ross. Bureau files fail to reflect that the above-captioned individual has ever been investigated by the Bureau and no identifiable information of a subversive nature concerning him is contained in the files of the Bureau other than information possibly referring to him contained in the material provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on a confidential basis. In Lee's material, Lewis Ross is identified as "Case No. 29" and information is set forth to the effect that "this employee has been with the Government since July, 1942. The un-American Activities Committee records show that a person with the same name as the subject resided in New York City and signed a Communist Party election petition in New York in 1940. A memorandum furnishing this information is dated October 28, 1946. Nevertheless, to date (September 29, 1947) no effort to check out this information has been made."

In connection with the above, the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 26, 1948, there is set forth information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 29" was employed by the State Department having been "approved." (62-39719-2109)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Lynn*  
OJAuerswald; tg; hmm

ROBERT ROSS

Allegations of Senator McCarthy

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

Possible Identification

A review of Bureau files indicates that the individual referred to in the above quotation by Senator McCarthy is apparently Robert Ross, aka. Robert Rosenfeld.

The Bureau's records reflect that an investigation of this individual was conducted as a Special Inquiry for the State Department under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America). The request for this investigation was received from the State Department on May 15, 1948, and the results were furnished to the State Department on July 15, 1948.

The Bureau's investigation reflected that Robert Ross was born Robert Rosenfeld May 27, 1920, in Brooklyn, New York, and that his name was legally changed to Robert Ross on October 5, 1942. Ross was employed July 1, 1942, by the Office of War Information, New York City, as a Junior Editorial Assistant; was transferred to the Department of State on January 1, 1946, and was serving as Acting Chief, Radio Program Branch, International Broadcasting Division of the State Department, New York City, as of July 15, 1948.

J. D. JAMIESON:jgh

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



The indices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that a Robert Ross was a Section Organizer for the Communist Party in the 18th Assembly District, Kings County. The source of this information was given as the February 19, 1941, issue of the "Daily Worker" page 5. Page 5 of this issue of the "Daily Worker" contains a reprint of a telegram received by Earl Browder protesting the decision of the United States Supreme Court on February 17, 1941, which resulted in Browder being sentenced to a four year prison term. This telegram was signed by Robert Ross as Section Organizer for the Section Committee, 18th Assembly District, Kings County.

Investigation by the New York Field Division revealed that the subject of this case has always resided in the 13th Assembly District, Kings County, New York, which is the 15th Congressional District of New York. No other information was developed by which it can be definitely proven whether the Robert Ross mentioned in the "Daily Worker" is or is not identical with the Robert Ross employed by the State Department. (123-977)

Information contained in the Bureau's files on Robert Ross was disseminated only to Mr. James T. Lewis, Division of Foreign Activity Correlation, Department of State, 515 22nd Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

The Bureau's file on Robert Ross indicates that he was still employed by the Department of State as of July 15, 1948.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

HUBMAN, ISROEL

Allocation by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 73. This man has been in the Government service since July 1942. The picture is pretty much the same as in the last case, except that he is in a high-salaried position at the present time in the Office of Information and Education. This man, I know definitely, is in the Office of Information and Education of the State Department. He signed an affidavit in 1940 that he was a member of the Communist Party. He has been in the Government service since 1942. Apparently no check was made on him as to his other Communist activities, and I have no further information about him.

Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau's files indicates that the individual mentioned by the Senator is possibly identical with captioned subject of a Voice of America investigation.

Isroel Siegel, since October, 1941, has been employed as Chief Multiplex Operator, State Department, New York, New York. The FBI Laboratory identified subject's father, Isaac Siegel, as the signer of a Communist Party nominating petition in 1942. Fellow employees stated subject was a Communist Party line follower. One said that Siegel had knowledge that one of the employees he supervised was a Communist. Another fellow employee said that Siegel had stated that one of Siegel's references was a Communist. No record of any change in Siegel's employment with the State Department appears in the Bureau's files. Copies of Voice of America reports were transmitted to the State Department on July 20, December 6, and December 8, 1948. Copies of reports were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission August 2, 1948 and May 25, 1949. (100-915)

P. F. Dougherty:vab

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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A4

ELIA MORRIS MONTAGUE

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 34. This individual was born in Russia in 1896, and became a naturalized United States citizen in 1938. From July, 1934 to April, 1940, he worked for Astorg Trading Corporation.... This man worked for that corporation until 1940. He worked with the Maritime Union from June to August, 1941, was with the OI from February, 1945 to February, 1946, then was transferred to the State Department. His file shows that he has very close connection with the Communist espionage agents."  
"... I frankly do not know whether he is still in the State Department or not...."

Possible Identification

A review of Bureau files indicates that case No. 34 is apparently identical with Elia Morris Montague. This individual was investigated by the Bureau under the Loyalty Program during the early portion of 1948. She was then an employee of the Office of Information and Education of the State Department. The investigation verified her date and place of birth as set forth above and her former employment with the Astorg Trading Corporation from 1934 to 1941, the National Maritime Union in 1941 and with the Office of War Information from 1945 to 1946. The investigation further reflected that her husband was at one time an employee of the Soviet Purchasing Commission. Unsubstantiated rumors which were incapable of being corroborated through extensive investigation indicated that her husband had possibly at one time written an article or articles for the "Daily Worker" and one unsubstantiated allegation in the nature of a rumor, which extensive investigation could not corroborate, indicated that her husband was a Communist. The investigation otherwise failed to substantiate or indicate any Communist Party membership on the part of the employee, any Communist Party activity, or any contact with Soviet espionage agents.

The reports prepared in the loyalty case were forwarded to the Civil Service Commission on March 27, 1948, and on May 19, 1948, the same reports were forwarded to the State Department inasmuch as the individual was then an applicant for a position with the Voice of America. On August 17, 1949, the Civil Service Commission indicated by its form letter that the employee had been found "eligible on loyalty." Bureau files do not indicate that this individual has terminated her Government employment. (121-1391; 123-460)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
  - Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
  - Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
  - Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
  - Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
  - Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
  - Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
  - Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
  - Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
  - Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
  - Nease \_\_\_\_\_
  - Gandy \_\_\_\_\_
- H. THOMSEN:GAS:esb:jw

OLGA F. OSNATCH

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case #37

"This individual has been in the United States since 1930 and was employed by the Office of Information and Education on April 22, 1947. He worked for the Russian Embassy in Turkey for three years. From 1944 to 1947 he was with a Russian welfare society. This individual is a very close associate of a known Communist now also with the Voice of America broadcast. The note says that this individual is still with the Voice of America broadcast."

Possible Identifications:

The Bureau files reflect an investigation was conducted concerning this individual under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America) in May and June 1948.

Copies of reports in instant case were sent to the Department of State on June 24, 1948.

Osnatch was employed in Constantinople, Turkey at the former Russian Embassy about 1921 as a welfare worker to care for refugees; by the Russian Children's Welfare Society, New York City as a social worker 1944 - 1947; by the International Broadcast Division (Russian Division), Department of State, since 1947 to May 1948.

Bureau files do not show whether she is presently employed by the Department of State.

The investigation did not reflect any derogatory information.

123-579

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

J.T. Harrington:rma:dvw:ah

ARTHUR MILTON KAUFMAN

Allegations of Senator McCarthy

\*Case Number 38: This individual is employed in a very responsible position in the Broadcasting Division of the Voice of America. As early as December 10, 1946, investigation by the State Department's security agency showed that this man was a fanatical Communist, that he was anticapitalistic, and definitely followed the Communist Party line. In this case there were reports from two different Government investigative agencies. Another Government investigative agency advised that a reliable informant reported that a well-known Communist in Newark, New Jersey, gave him the unqualified information that this individual was a paid-up fellow party member. While acting as a newspaper reporter prior to his present employment with the Voice of America broadcast he was reported by his superiors to have colored his news reports with Communist theory, and did not give complete and unbiased coverage to such reports. That is important because it is this individual who is now handing out news reports on the Voice of America program. A very close friend of this individual and his brother stated that both are definitely communist."

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is Arthur Milton Kaufman.

The Bureau files reflect that a loyalty investigation was conducted from February 14, 1948, to March 18, 1948, concerning Arthur Milton Kaufman, Policy Information Specialist, Department of State, whose employment with the Department of State was indicated as having begun in May, 1943. ~~(101-1614)~~

This investigation disclosed that on May 3, 1945, Confidential Informant  of known reliability, advised that Joe Pearlman whom he described as Membership Director of the Communist Party of Hudson County, New Jersey, had told him that Kaufman was once a Party member. The same information was furnished by the Department of State as an addendum to Kaufman's loyalty form, which information was indicated as having been developed during the course of an investigation of Kaufman by the Chief

b7D

DWF:mp:mod:ea1

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Surf*

Special Agent of the Department of State. Kaufman, who formerly worked as a reporter in Newark, New Jersey, was an officer of the Newark Chapter of the American Newspaper Guild and was active in several American Newspaper Guild strikes against two New Jersey newspapers during the 1930s. Editors of the New Jersey newspapers involved in these strikes described Kaufman as a Communist but were unable to furnish evidence of such connections. A former President of the Newark Chapter of the American Newspaper Guild advised that during these strikes, a radical or leftist faction developed within the Guild which faction was aided immeasurably by Communist Party members from New York City. This individual further informed that while Kaufman associated with, voted for, and took an active part in the affairs of this leftist faction of the Guild which followed the Communist Party line, he had no definite knowledge of Communist Party membership on the part of Kaufman. Mr. Herman Lazarus, a Bayonne, New Jersey publisher, stated that Arthur Kaufman and his brother Sam Kaufman, both were believed by him to be connected with the Communist Party but he had no direct evidence to support this belief. Arthur Kaufman admitted membership in the United Public Workers of America, CIO. While several former fellow employees and acquaintances in New York City described Kaufman as a "liberal thinker" they regarded him as loyal. Arthur Kaufman's wife Beatrice, was listed as a member of the League of Women Shoppers, Newark, New Jersey.

The results of the loyalty investigation concerning Arthur Milton Kaufman were furnished to the Civil Service Commission under date of March 18, 1948 and under date of February 4, 1949, the Civil Service Commission advised that Kaufman was retained in his position. The Department of State and Alexander M. Campbell, Assistant Attorney General, were furnished the results of this loyalty investigation under dates of June 14, 1948 and March 24, 1949, respectively.

~~(100-103-268)~~  
Under date of November 28, 1949, Alexander M. Campbell advised that on the basis of available evidence, prosecution of Arthur Milton Kaufman was not warranted.

According to this individual's file, he was employed as Radio Information Specialist (Shift Chief), OII, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State, as of November 9, 1949.

MAX ABRAHAM VOLIN

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 39. This individual was appointed on January 2, 1947, as an economic analyst in Research and Intelligence. Again we find the old pattern back in Intelligence. He had been employed by the Soviet Purchasing Commission for a period from 1932 to 1945. In other words, he worked for the Soviet Purchasing Commission for 13 years. It was established by the State Department's own investigator that this individual could not have qualified for a position with the Soviet Purchasing Commission unless he were a member of the Communist Party. Despite this fact, this individual was given a job in Intelligence; which, as may have been noted, seems to be a favored spot for the Communists.

"As to this individual, I frankly do not know whether he is now in the State Department or not."

Possible Identification

Volin is apparently identical with the person mentioned by Senator McCarthy. He was the subject of a loyalty investigation which was completed by the Bureau in March, 1948 at which time reports were sent to the Civil Service Commission.

This investigation disclosed that Volin was born in Germany, emigrated to the United States in 1921 and was naturalized in Detroit, Michigan in 1929. He was employed as an interpreter by agencies and affiliates of the Soviet Government from 1932 to 1945, including "Autostroy," Dearborn, Michigan, Commissariat of Medium Machine Building Industries, Detroit, Michigan and the Soviet Government Purchasing Commission, Washington, D. C. Victor Kravchenko, a former Amtorg official, stated that I. Karzov, who was the head of one of the bureaus of the Soviet Purchasing Commission which embraced "Autostroy" and "Medium Machine Industries" was in charge of economic espionage for the USSR in the United States. Kravchenko said that Volin could never have been promoted to Karzov's staff without having been either a Communist Party member or a very strong sympathizer. Another former Amtorg employee stated that he knew Volin when the latter worked at "Autostroy" and that he was sure Volin was a Communist Party member; furthermore, that Volin must have enjoyed the complete confidence of his superior, Karzov, who was believed by the informant to have been an OGPU agent.

Volin was employed as an economic analyst by the U. S. Department of Commerce from October 24, 1945 to December 4, 1946 when he was released due to a reduction in force. He was employed as a research analyst from January 2, 1947 to February 22, 1948 and as an economist from the latter date until his

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D. M. DROBNI: ak; mem

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resignation, both in the Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State.

On April 28, 1948, Bob Lee advised Mr. Gordon Nease that Congressman Taber was contemplating sending a letter to the State Department inquiring as to why no action had been taken concerning four of their employees, including Max Volin, who were of unsavory background and who had been mentioned in Lee's investigative report on the State Department. Lee was advised that a report of a loyalty investigation of Volin containing disloyal data had been forwarded to the Civil Service Commission.

On September 21, 1948, the Loyalty Review Board advised that Volin had resigned or was otherwise separated from Federal service. (121-1745)

On September 29, 1949, the Washington Field Office was instructed to institute an espionage investigation of Volin. This case is presently in pending status. No evidence of espionage activity has been developed thus far. (65-58825)

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ESTELLE GORDON

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case # 40

"is that of another individual in Research, in the State Department since 1947. I do not have too much information on this, except the general statement by the agency that there is nothing in the files to disprove his communistic connections. He is still with the Government."

Possible Identification:

This individual is possibly Miss Estelle Gordon who, early in 1943, was known to be employed in the Program Section, Requirements Branch, Signal Corps, in Washington, D. C., and who in November, 1945, was one of several individuals recommended for transfer to the Department of State by the Army, Navy Liquidation Commission. (100-205865-1) (62-80355-4)

The Bureau files reflect no investigation was conducted concerning this individual.

This individual is possibly identical with the individual referred to as "Case No. 45" in the material provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, on a confidential basis by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee, although very few facts are set forth in Senator McCarthy's allegation upon which an identification could be based. Lee's material identified "Case No. 45" as Estella Gordon and set forth information that she had been a Correspondence Research Clerk in the Division of Public Liaison since March, 1947. She was formerly with the Office of Foreign Liquidation Committee and with the War Department. It was further indicated there were no indications in the file (apparently State Department file) that any investigation has been conducted regarding her background, however, information was received on October 9, 1947, from a former supervisor in the War Department to the effect that she is a Communist. It was further indicated that the file was reopened on the basis of this information, but no report was submitted as of October 31, 1947.

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In connection with the above, the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriations Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, there is set forth information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 45" (identified in Lee's material as Estella Gordon) was employed by the State Department "pending further investigation." (62-39749-1109)

W. F. WOODS:rma:js

DANIEL FRANKS MARGOLIES

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 41 is of an individual born in 1910, in Cleveland, Ohio, appointed to a high position with the State Department drawing the sum of \$8,478.75 as an Assistant Chief in the Division of Occupied Areas. He is still in a high-paid position in the State Department. Investigation by the State Department's own Security Agency disclosed that most of his close associates and friends have records as fellow travelers and Communists. He admitted having contributed money to a Communist-front organization.

"There is a memorandum in the file to the effect that Joe Panuch had made considerable efforts to get this man out of the State Department. He was unsuccessful, however, and incidentally, the information I get--and this is not so much from the files--is that this man Panuch tried to do a job of housecleaning and was given somewhat of a free hand under Jimmy Byrnes in starting to accomplish the job. However, when Byrnes left and Marshall took over--Senators will recall Acheson was then Under Secretary--the first official act of General Marshall was to discharge the man, Panuch. Obviously, General Marshall did not know anything about the situation. Some one of the underlings said, 'Get rid of this man.' It would seem to be only the logical thing that he would not, as his first official act, discharge a man, unless the Under Secretary said, 'Get rid of him;' which is rather unusual. Here is one man who had tried to do the job of housecleaning and the ax falls."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Daniel Franks Margolies. Bureau files disclose that Margolies was investigated under the Hatch Act in 1942. Subsequently a Loyalty Investigation was initiated in 1948 and information developed during the Hatch Act investigation was utilized and reported in the Loyalty case. The investigation disclosed he was born April 12, 1910, at Cleveland, Ohio. Margolies transferred from the Department of Interior on January 10, 1947, to Assistant Chief, Office of Economic Security Controls, Production and Labor Section, Department of State, Washington, D. C., which position is presently designated as Chief, Production and Labor Section, Division of Occupied Areas, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State.

Margolies' Loyalty Form shows affiliation with the American League for Peace and Democracy and the National Lawyers Guild. During a Hatch Act interview on June 24, 1942, Margolies admitted to Bureau Agents that he was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy and that he had made contributions to the organization which amounted to less than \$10.00.

An informant advised that Margolies chose friends in 1937, who were either party members or extremely sympathetic to Communism and named the friends as Charles Flato, Charles Kramer, John J. Abt and Ben Allen. Flato and Kramer were involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington and New York in the early 1940's and

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R. E. Rasmussen:cg:zg

R. E.

were Communist Party members. Abt was also involved in the above-mentioned espionage conspiracy and was a member of the Communist underground in Washington, D. C., in 1936 and 1937. Ben Allen is an admitted Communist Party member and worked with Margolies on the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Government Employees, Local 205.

A reliable informant advised Margolies was an intimate friend of one Elizabeth Hale and resided with her in an apartment where meetings were held which the informant characterized as Communistic. Margolies was also described as a close friend and associate of Sol Rabkin, a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, American League for Peace and Democracy and the Washington Bookshop Association.

Another reliable informant advised Margolies was a close friend of Eleanor Nelson while connected with the American Federation of Government Employees. Eleanor Nelson has been described as a contact between the Communist Party movement in Washington, D. C., and the National Communist Party headquarters in New York City.

Informants also advised Margolies was friendly with Mr. and Mrs. Mortimer Wolfe. Mortimer Wolfe was an associate of individuals involved in Soviet espionage conspiracy in 1940, and his wife, Ann, was a member of several Communist front organizations. In 1947, employee and his wife were close social acquaintances of Allen and Erna Rosenberg and Harold and Faye Glasser. Rosenberg and Glasser were involved in the Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington during 1940, and were associates of known Communists and Russian sympathizers.

Investigative reports sent to CSC March 3, 1948, and to the Department February 28, 1949. The Civil Service Commission advised by letter dated July 27, 1949, that Margolies had been "retained" and the Department advised by letter dated May 9, 1949, that no criminal prosecution was contemplated.

The American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the Washington Bookshop Association have been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835, by the Attorney General. The National Lawyers Guild has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Bureau file concerning Margolies indicates he is still employed by the State Department.

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GOTTFRIED THOMAS MANN

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case #42

"This individual came to the United States in 1940, and was naturalized in Alabama in 1943. He returned to Germany as a civilian employee of the War Department in November, 1946. He was appointed by the State Department to one of our intelligence departments. Both his brother and sister are listed as possible agents of the Comintern, and are active in Communist circles. There was evidence recommending dismissal. The report is that the evidence is sufficient to recommend dismissal. There is no information that indicates anything other than close Communist connections. Despite this fact, this man was never fired, but finally resigned in June, 1947."

Possible Identification:

This individual is apparently Gottfried Thomas Mann. No investigation of him has been conducted by the Bureau.

According to information in Bureau files Gottfried Thomas Mann, born March 27, 1909, in Munich, Germany, applied in the spring of 1942 to the American Consulate General, at Vancouver, B. C., Canada, for an Immigration Visa to enter the United States as a permanent resident. He was scheduled to reside with his parents, Thomas and Katharina Mann at Pacific Palisades, California. On May 16, 1942, the Interdepartmental Visa Committee ruled unfavorably on Mann's application because he was excluded as an alien enemy by reason of his birth in Germany and because of derogatory information concerning one of the sponsors who had Communist connections. (40-28439)

The files further reflect that Gottfried Thomas Mann is the brother of Erika Julia Hedwig Auden, also known as Erika Mann, and Klaus Henrich Thomas Mann. It is further reflected in Bureau files that according to information received from ONI in 1945, Erika Auden was reported to be an active agent of the Comintern and reportedly was active in Berlin before Hitler came into power. Her brother, Klaus Mann, was allegedly Stalin's agent in Paris and in 1941, was editor of the publication, "Decision," supposedly anti-Nazi, but reportedly an actual Communist Party publication. (65-17395-32)

This individual is apparently identical with "Case #47" referred to in the material furnished to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on a confidential basis setting forth substantially the same information as alleged by Senator McCarthy. It is noted in this

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connection that the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee concerning the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, there appears information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case #47" (identified in Lee's material as Gottfried Thomas Mann) was not employed by the State Department, having resigned May 26, 1947. (62-39749-1109.)

SAM FISHBACK  
aka Sam Fishback

Allegation By Senator McCarthy

"Case #43 is that of an individual who is a research analyst in the Division of Research for the Far East. He was recommended for the position by an individual who was listed by the FBI as a principal in a Soviet Espionage Case. The record indicates he is running very closely with a pack of Communists. This again is the old pattern - one Communist gets into a department, and he recommends another. In this case the FBI said the man who was trying to get him in is a principal in a Soviet espionage case."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Sam Fishback aka Sam Fishback.

Bureau records reflect that Sam Fishback aka Sam Fishback, Research Analyst, Division of Research for the Far East, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C. was investigated under Executive Order 9835 at the request of the State Department from March to May, 1948.

The investigation disclosed that Fishback by his own admission attended occasional meetings of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Student Union. Further that Sam Fishback, 1840 Washington Avenue, New York City, sent a post card to District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey in 1942 protesting the perjury prosecution and conviction of Morris U. Schappes, a member of the Communist Party and a professor at College of the City of New York. Schappes in 1941 was convicted of perjury in connection with the Hays Goudart Committee investigation of Communist activities in New York Schools.

Two former fellow employees in the Post Office Department, New York City, who furnished signed statements advised that Fishback frequently discussed Communism and defended Russia, always spoke in favor of Communism and ridiculed anyone who was against anything Russia did or said. A former neighbor advised in a signed statement that Bella Fishback, sister of Sam, had told the neighbor that her brother, Sam Fishback, is a Communist.

Records of College of the City of New York reflect that Sam Fishback, 1830 Washington Avenue, Bronx, signed a petition for approval of the American Student Union Charter in the Spring of 1936. These records have since been destroyed.

E. F. MINOUX:pey:ees

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John L. Afree, former Director of the Rand School of Social Science in New York City, advised the State Department that Fishback had been described to him as one of a bunch of Trotskyites and that Fishback followed the Communist Party line.

The American League Against War and Fascism and the Communist Party have been declared by the Attorney General to come within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Reports sent to Civil Service Commission May 13, 1948.

Loyalty Review Board advised on September 20, 1948 that Fishback had been "Retained".

Source:

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Bureau files do not reflect that Fishback was recommended for a position by a principal in a Soviet Espionage case as alleged by Senator McCarthy.

WILLIAM D. CARTER

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 44. This is a rather interesting case of an individual who was sent to Paris to represent the State Department. A note dated September 15, 1947, listed him as cleared for Unesco placement. He was described in reports by various witnesses as interested in communism and by his room mate at the International House as a Communist. He pals around with a friend of two individuals known to be either Communists or fellow travelers. There is something in his file which I think is rather interesting. A note addressed to 'David' and signed 'M' inquires as to whether there is danger of this individual having another mental breakdown, which he had at one time in the past. While I do not have the exact wording of the note it, in effect, says get rid of this man, otherwise he may break and cause embarrassment if Congress gets ahold of him. The note is contained in the man's private file. It is a pencil note. Reading such stuff as this, one is not surprised at the President's action in signing the order, lowering the curtain."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently identical with William Draper Carter who was investigated by the Bureau in 1942 as an employee of the Office of the Coordinator of Information. Carter was a member of the League of American Writers. He had formerly resided at International House, New York City. An official at International House characterized Carter's political views as "to the left of the middle" and stated that he was an ardent New Dealer. This official added, however, that Carter could not be classified as a Communist or as a radical. Another official at International House stated that Carter's political views were those of the left-winger but that he was not radical and certainly was not Communist. (77-24311-4)

William D. Carter was employed for one year as a private secretary to his father Edward C. Carter, Director of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Edward C. Carter was on the Executive Council of the American Russian Institute and was head of Russian War Relief, Incorporated. William Carter's mother was Chairman of the China Aid Council. (77-24311-4)

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William Carter had a twin brother who committed suicide in New York City around 1934. This incident caused a very serious reaction on the part of William Carter and, thereafter, for a period of five years he was under the care of a psychiatrist and was finally declared to be completely recovered in 1939. (77-24311-4)

Copies of the reports in this investigation were furnished to the Office of the Coordinator of Information in May and June, 1942. Copies of the same reports were furnished to the Office for Emergency Management in October, 1942.

*CHW*



This individual is apparently identical with William D. Carter who is described in material provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on a confidential basis as "Case No. 50". Information set forth therein is substantially the same as alleged by Senator McCarthy. It is noted in this connection that the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriations Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, there is set forth information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 50" (identified in Lee's material as William D. Carter) was not employed by the State Department having been terminated by reduction in force July 26, 1947. (62-39749-1109)

**NORMAN THEODORE NESS**

**Allegations by Senator McCarthy:**

"Case No. 45 is the case of an individual who was a ranking official in the Office of Financial Development Policy. He was appointed in August, 1946. Investigation indicates that he was very closely tied up with at least three individuals who have been named as Communists. He also recommended for appointment an individual very closely tied up with a Communist, who has been named as an espionage agent. So far as I can discover, this man was never discharged, but apparently resigned later, whether to take other government employment or private employment, I do not know."

**Possible Identification:**

This individual possibly is identical with Norman Theodore Ness since Ness was employed as Director of the Office of Finance and Development Policy, Department of State, August 14, 1946, and is reported to have associated with Harry Dexter White and Frank Coe, both of whom were reportedly engaged in Soviet espionage activities in the early 1940's.

A Loyalty of Government Employees investigation was conducted concerning Norman Theodore Ness in January, 1948. Ness was born at Norcross, Minnesota, December 5, 1903. This investigation was based on a letter from Mr. Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Controls, State Department, in December, 1947, advising that Ness has been actively associated, because of his previous employment at the Treasury Department, with Harry Dexter White and Frank Coe. Persons interviewed stated that Ness was not acquainted with Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of Treasury, prior to his employment with Treasury in September, 1942; that he was one of two persons selected by White who were not "liberals"; that he was employed by the Treasury Department because of his reputation as an expert on Latin American economics, and that his association with White and other employees of the Treasury Department was a result of such employment only. All persons interviewed during this investigation recommended Ness highly as a loyal citizen, except one person who stated that he associated in 1937 with persons of Marxist tendencies while at the University of California. Four copies of the results of the Loyalty investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission March 1, 1948. The Loyalty Review Board indicated September 20, 1948, that Ness was "retained."

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R. L. MILLARD:slm/ejj

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WILLIAM TREADWELL STONE

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 46 is the case of a man who holds a high position in the State Department. He had been affiliated with the magazine Amerasia from May 1937 to November 1941. This magazine consistently followed the Communist Party line. It was under the direction of Philip Jaffe and William Vanderbilt Field. Field has been a leading Communist and was one of the heads of the American Peace Mobilization, which the President and the Secretary of State publicly labeled as a tool of communism. Jaffe, as Senators will recall, was convicted and fined in connection with the John Service incident. It will be recalled that the FBI picked up Service for having delivered secret State Department documents to Amerasia. The State Department files show that this individual has been working very closely with these two men. On March 22, 1946, the State Department's own security agency recommended as follows:

"It is recommended that action be instituted to terminate subject's service with the State Department. It is suggested to achieve this purpose that an appropriate officer of the Department should inform him that his continued presence in the Department is embarrassing to the Department and that he be given an opportunity to resign. If he should not resign voluntarily, action should be instituted under Civil Service Rule No. 12, to terminate his services with the Department.

"The Department, however, took no action upon this recommendation.

"After that recommendation, the files show that this individual requested a fellow traveler to seek a position with the Board of Economic Warfare. The file further shows that this individual has been visited on several occasions by an alien fellow traveler. He has also recommended two former employees of the Amerasia Editorial Board to positions with the State Department. In other words, Mr. President, the usual tactics of getting into an important position and then bringing in fellow Communists.

"A report dated August 18, 1947, recorded an interview with a former member of the Editorial Board of Amerasia who labeled this individual as 'far to the left—swfully close to a fellow traveler.' This individual was a subscriber to the Daily Worker. The file names a Communist Party member who has twice worked for this individual. The Biographical Register of the State Department shows him to be still in a position of importance there."

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*Handwritten initials*

### Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau's files indicates that this individual is apparently identical with William Treadwell Stone, who, as of May 27, 1949, was employed as Director of the Office of Information and Educational Exchange, Department of State.

The Bureau's records reflect that a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation together with a Voice of America investigation was conducted concerning William Treadwell Stone which developed the following information.

From 1924 to 1941 Stone was connected with Foreign Policy Association, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York City. In January, 1927 the Foreign Policy Association was reported to have been sponsored in its inception by the American Civil Liberties Union and at that time favored United States recognition of the USSR. In June, 1927 the Director of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State, advised that the Foreign Policy Association was considered to be pro-Soviet in its views and propaganda. (62-80315-5 pg 2)

In October, 1945 a reliable informant advised that Ruth S. Rifkin, who had been employed as a secretary by Stone and others at the Foreign Policy Association, had transferred her membership in the Communist Party from the Peter Stuyvesant Club, New York City, to the undercover "Government Group" in Washington, D. C. Ruth Rifkin secured employment with the Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Department of State, May, 1943 and was transferred to the Foreign Economic Administration when this administration was established. William Treadwell Stone was at this time employed as Assistant Director of the Foreign Economic Administration. Ruth Rifkin is presently employed by the National Lawyers Guild in Washington, D. C. (62-80315-4 pg 4; 121-10973-14 pg 3)

In February, 1942 William Treadwell Stone was listed as a reference on an application filed with the Foreign Economic Administration, Department of State, by Just Lunning. Lunning was reliably reported to have been a known contact of numerous subjects in the Gregory Case and was later discharged from a responsible position at the Department of State. (62-80315-3)

In 1937 Stone became a member of the original Editorial Board of "Amoresia" of which magazine Frederick Vanderbilt Field was Chairman and Philip Jacob Jaffe, Editor. In 1946 Jaffe was indicted and fined for the possession of secret State Department documents which had been delivered to him by John Service, an employee of the Department of State. In 1941

Frederick Vanderbilt Field was head of the American Peace Mobilization and at the present time, according to reliable informants, is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and a writer for the Daily Worker. (121-10973-14 pg 6; 62-80315-8)

On November 19, 1939, while Stone was employed as the Washington Correspondent of the Foreign Policy Association, he was visited by Adam Von Trott Zu Zols, a German alien who was suspected of engaging in German espionage and Communist activity. (121-10973-14 pg 2)

During an interview with Clinton Hartley Grattan, conducted by special agents of the Bureau in connection with a Hatch Act investigation, Grattan advised that he had been asked by Stone to take a position under him with the Board of Economic Warfare, Department of State. The records of the HCUA reflected that Grattan had written an article for "Fight" magazine, the official publication of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and was a contributor to and an advisory editor of the magazine "Champion," the official organ of the Young Communist League. Stone, in a subsequent interview, stated that he considered Grattan a "liberal writer" but definitely not a "radical." (121-10973-14 pg 7)

An informant of known reliability advised in December, 1945, that Stone was a friend of Maurice Halperin. This informant reported that Halperin was known to have been in contact with several persons suspected of engaging in Soviet espionage activities in the late 1930's and early 1940's in Washington, D. C. and New York City. (121-10973-14 pg 2)

A reliable informant advised that William T. Stone, Room 1359, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., was a subscriber to the Daily Worker in 1941. According to the Biograph Encyclopedia of the World, Stone was Director of the Washington Bureau, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., from 1933 to 1941. The Washington offices of the Foreign Policy Association are located in the National Press Building. (100-3-60-75-163)

Copies of Loyalty of Government Employees reports concerning Stone were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission on July 30, 1948, and to the Office of Special Investigations, Department of the Air Force on April 7, 1949.

The Bureau file reflects that as of May 27, 1949, Stone was still employed as Director, Office of Information and Educational Exchange, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

DR. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 47. This individual was employed in March 1944, as Division Assistant in the Division of Internal Security. The House Un-American Activities Committee advised on August 18, 1947, that an admitted former Communist Party member was formerly associated with this individual in Communist activities in Washington, D. C. This individual's husband admitted having been a member of the Communist Party. The husband now has a highly confidential position with the Navy Department. The file indicates that this individual has been associated with a group of known Communists.

"Keep in mind, Mr. President, that she was given a job in the Division of Internal Security."

"A report dated July 16, 1947, states that in 1941 a Senate investigating committee had found that both this individual and her husband were members of the Communist Party. A report dated September 15, 1947, by a Government investigative agency, advised that a reliable informant reported this individual as a Communist, and that she has been recently contacting a member of the Soviet espionage ring. This individual is still in a highly paid job in the State Department."

Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau's files indicates this individual is apparently identical with Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer. The Bureau's records reflect that a loyalty investigation was conducted on this individual in 1948.

According to information developed during the course of this investigation, Dr. Brunauer was never known to be a member of the Communist Party. Karl B. Frank, who admitted he had been a Communist in Germany during the 1920's but broke away from the Communists in 1929 and "has been very anti-Communist since," advised that he had been connected with groups with which Dr. Brunauer had also been associated during the 1930's. On the basis of his association with her, Frank stated that he believed her actions were "motivated by strong anti-Nazi feelings rather than any pro-Russian ones."

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Dr. Joseph B. Matthews, former research director for the Dies Committee, advised that he never had any positive information that Dr. Brunauer was a Communist Party member. According to Matthews, Stephen Brunauer, husband of the captioned individual, informed him in 1928 that he was a member of the Communist Party, and Matthews "assumed that she was also a member in view of her close association with Stephen Brunauer."

It is to be noted that on February 15, 1941, the Bureau received information from Dr. Matthews that Stephen Brunauer and his wife were Communist Party members. (100-13835-1)

Dr. Matthews stated that both of the Brunauers were members of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. This organization was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front organization in 1940 and in 1944.

Dr. Matthews also stated that Dr. Brunauer, while secretary of the American Association of University Women, was "instrumental in committing the Association to the support of various Communist front enterprises."

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflected that the proceedings of the American Youth Congress held July 1 through 5, 1939, in New York City indicated Dr. Brunauer as a signer of a Call to the Congress of Youth. The American Youth Congress has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

A confidential informant of known reliability advised that the name of Dr. Esther Brunauer, American Association of University Women, appeared on the active indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. The Washington Committee for Democratic Action has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer was employed by the Department of State as a specialist on International Organization in March, 1944. Her position in 1948 was that of Assistant Director for Policy Liaison, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State.

In 1948 Stephen Brunauer was employed at the Navy Bureau Ordnance as chief technical administrator in the Explosives Research and Development Section. (116-2863-41)

Copies of the reports reflecting the results of the loyalty investigation on Dr. Brunauer were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on March 2, 1948, and to the Department on March 9, 1949.

By letter dated February 4, 1949, from Seth W. Richardson, chairman, Loyalty Review Board, U. S. Civil Service Commission, the disposition reflected was "retained."

(Unless otherwise indicated, source is

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ROBERT WARREN BARNETT

PATRICIA GLOVER BARNETT

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Cases Nos. 48 and 49. One of these individuals is in the State Department in the Division of Occupied Areas. The wife is with the State Department in the Division of Research and Intelligence. The file shows that both the husband and wife are known to be close associates of individuals linked with Soviet espionage activities. Nevertheless, the wife was approved for top-secret material on the 11th of February 1947. The order approving her is rather unusual, in that it states, in effect, that the reason for her being approved for top secret material was that there was insufficient information to warrant her discharge on grounds of disloyalty."

Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau files indicates that these individuals apparently are identical with Robert Warren Barnett and his wife, Patricia Glover Barnett.

Both Barnett and his wife are subjects of loyalty investigations conducted by the Bureau. Barnett has been employed in the State Department since November 1945. In 1948 his position was listed as Economic Adviser to Chairman, Far Eastern Commission, State Department, Washington, D. C. Investigation reflected he also had a title of Assistant Adviser, Division of Occupied Areas, Economic Affairs. (121-4022)

Patricia Glover Barnett was employed by the State Department in October 1945 and in 1948 her position was listed as Research Analyst, Southeast Asia Division of Research for the Far East. By letter dated June 30, 1949, the Civil Service Commission advised Patricia Glover Barnett had been reassigned and her position at that time was Foreign Affairs Specialist, Department of State, Division of Research for Far East, Southern Areas Branch, Washington, D. C. (121-3249)

Between 1938 and 1942 both Barnett and his wife were employed

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intermittently by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York City. A reliable source has reported that the Communist Party had very great influence in this organization and at times controlled its policy. (121-4022-10; 121-3249-7)

Both Barnett and his wife were associated with Edward C. Carter, Chairman of the Program Committee, United China Relief, New York City, where both were employed by that agency during 1941 and 1942. They were likewise associated with this individual during their employment by the Institute of Pacific Relations. Carter, according to a reliable source, was under Communist Party discipline. (121-4022-10; 121-3249-7)

During 1945 and 1946 Robert and Patricia Barnett were reported to maintain close contact with Duncan C. and Isabel Lee. Robert Barnett was reported to be a friend of Robert Niven Wheeler since 1937.

A reliable source has advised that Duncan C. Lee and Robert Niven Wheeler were involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy that was active in New York City and Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and early 1940's and that both were close associates of known Communists and pro-Soviet sympathizers. The same source advised that Isabel Lee and Wheeler had been members of the Communist Party. (121-4022-19; 121-3249-10)

Investigative reports in the loyalty investigations of both Barnett and his wife were disseminated to the Civil Service Commission on June 12, 1948, and to the Department on March 24, 1949. The Civil Service Commission advised by letters dated September 30, 1948, that both employees were "retained." The Department advised by letters dated April 6, 1949, that the reports failed to disclose evidence of violation of a Federal statute. (121-4022; 121-3249)

The files on both Barnett and his wife fail to disclose the employment of either at the State Department has been terminated. (121-4022; 121-3249)

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SYLVIA SCHIMMEL

ALLEGATION BY SENATOR McCARTHY

"Case No. 50. This individual is an executive secretary in the State Department. He has been reported by another Government investigative agency as having been in contact with a Soviet espionage agent. He is also a close friend of two employees of the State Department who are under investigation because of Communist associates."

POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION

A review of the Bureau's files indicates that this individual is apparently identical with Sylvia Schimmel.

The Bureau's records reflect that investigations of Sylvia Schimmel were made in connection with the Loyalty of Government Employees and the Voice of America Programs.

Sylvia Schimmel was appointed an Executive Secretary with the Foreign Economic Administration on July 26, 1945, and was transferred to the State Department on September 27, 1945. During the months of June and July, 1948, her position was listed as Administrative Analyst in the Office of Public Affairs. As of November, 1949, she was an Organization and Methods Examiner in the Division of Budget, Public Affairs Area Branch.  
(123-4036-2; 121-8958-5)

A reliable source in 1946 advised that Sylvia Schimmel was friendly with Helen Witte Silvermaster but was unable to furnish any information as to the duration or extent of this association. Helen Witte Silvermaster is the wife of Nathan Gregory Silvermaster identified as a Soviet espionage agent and a key figure in the Soviet espionage network which operated in Washington in the late 1930's and early 1940's.  
(123-4036-2)

Former supervisors of Schimmel were Just Lunning, H. Bowen Smith, Albert Waterson and Merrill L. Tribe. These individuals are known to have had close association with Communist Party members. Lunning and Smith are no longer employed by the State Department. (121-8958-5)

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Mary Jane Keeney was reported by a reliable source to be a close associate of Sylvia Schimmel. Mary Jane Keeney and her husband, Phillip Olin Keeney, were members of a Communist Party underground movement in Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and early 1940's. On one occasion Sylvia Schimmel told Mary Jane Keeney that she persuaded Just Lunning to arrange for her transfer to work under him in the State Department.  
(121-8958-5; 123-4036; 65-56102-1148)

Reliable informants advised that David R. Wahl was a close friend and frequent contact of Sylvia Schimmel. Another reliable source has advised that Wahl was a member of the underground movement of the Communist Party in Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and early 1940's. (121-8958-5)

Investigative reports in the loyalty investigation were disseminated to the Civil Service Commission on July 22, 1948, and to the Justice Department on March 23, 1949. Dissemination of reports in the Voice of America investigation was made to the State Department on January 12, 1950.  
(121-8958; 123-4036)

The Civil Service Commission advised by letter dated January 7, 1949, that Sylvia Schimmel was retained. The Justice Department advised under date of May 26, 1949, that no prosecutive action was being undertaken in the Schimmel case. (121-8958-1344)

Sylvia Schimmel was an employee of the State Department as of December, 1949. (123-4036-2)

ROWENA SHELDON BELLOW'S ROMMEL

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 51 - "This individual agreed that he was responsible for the State Department's having employed an individual in one of the cases which I covered earlier today. It will be recalled that No. 14 was the case of an individual having furnished material to a known secret espionage ring and who had consistent contacts with long lists of Communists and suspected Soviet agents. He is still holding an important position in the State Department."

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with the above-captioned woman. It is noted that the person referred to in the news article is described as a man.

Mrs. Rowena Sheldon Bellows Rommel was in February and March, 1948 the subject of a loyalty investigation by the Bureau in connection with her position as program analyst, Office of Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Secretariat, Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Under date of March 30, 1948, copies of all investigative reports were furnished to the Civil Service Commission. By letter dated February 4, 1949, the Chairman of the Loyalty Review Board, U. S. Civil Service Commission, advised that following a review of this case Mrs. Rommel was being retained in her present position.

Bureau files and investigation in connection with the above case developed the following information. Mrs. Rommel was born April 22, 1911 at Providence, Rhode Island, of American parents. She presently resides at 2700 Q Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. with her husband, Wilfred Herser Rommel.

Mrs. Rommel urged the employment of Robert T. Miller, III, by the State Department. He was hired as an informational officer on June 7, 1944 and was employed until December 5, 1946 at which time he resigned to enter private business. Mrs. Rommel was said by reliable informants to have been a close personal friend and frequent contact of Miller's during and subsequent to the period of his employment at the State Department. A former member of the Communist Party of established reliability advised that Robert T. Miller, III,

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*Lee*

was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in New York and Washington, D. C. in the early 1940's. The informant stated that Miller was an associate of known Communist Party members, of pro-Soviet sympathizers, and that he was a frequent contact of an admitted Soviet espionage agent.

Mrs. Rommel was reported by the State Department because of her reluctance to change the wording of a report prepared by or for her which her supervisor in the State Department considered pro-Russian.

It was reported that Mrs. Rommel was responsible for having pro-Soviet speakers on a State Department training program, which speakers included Owen Lattimore, Vera Michaels Dean and Frederick L. Shuman.

Mrs. Rommel was reliably reported to be a close associate of Alger Hiss and she was an admitted member of the Washington Bookshop.

It was reported that Mrs. Rommel was unusually friendly with members of the Soviet delegation at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, California.

Mrs. Rommel was reported to be opposed to the "get tough" policy with Russia and was opposed to United States aid to Greece and Turkey. She was of the opinion that the United States should not keep our troops in China. It was reported that she was of the opinion that the United States should be more tolerant of Communists and Communism. (121-1434)

PHILIP RAINE

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 52. This individual works for No.16- I think that is the correct number-who, the State Department files indicate, was one of the most dangerous espionage agents in the Department. This individual was also temporarily employed as a correspondent of another individual listed as a Soviet agent by a Federal investigative agency. He and his wife are also close associates of two other alleged espionage agents who are named in the State Department files. He is presently holding a high-salaried and important position in the State Department and has been given top-secret clearance."

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with Philip Raine, aka, Philip Rean, concerning whom the Bureau files reflect an investigation was conducted under the Loyalty Program. This investigation, which was concluded in February, 1948, was based upon information from a confidential informant of known reliability that Raine and his wife, Alice, were in frequent contact and attended social functions with Robert T. Miller III and his wife, Jennie, over a period extending from 1944 to 1948. Robert T. Miller III was reported by a reliable informant to be involved as a principal in the Soviet espionage conspiracy operating in Washington, D. C. and New York City in the early 1940's and to be a close associate of known Communists and Soviet sympathizers.

Investigation in this case developed that Raine's sister Ruth, was married to Morris Sharnoff. According to information from reliable confidential informants, the names of Mr. and Mrs. Morris Sharnoff were contained in the active indices or mailing lists of the United American Spanish Aid Committee in 1941. Ruth Sharnoff was also reported in February, 1943, as an active member of the Washington Bookshop Association. Morris Sharnoff was reliably reported to be a member of, and active in, the Communist Party since 1933.

A former domestic employee in the Raine household advised that the Raines and Millers visited occasionally but not frequently, and did not appear to be very intimate. She also advised that the Sharnoffs visited in the Raines home frequently and appeared to be close to Mr. and Mrs. Raine.

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It was developed that Alice Raine was the daughter of a former German career diplomat, and in February, 1945, had been in contact with Mrs. Ingeborg Vargas, reportedly from Brazil and a Nazi sympathizer.

No additional pertinent information to amplify the basis for the investigation was developed.

The file reflects that Raine began employment with the Foreign Service Division of the Department of State on July 9, 1931, and served until May 17, 1942, at which time he resigned. After a period of employment with the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and service in the United States Army, Raine was reemployed by the Office of Information and Educational Exchange, Department of State, on August 26, 1946, and was serving with this agency at the time of the above mentioned investigation.

Copies of the reports of investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission and under date of September 20, 1948, the Civil Service Commission advised that Raine had been "retained." (121-1390)



RICHARD HOWELL POST

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 53 - "Here is a rather important case. In fact, they are all important. This is case No. 53, involving an individual who has been named by a confessed Communist spy as part of his spy ring. Prior to that time, on August 19, 1946, another governmental agency received information to the effect that he was a recognized leader of the Communist underground. This individual is, in my opinion, Mr. President, one of the most dangerous Communists in the State Department."

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with Richard Howell Post. The Bureau's files reflect that an investigation was conducted concerning this individual under the character Loyalty of Government Employees. This investigation was conducted from January to July, 1948 at which time Post was employed as a Foreign Service Officer in the State Department. The basis for the loyalty investigation consisted of information received from Confidential Informant [redacted] an informant of established reliability, who advised that Post was in contact with and visited the home of Henry Collins. Henry Collins has been positively identified by Confidential Informant [redacted] who is intimately acquainted with Communist Party activities in Washington, D. C. as a member of the Communist Party underground. During the investigation, Whittaker Chambers furnished a signed statement in which he advised that about 1936 he met a Mr.----- Post in Washington, D. C., whom he believed was employed by the WPA on a project which included the measurement of children's skulls. Chambers said that he was introduced to Post at Post's home in Alexandria, Virginia, at the time that Chambers addressed a Communist cell meeting on Marxist theory. Chambers further said that the meeting in Post's home was attended only by members of the Communist Party and that the group was known as a secret cell. He said that he knew Post to be a Communist at that time and later learned that Post went to work for the State Department where he was associated with a journal published by the State Department. Inasmuch as Richard Howell Post was Secretary to the Editorial Board of the American Foreign Service during 1938 and joined the State Department in 1939, it was suggested that he is identical with the Post mentioned by Chambers.

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Former associates, friends, neighbors and references of Post who were interviewed during the investigation all described Post as being a loyal American. Copies of the loyalty reports were disseminated to the Civil Service Commission on March 1, 1948, and photostatic copies of the same reports were forwarded to the Attorney General on September 28, 1948.

The Civil Service Commission advised on March 18, 1949, of the ultimate disposition of this case by the Loyalty Review Board. This communication from the Civil Service Commission said that Post resigned or was otherwise separated from Federal service. (121-63)

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VAL R. LORWIN

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 54. "This individual has been connected with a number of Communist front organizations and was active in attempting to secure the issuance of a nonimmigration visa to a French Communist leader. This individual is presently employed in the State Department."

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with one Val R. Lorwin who was the subject of Hatch Act and Loyalty investigations conducted by the Bureau.

In September and October, 1941, Val R. Lorwin was made the subject of an Internal Security-Hatch Act investigation when he was employed as an Associate Labor Standards analyst, Bureau of Labor Standards, Department of Labor. This investigation was predicated upon an allegation received from the Civil Service Commission to the effect that Lorwin had pro-Communist sympathies. Subsequent investigation reflected that Lorwin's name appeared on the active indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action as of January 21, 1941, and on the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization, as of February 17, 1941, and was listed in February, 1936, as an endorser of the National Negro Congress. These 3 organizations have been cited by the Attorney General as being within purview of Executive Order 9835. Lorwin at the time of the investigation executed a written statement under oath denying that he had ever been engaged in Communist activities.

The Hatch Act investigation was completed on October 13, 1941 and a copy of the report was sent to Madam Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, on 11-15-41. By letter dated November 21, 1941, Madam Perkins recommended that the investigation with reference to Lorwin be closed. He was apparently retained as Associate Labor Standards analyst by the Department of Labor.

On December 18, 1942, the Office for Emergency Management requested that an applicant investigation be conducted concerning Val R. Lorwin on 5-21-42. OEM was furnished with a copy of the report reflecting the results of the Hatch Act investigation completed by the Bureau on 10-31-41. OEM referred the Bureau report to the War Production Board where Lorwin was employed. By letter dated July 10, 1942, OEM advised the Bureau that WPB considered no action necessary in regard to Lorwin. On January 7, 1946, Mr. Bannerman of the State Department was furnished with a copy of the report reflecting the results of the Hatch Act investigation. (101-122)

The Loyalty Investigation was initiated concerning Lorrain in February, 1948, when he was employed as Chief of the European Section of the State Department. This investigation was based upon essentially the same information upon which the previous Internal Security-Batch A-6 investigation was conducted. During this investigation, an individual holding a key position in a government agency and of known reliability advised that in the fall of 1947, the Congress of Industrial Organizations desired to hold a conference of the United Nations Labor Organizations in New York and desired to have representatives of various labor unions in the United Nations countries attend the conference. Two of the individuals invited to attend this conference from France were known to be Communists. There was a considerable amount of pressure from all sides in regards to the possible admission of these individuals into the United States, and one of the persons who had vigorously urged their entry was Val Lorrain.

The Loyalty Investigation reflected that, according to a confidential informant, Val Lorrain was a member of the Communist Party; that he was believed to have worked for a united front by the Socialist and Communist Party and that he associated with known Communists. Others contacted during the Loyalty Investigation considered Lorrain as a "liberal," "loyal American" and "anti-Communist."

The Loyalty Investigation was completed on September 14, 1948 and on March 5, 1948, April 21, 1948 and September 21, 1948, copies of investigative reports were sent to the Civil Service Commission. On February 4, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board advised that Lorrain was being retained as Chief of the European Section of the State Department. On March 28, 1949, copies of investigative reports were sent to the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division who advised that on April 21, 1949 examination of Bureau reports concerning Lorrain failed to disclose any available evidence of a violation of Title 18, Section 1001 or any other Federal statute.

Copies of some of the reports reflecting the results of the Loyalty Investigation were referred to EGM on 10-21-48. (121-1744)

**GERTRUDE GRIMWOOD CAMERON**

**Allegations by Senator McCarthy:**

Case No. 55 - "This individual was a close friend and associate of an individual described earlier in the day. It will be recalled that he was a very close associate of Soviet agents. A previous employer of this individual described her as having been 'wrapped up' in communism and that she later married a man who was also a communist. The files of the Department show that 'she and her husband are contacts of a subject in the --- espionage case.' This case referred to is a recent and very important communist case."

**Possible Identification:**

This individual apparently is Gertrude Grimwood Cameron. She has been employed by the Department of State. The Bureau files reflect that an Internal Security - Hatch Act investigation was conducted on this individual from September, 1947 to January, 1948. Subsequent to the Hatch Act investigation the Bureau opened and conducted a full field Loyalty of Government Employees investigation which was done during April and May, 1948. Information from the Hatch Act investigation was used as a partial basis for the Loyalty investigation. Copies of the Loyalty investigation were forwarded to the Civil Service Commission on June 18, 1948.

The Loyalty investigation was based upon information from a reliable, confidential informant to the effect that Mrs. Cameron and her husband, during 1946-1947, were very close friends of Edward J. Fitzgerald and his wife. This informant advised that Frank Cameron resided with Mr. and Mrs. Fitzgerald prior to his marriage in March, 1946. Another confidential informant and former member of the Communist Party of established reliability advised that Edward J. Fitzgerald was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York in the early 1940's; that he was a close associate of known communists and pro-Soviet sympathizers and for a period known to the informant was a member of the Communist Party. This same informant further advised that Fitzgerald was in contact with an admitted Soviet espionage agent. Persons interviewed considered Cameron and her husband loyal to the United States. Records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, accredited office informants, Special Investigations Squad of the Metropolitan Police Department, CSC, IDA, credit and criminal files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning loyalty.

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One individual stated that Gertrude Cameron was the type who would take up with any "ism" if it was exciting and unusual. She further stated that some of the employee's friends were communistically inclined. This same individual reported, however, that to her knowledge Cameron had never attended Communist Party meetings or communist front meetings. Most of the other people interviewed considered Gertrude Cameron and her husband as loyal Americans whose loyalty should not be questioned.

By letter dated September 30, 1948, the U. S. Civil Service Commission advised the Bureau that as the result of the investigation under the Loyalty of Government Employees category Gertrude Griswood Cameron's case had been reviewed by the Loyalty Review Board and that she was being retained. By letter dated July 5, 1949, the U. S. Civil Service Commission requested a recheck of the FBI files concerning the same individual, indicating she was then employed as Assistant to the Chief, P-3, Department of State, Division of International Exchange of Persons, Washington, D. C. On August 15, 1949, this letter was acknowledged by the Bureau stating that no additional disloyal data in the FBI files had been received since completion of the Loyalty investigation.

PAUL ALEXANDER LIFANTIEFF-LEE

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 56. This individual was born in Russia and naturalized in San Francisco in 1929. Two former supervisors on non-Government jobs had recommended him unfavorably. The only favorable reference he had was from three Russian individuals, all in Government employment. He roomed with one of the Russians who had recommended him. The Navy Department informed the State Department that this individual had secret State Department documents in the room shared by him and the other Russian. An investigation was instituted, the outcome of which I do not know. However, this individual was still in the State Department as late as December, 1949."

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee. No investigation of Lifantieff-Lee has been conducted by the Bureau.

Bureau files reflect that according to information received from the State Department by memorandum dated January 10, 1947, a routine investigation of Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee, an employee of the Division of Foreign Services of the State Department, was conducted by the State Department on December 17, 1946. This investigation by the State Department was predicated upon information received from a source later identified by the State Department as the Navy, on approximately October 1, 1946, to the effect that one Illarion G. Matveev, an employee of the War Department was seen to have in his possession a confidential report of the State Department. When Matveev was asked how he received this document, he replied "I have friends in the State Department." The investigation by the State Department reflected that Matveev was a close associate of Lifantieff-Lee who was in a position by reason of the nature of his work at the State Department to furnish the confidential report in question to Matveev. The State Department investigation concerning Lifantieff-Lee, according to the memorandum from the State Department, reflected

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nothing of a serious derogatory nature beyond the fact that Lifantieff-Lee was a roommate of Matveev and that the latter was a reference for and highly recommended Lifantieff-Lee for his position with the State Department. The State Department at this time requested any information in the FBI files concerning Lifantieff-Lee. By memorandum dated May 8, 1947, the State Department was advised that the files of this Bureau contained no derogatory information concerning Paul Alexander Lifantieff-Lee.

The above information concerning Lifantieff-Lee was included in a Bureau report entitled: "Illarion G. Matveev, Internal Security - R." This report was made at Washington, D. C., on April 15, 1947 and a copy was sent to  on September 10, 1947.

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There is no indication in Bureau files as to whether or not Lifantieff-Lee is presently employed by the State Department. (100-346251-7)

It should be noted that Paul Alexander Lifantieff, 1755 Geary Street, San Francisco, California, was used as a source of information on at least two occasions in 1942 by the San Francisco Office concerning Russian matters. This person cannot be identified from the files with the Lifantieff-Lee mentioned above. (100-99248-1; 100-40336)

FRED WARNER NEAL

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 57. This individual was employed by the State Department in 1946 as a P-7 consultant. On June 7, 1946, a Government Investigative agency advised that this individual was the contact man for a Russian espionage ring.

This report also included information to the effect that he had played bridge and exchanged language lessons with persons in the Soviet Embassy. On June 7, 1946, the same investigative agency reported that a known Soviet espionage agent was arrested with his wife in Finland in the 1930's and that while in custody this espionage agent's wife has requested the American Consul to forward on her behalf a request for funds from this individual. This individual had been in charge of the training of Soviet marines at one time at a Russian port. Nevertheless, this individual, on September 11, 1947, was given top secret clearance. The clearance officer in this case said: "In the absence of additional highly derogatory information I feel that top secret clearance should be given."

It was stated it was not known whether Neal is working for the State Department at the present time or whether he is in private or government employment.

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is the subject of a Bureau Loyalty and a Bureau Hatch Act file. (121-12317; 101-6868)

However, investigation concerning Neal has not been conducted by the Bureau.

Bureau files reflect the following pertinent information concerning Fred Warner Neal:

Neal was born at Northville, Michigan, on August 5, 1915. He attended the University of Michigan and Harvard University. Neal was an American news correspondent for various papers in Detroit, Michigan, and Washington, D. C., until he entered the U.S. Navy in September, 1943. After leaving the Navy in 1946, he was employed by the State Department in the Russian Section. He is married to Virginia Anne Inlay.

Investigation in the Gregory case developed information that Neal and his wife were close friends of William Walter Ruxington but no other disloyal information was developed in this case.

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- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

L. N. CONROY hb  
*[Handwritten signature]*



During the war, Neal was transferred from O.S.S. to O.N.I. which assignment took him to Siberia. Neal indicated at one time that his assignment presumably with ONI had included liaison with, and the training of, Soviet Marines stationed at a U. S. port. Neal also stated at one time he played bridge and exchanged language lessons with persons in the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C.

According to a reliable source, Neal was a known contact of Jessica Smith, editor of "Soviet Russia Today."

Arvid Jacobson, a known Soviet Espionage Agent, was arrested with his wife in Finland early in 1933. While in custody, Jacobson's wife asked the American Consul to forward on her behalf a request for funds to Fred Warner Neal in Michigan, the legal residence of the Jacobsons.

On April 29, 1946, an unusually reliable source reported that Fred Neal and his wife were temporarily residing at the Mayflower Hotel and that Fred Neal was going to work at the State Department. In view of this information, on June 7, 1946, the above derogatory information was furnished by letter to the State Department.

In addition to the above, Bureau files now reflect that Neal has been in contact with Ernest Joseph Simmons, Director of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, who was reportedly forced out of a Professorship at Cornell University because of his extreme pro-Russian views. Neal was also friendly with Dr. Harlow Shapley, who was a member of several Communist front organizations and who was active in connection with other Communist front organizations. Neal was reported to be very friendly with Russia, to have numerous Russian friends and to have been active in Russian-American affairs.

A Loyalty Form concerning Fred Warner Neal, Unit Chief-Economist, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D. C., was received at the Bureau on August 19, 1948. No investigation was conducted as it was determined that Neal was no longer employed by the Department of State. The form, appropriately marked, was returned to the State Department.

Information was received from the Albany Office of the FBI, by letter dated June 30, 1949, that Neal was then employed as Assistant to the Commissioner and Coordinator of Public Relations in the New York State Department of Education. (121-12317; 101-6868)

LOIS CARLISLE

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

Senator McCarthy alleges that the individual identified as case No. 58 is presently employed in the Research Division of the State Department. He further alleges that this individual has continued to remain with the State Department even though the individual was reported on July 11, 1947, by a Government Investigative Agency, to be a member of the Communist Party. A close friendship is also alleged with an important subject in a Russian espionage case.

Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau files indicates that the captioned individual is apparently identical with Lois Carlisle, Research Analyst, Division of Research for American Republics, U. S. Department of State. The Bureau records reflect that an investigation was completed in March, 1948. This was a Loyalty investigation.

This investigation reflects that Lois Carlisle was born on January 17, 1900, at Birmingham, Alabama. She received her education at the Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas; Columbia University, New York City; University of Madrid, Spain in 1932; and the University of Chile in 1935.

She was employed as a Language Professor at the Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas, 1922 - 1937. Following her employment in Chile, 1936 - 1940, Lois Carlisle began her employment with the Government as follows: July, 1941 - June 26, 1944, Assistant Editor, Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, Federal Communications Commission; June 27, 1944 - September 30, 1945, Research Analyst, Office of Strategic Services; October 1, 1945, transferred to the Department of State as Research Analyst for American Republics.

Lois Carlisle was a frequent contact and close friend of Mary Jane and Philip O. Keeney, both members of the Communist Party and subjects in

M. W. KUHZRTZ:wma

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

the Silvermaster - Soviet Espionage Conspiracy investigation. Carlisle made the acquaintance of a number of Communists and attended meetings as a result of the association with the Keeneys. She was active in the State Department Branch of the United Public Workers of America. She is alleged to have taken an active part in the anti-Communist faction of this union throughout her membership. She resigned from the union in June, 1948.

The information pertaining to Carlisle's association with the Keeneys was furnished to the State Department and as a result an investigation was initiated by that Agency in April, 1947. In connection with the State Department's investigation, Carlisle was interviewed on June 30, 1947, and volunteered information relative to her membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Washington Bookshop Association, both of which have been cited as Communist front groups. Relative to Carlisle's membership in these groups she advised that her association with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was prompted by her interest in improvements in the South; the association with the Washington Bookshop was based on a recommendation by Mary Jane Keeney. In this connection she allegedly discontinued her activity when she became suspicious of the intent of these groups. Her formal resignation was not submitted to the above groups until July 9, 1947, a date following the above interview by the State Department.

(121-1985)

(101-6963)

The Bureau's investigation of Carlisle consisted of a Hatch Act investigation completed in September, 1947, and a loyalty investigation completed in March, 1948. A copy of the Hatch Act investigative report was submitted to the State Department on September 23, 1947. Copies of the loyalty reports were submitted to the Civil Service Commission on March 3, 1948 and to the Department of Justice on March 23, 1949. The Department advised on September 30, 1949, that prosecution was not warranted against Carlisle on the basis of the evidence available.

The Washington Field Office ascertained in June, 1949, that Carlisle was still employed as a Foreign Affairs Analyst and that termination of her employment was not contemplated at that time.

In the Loyalty case, a disposition sheet dated September 14, 1949, indicated Carlisle was held "Eligible on loyalty." The State Department did not advise of the disposition of the Hatch Act case, and declined to provide the Bureau with a copy of the transcript of an interview held with Carlisle after receipt of the Bureau's reports.

CCRA ALICE DuBOIS

I. ALLEGATION BY SENATOR McCARTHY:

"Case No. 60. This individual was employed by OSS, in the Division of Research, from June 1942 to September 1945, at which time he was transferred to the State Department. He is now a branch chief in Research and Intelligence. One of his former supervisors stated that he was a Communist.

"For some time he has resided with another State Department employee, previously mentioned herein, whose investigation was requested because of communistic activities. Nevertheless, this individual has been cleared and is still working in an important position where he handles top-secret material in the State Department."

II. POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION:

A review of the Bureau's files indicates that the above person is apparently Cora Alice DuBois, also known as Alice Cornelia DuBois, Chief, Southern Areas Branch, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Bureau records reflect that we made an investigation of this person under the Loyalty Program. The basis for this investigation was the appearance of the employee's name on an open letter to the President of Brazil requesting the release of Luiz Carlos Prestes, Honorary Chairman of the National Liberation Alliance of Brazil, from a Brazilian prison. This letter appeared in the December 3, 1940 edition of "New Masses" and was sponsored by the Council for Pan American Democracy, an organization declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835. As a result of this investigation, copies of this letter were furnished to the Civil Service Commission. In addition, it was developed that employee roomed with Jeanne Taylor who registered in the New York State elections in 1935 as a Communist and in September, 1941, signed two Communist Party nominating petitions in New York City. Reliable informants linked Jeanne Taylor with individuals connected with Communist front organizations who had given support to Communism. Jeanne Taylor was terminated from the State Department on April 23, 1947 as an undesirable employee. Miss DuBois was listed as a reference by Miss Jane Foster in 1943, when the latter applied for a position with OSS. A reliable informant identified Miss Foster as a Communist Party member during her stay in Washington. Miss DuBois was also listed as a reference by Burhan Abdul Carren, an OSS applicant who was formerly employed in the building housing the "Daily Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper, and who had contributed articles to the "Daily Worker."

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CES:TD  
C.F. SANDALL

9/15/43

CORA ALICE DuBOIS (Continued)

In 1948, Miss DuBois requested permission from the Department of State to accept a nomination to the Board of Directors of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, cited as a Communist front organization by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948. Miss DuBois was employed by the Division of Special Information from June 8, 1942, until January 31, 1943, when this division was transferred to the Office of Strategic Services. She was employed there until September 30, 1945, transferring to the State Department. No former or present supervisor of the employee stated during this investigation that he or the employee was a Communist. Copies of reports in the Loyalty investigation were sent to CSC on September 10, 1948, with supplemental reports being furnished on November 9, 1948. By disposition sheet dated June 15, 1949, the Bureau was advised that the employee was "Eligible on Loyalty." As of August, 1949, this employee was still working at the Department of State, Washington, D. C. (121-8038)

**ALICE MARGARET DEMERJIAN**

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 61. This individual is employed in Research and Intelligence in the State Department. He has been very active in UPWA, and one of his references has been closely affiliated with Communist-front organizations. A Government investigative agency has indicated the very strong possibility of a close tie-up between this individual and another Communist. The file indicates that additional investigations in this case are necessary. He is still in the State Department.

Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau files indicates that this individual is apparently identical with Alice Margaret Demerjian. The Bureau records reflect that a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation was conducted concerning Miss Demerjian in 1948. That investigation disclosed that a confidential source advised in May, 1942 that the name of Alice Demerjian appeared on a list of donors to the United American Spanish Aid Committee. That Committee was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on April 29, 1944, as a Communist front. It was also determined that from 1935 to 1943 Miss Demerjian was Administrative Assistant to Murray W. Latimer, Chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board and that she was in social contact with him in 1946. The name of Latimer appeared on the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization in 1942. This organization has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist group within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835. Latimer was also an associate of members of a Soviet espionage conspiracy in the United States in the early 1940's. Miss Demerjian has likewise been an associate of Allen Rosenberg, Irving Kaplan and George Silverman who were also reported as members of the Soviet espionage conspiracy mentioned above. She has been associated with Mary Jane and Philip Olin (Angus) Keaney, both of whom were reported members of a Communist Party underground group during the late 1930's and the early 1940's. Other associates of Miss Demerjian were Margaret Greenfield, a reported member of the Communist Party in 1944, Dr. Earl R. Beckner, a reported life member of the Washington Bookshop Association in 1940, and George S. Wheeler, a reported member of the Communist Party in the late 1930's and the early 1940's. The Washington Bookshop Association has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835. (121-2793)

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

V.H.Bailey:tg

*Handwritten initials and scribbles in the bottom right corner.*

The reports in this investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission by letter of June 4, 1948. A supplementary report was transmitted to CSC October 7, 1948. The Commission advised on July 25, 1949, that Miss Demerjian was declared eligible on loyalty and that she was still employed as Administrative Officer in the Acquisition and Distribution of Information Division of the State Department. On March 24, 1949, copies of reports in this case were transmitted to the Criminal Division of the Department for a determination as to whether any Federal laws had been violated. The Department advised on September 27, 1949, that on the basis of the information now available prosecution is not warranted.

ISHAM W. PERKINS

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 62 - "This file is not important insofar as communistic activities are concerned, but rather is important because it sheds light on some rather unusual mental aberrations of certain individuals in the Department. In this connection, it perhaps should be mentioned that the types of individuals described in this file are regarded as bad security risks by most investigative agencies for the reason that they are rather easy blackmail victims. This file I recommend to the attention of any committee that cares to investigate it. It goes into some detail in regard to the peculiar--how can we put it--the peculiar mental twists. I was trying to handle this matter delicately. I think this will be of interest to the committee in that it gives a rather interesting picture of some rather unusual mental twists of these gentlemen who are tied-up with some of the Communist organizations.

"Also it is confirmation of what I believe I mentioned earlier this evening when I was talking about one of the top investigators in Washington. I said to him, 'Why do you find so many people fanatic about communism? Is there something that is so inviting about it? Is there something mentally wrong?' He said, 'You will find if you search deep enough that there is something mentally or physically wrong with every one of them.' There is certainly something wrong with this group. I might say that the new security officer has recommended that they get rid of all that type of individuals regardless of whether they are shown to have any communistic connection or not."

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with Isham William Perkins, who, according to his loyalty form submitted in 1948, is employed as a clerk in the State Department, and has been so employed since 1927.

A review of main Bureau files reflects that a preliminary loyalty investigation was opened on Isham William Perkins on April 30, 1948 on the basis of Bureau report dated November 27, 1940 at Washington, D. C. entitled, "Isham W. Perkins, Jr., Special Inquiry, Department of State", which sets forth the results of an interview with one Philip Bell, artist, Works Progress Administration, who advised he had known Perkins for a period of

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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

J. N. Dinsmore:mk



fourteen years, having roomed with him the major portion of that time. Bell admitted having many friends who were sympathetic with the ideas of Communism; however, Bell stated that he and Perkins had no mutual friends, and that Perkins was not associated with any organization disloyal to the United States.

The preliminary investigation failed to reveal any further pertinent derogatory data, and the Washington Field Office by letter of May 13, 1948 pointed out that on the basis of an extensive applicant-type investigation conducted by the Bureau in 1940, copies of which were furnished the State Department, and since no evidence of disloyalty was developed, no additional investigation was being conducted. Thereafter, the loyalty form was returned with the following stamp: "No disloyal data FBI files 5-19-48."  
(62-59861; 121-5330)

It will be noted that persons similar to the individual mentioned by Senator McCarthy in Case No. 62 were described as being bad security risks for the reason that they are rather easy blackmail victims. Perkins, a State Department employee, could be placed in the category mentioned by Senator McCarthy since Perkins roomed for a long period of time with an individual who had many friends zealous to Communist ideology.

STANLEY WILCOX

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 63. This individual is employed by the State Department in Research and Intelligence. He was with Army Intelligence from 1944 to June 1946. In April 7, 1947, he was given a security clearance from the State Department. The files of the State Department investigative agency show that he is a very close associate of a former War Department employee who was dropped because it was believed he passed information and material to Soviet agents. One of his associates at the War Department, with whom he has since been in contact, is an individual who has been very active with communistically inclined groups. He has been a very close associate of another known Communist sympathizer. He has been given top secret clearance despite association with other known Communist sympathizers."

Possible Identification

A review of the Bureau's files indicates this individual is apparently identical with Stanley Wilcox who was the subject of a loyalty investigation by the Bureau in 1948.

In connection with the loyalty investigation it was developed and reported that Wilcox had been in association with Ellsworth Raymond, William H. E. Johnson, his wife, Annette Fox Johnson, and Jessie Rubin, aka. Chasia Rubia and Assia Rubina.

Military Intelligence records of the War Department reflected that Ellsworth Raymond, William H. E. Johnson, and his wife, Annette Fox Johnson, all of whom were employed together in the Military Intelligence Service of the War Department, were suspected of being responsible for a leak of information concerning the activities of the Military Intelligence Service in Russia. Mrs. Johnson's brother, David Fox, was believed to have been an NKVD agent, or closely associated with the NKVD. Johnson was suspected of passing information through his wife to David Fox, or to David Fox directly. Ellsworth Raymond is married to Anna Palasova, a Soviet National, who was reliably reported to have been an NKVD agent. War Department records reflected that Johnson, his wife, Annette, and Ellsworth Raymond were relieved of their employment with the War Department in November of 1946 because of a reduction in force. This action was taken

CBHoward: CMC

however after an investigation by the Army had developed information to the effect that Johnson had made speeches favoring Russia, and that all of the above-mentioned individuals were believed to be the source of a leak of information regarding the activities of the Military Intelligence Service in Russia.

War Department records also revealed that Jessie Rubin furnished Wilcox's name as a reference in seeking employment with the Army in June of 1946. Wilcox, in reply to an inquiry as to his knowledge of Rubin, stated, "I highly recommend Miss Rubin whose discretion, intelligence and knowledge have been intimately tested during a year and one-half of frequent meetings." Rubin is known to have contacted Gaik Ovakimian in New York City on January 23, 1941, and February 20, 1941, under suspicious circumstances. Ovakimian at that time was employed by Amtorg Trading Corporation and he was subsequently deported from the United States because of alleged Soviet espionage activity.

Records of the Civil Service Commission reflect that on February 27, 1946, the Central Intelligence Group, now known as the Central Intelligence Agency, was instructed by the Civil Service Commission to terminate the employment of Jessie Rubin who was at that time employed in the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service, because of questionable loyalty. The Central Intelligence Group terminated Rubin's employment on June 30, 1947 with the statement that she was found unsuitable for continued Government employment.

Records of the State Department reflect that a responsible Governmental official had reported a conversation had with Wilcox in 1944 or early 1945. During this conversation Wilcox reportedly stated that he was acquainted with a Russian-born girl who was well versed in the "Party line." From a description of the girl, furnished by the Governmental official, it was believed by the State Department that the girl was Jessie Rubin.

A former supervisor of WILCOX in the State Department advised that Wilcox had constantly tried to convince him that Soviet Russia had a sound democratic system, and the former supervisor did not consider Wilcox an objective or critical analyst of the policies of Soviet Russia. This former supervisor further stated he was told by Wilcox that Wilcox was friendly with Johnson, his wife, Annette, Raymond and Rubin. The former supervisor volunteered that he definitely considered Jessie Rubin to be of Soviet affiliation.

A large number of fellow employees and acquaintances in Washington explained that they were aware of Wilcox's interest in the Russian language and of his friendliness toward one or more of the persons mentioned above, but they considered him entirely loyal to this country.

The results of the loyalty investigation were furnished to the Civil Service Commission on March 1, 1948 and to the Department on October 5, 1948.

By memorandum dated September 20, 1948, the Civil Service Commission advised that Wilcox had been retained as Research Analyst with the State Department.

The Bureau's files reveal that Wilcox was still employed by the State Department on October 27, 1949. (121-937)

HOLLIS W. PETER

ALLEGATIONS BY SENATOR MCCARTHY

"Case No. 64. This individual is presently employed in Research and Intelligence in the State Department. Again we find them in Research and Intelligence. The investigative agency files show that informants stated that he and his wife maintained a communistic and un-American attitude. The file indicates that the wife admitted being a member of the Communist Party. The file further shows that he is a close friend of a number of Russian agents connected with a major espionage case.

"The investigation of this case was held up because the investigation at that time might have upset the investigation of what was considered a major espionage case, which was in the process of investigation. This individual apparently still enjoys clearance to top-secret documents."

POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION

From a review of the Bureau files it appears that the captioned individual is identical with Hollis William Peter who as of February 4, 1949, was employed as an Economist with the Department of State, Washington, D. C. Peter was investigated under the Loyalty Program in 1948. In 1943 he was the subject of a Hatch Act investigation.

Investigation discloses that while attending the University of Wisconsin from 1935 through 1938, Peter was closely associated with one Salli Crane whom he later married. Salli Crane was reported to be a member of the State Board of the Young Communist League in 1936 and 1937 and to have attended Communist Party meetings. Peter was reported to have similar views as Salli Crane but no information was obtained to indicate that he was a member of the Communist Party or Young Communist League or attended any of their meetings. (121-1397-3)

While working for the United States Soil Conservation Service in 1939 and 1940, Peter was associated with a group which was reported to be against war and radical in their views. Both Peter and his wife were reported to have expressed an interest in Communism and Russia. (100-816;121-1397-3X5)

M.E.TORPENS:mjt

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HWT

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- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Peter was classified as a conscientious objector by the Selective Service Board at the beginning of World War II but later enlisted in the United States Army Medical Corps. Peter's attitude may have been due to the influence of his father who was a pacifist during World War I. (121-1397-1X44, Page 12; 121-1397-12, Page 23)

During the early 1940's Peter joined in a car pool to ride to work with several individuals who were reported to be Communist sympathizers. These associates were reported to have been members of Communist front organizations and one was known to have been in frequent contact with a local Communist Party functionary. (121-1397-12)

In 1943 Peter received copies of "In Fact" and "Soviet Russia Today" through the mail, however, there is no positive information that he was a subscriber. Both of these publications were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, on March 29, 1944. (100-861-27, Page 7; 121-1397-12, Page 14)

In 1943 on completion of the Hatch Act investigation Peter was interviewed. He denied any Communist Party affiliations but did admit having received Communist Party literature from time to time. He claimed, however, that he had not received any Communist Party literature for several years. (100-861-27)

Peter is reported to have stated that he shared a car pool with William Walter Remington in 1946. An informant has also reported that Peter was in frequent contact with Remington in 1946. Remington was a close contact of persons suspected of Soviet espionage in Washington, D. C., in the early 1940's. (121-1397-12)

Bureau files reflect that pertinent reports on the results of the Hatch Act investigation were furnished to R. K. Moore of the State Department, Military Intelligence and the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations.

The loyalty reports were furnished to the United States Civil Service Commission and the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice.

The latest communication from the United States Civil Service Commission dated February 4, 1949, reflects that Peter was retained as an employee of the State Department. (121-1397-14)

VICTOR M. HUNT

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 65 - "This individual is also still in the State Department in the Office of Information and Education and holds an important position. It would appear from his activities that he is very definitely communistically inclined. However, it is entirely possible that this individual is merely a left-winger who has been dominated by No. 81, who will be covered later, and a group of Communists and fellow travelers who have surrounded No. 81, to the extent that he has received credit for many of the Communist activities of No. 81. By No. 81 I refer to the case which I shall cover shortly. For that reason, while the work flowing from his office would indicate that he is sympathetically inclined at least toward Communists, I would hesitate in labeling him as such. In any event, however, I feel that he certainly is a bad risk in that position."

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with Victor Myron Hunt, born on October 7, 1908, in Napa, California, on whom the Bureau has conducted applicant-type investigations under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America), and the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

The investigation under the Voice of America program, which was begun on May 27, 1948 and which was concluded on July 6, 1948, elicited information from a confidential source that Hunt while a student at the University of California, Berkeley, California, had "leftist tendencies" which were described as "flirting with Communism", and while employed at San Jose State College in San Jose, California, lectured fully and thoroughly on Communism and students reported to this same source that he was an advocate of Socialism or Communism. (123-486)

The investigation under the Atomic Energy Act, which was begun on May 18, 1949 and which was concluded on June 17, 1949, elicited information from a confidential source that there was never any question as to where Ruby Parsons (Case No. 81) stood as she supported policies sympathetic to the Russian Government and the fact that Victor Hunt, her superior, supported her policies made him questionable as to whether he is a good security risk for the U. S. Government.

J. E. Foley:mk

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- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

On October 31, 1948, he was transferred to New York City where he became associate chief of the International Broadcasting Division of the Department of State. On April 15, 1949, he resigned to take a position with the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. (116-141733)

Copies of reports were disseminated to the Department of State on July 13, 1948 and July 23, 1948 and to the Atomic Energy Commission on July 6, 1949.



[redacted] aka

Allegations By Senator McCarthy

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"Case No. 66. This individual is also employed by the State Department as [redacted] in the Voice of America. He was listed on the draft classification as L-F because of being [redacted] He and [redacted] for communistically inspired protest groups. He also worked for a time for a Communist-dominated organization. He studied for a time in the New School for Social Research under Hans Eisler, who, Senators recall, appeared before the House Un-American Committee. This individual is mentioned principally because he seemed to be representative of the group which accumulated around No. 81, whom I consider one of the big shots."

Possible Identification

A review of the files of the Bureau indicates this person is apparently [redacted] also known as [redacted] The Bureau records reflect we conducted a Hatch Act investigation on this individual in 1945. At that time he was employed as a music director by the Office of War Information at New York City. (100-334981)

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This investigation reflects that from 1938 to 1941 [redacted] did attend the New School for Social Research. From December, 1938, to March, 1939, he was employed by the State, County and Municipal Workers of America. In 1945 he was classified as L-F because of [redacted] The investigation was predicated on receipt of information that he was frequently seen in the company of Communists and was, in the opinion of one informant, a Communist sympathizer and possibly a member of the Party. That source reported that around 1936 when the Building Service Employees struck under Local 31-B, a coffee kitchen was established in the Rosenberg apartment for the strikers.

Another source reported that a [redacted] [redacted] witnessed five signatures on a nominating petition for Israel Amter, Communist Party, 1939. On June 7, 1939, [redacted] whose name was [redacted] at that time, submitted a notification of a change of address from [redacted] Handwriting specimens of the employee were [redacted]

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- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

LG Davis:tg *tg*

*gob*  
*tail*

submitted with the nominating petition to the FBI Laboratory for comparison. No conclusion could be reached because the known writing was not sufficiently comparable with the questioned signatures.

A copy of the investigative report in this case was transmitted to the State Department. A copy has also been transmitted to the Division of Records. Our investigative file does not reflect whether [redacted] is now employed by the State Department.

It is noted from the file that extensive investigation of [redacted] was conducted by the U. S. Civil Service Commission in 1944. (100-334981-2)

b6  
b7c

It is noted that this individual is apparently identical with the individual referred to as "Case No. 80" in the material provided to the Bureau on a confidential basis by former S. A. Robert Lee on January 29, 1948. It is noted that photostatic copies of the testimony of various State Department officials before the House Appropriations Committee concerning the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949, were obtained by the Bureau.

Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 28, 1948, information is set forth that "Case No. 80" (identified in Lee's material as [redacted]) involves an individual who was not employed by the State Department but was terminated September 16, 1947, due to completion of assignment. (62-39749-1109)

JOHN RICHARD LINDSEY

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case #67

"This individual was employed by OWI in March, 1942, and transferred to the State Department when that agency was taken over by the Department. After a meeting of Communists and Communist sympathizers, he was arrested for disorderly conduct. Two members of the Soviet underground attempted to get him out of difficulty and hush up matters so he would not lose his position in the State Department, which indicates that he is of importance to the Soviet underground. This information was set forth in detail in a memorandum, dated June 17, 1946, by an investigative agency, and brought to the attention of the State Department. However, this individual was still with the State Department in June, 1947, and still had top-secret clearance. On July 16, 1947, a hearing was finally held. I am not aware of the outcome of this hearing. However, my best knowledge is that he is no longer with the State Department, but whether he resigned, was discharged, or whether he received a job with some other Government agency I do not know. I feel this case is important, Mr. President, for a number of reasons; one of them being that after it was definitely proven that the Communist underground had a deep interest in this man, and wanted to help him out, he still was given access to top-secret material for more than a year."

Possible Identification:

This individual is apparently John Richard Lindsey. The Bureau files reflect an applicant investigation was conducted in 1942 at which time Lindsey was being considered for a position with the Office of the Coordinator of Information.

On June 20, 1946, Mr. Robert Bannerman, Security Officer, State Department, advised that information had come to his attention that John Richard Lindsey, Chief of the Broadcasting Unit of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, State Department, and who at that time was located in New York City, attended a rally at the Watergate in Washington, D. C. on or about June 11, 1946. The rally was allegedly sponsored by liberal elements and was known as the rally to "save the peace." It seems that Lindsey during the course of this rally became highly intoxicated and was arrested by the police. While in detention, a Miss Susan B. Anthony called Mr. Feder Garanin of the Soviet Embassy and stated in effect that they, the Embassy, must have Mr. Lindsey released without stirring up any trouble. It was advised that subsequent to this telephone conversation Lindsey was released.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

77-23311-10, 11

W. F. WOODS:rma *W.F.W.*

Mr. Bannerman made this information available believing it would be of interest to the Bureau inasmuch as it indicated to him that Lindsey, although a State Department employee, was being "looked after" by the Soviet Embassy, the possibility existing, according to Mr. Bannerman, that the Soviet Embassy may be using Lindsey as a source of information.

Investigation by the Bureau in connection with Lindsey's arrest revealed that John Richard Lindsey of Brooklyn, New York, was arrested on June 13, 1946, while attending the Watergate Concert, on a charge of being intoxicated, disorderly and making speeches. It was also determined that Lindsey posted \$25.00 collateral and elected to forfeit by non-appearance in court. This information was furnished the State Department on August 2, 1946. (77-23311-10,11)

This individual is apparently identical with John Richard Lindsey, referred to as "Case # 81" in the material provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on a confidential basis. The information set forth therein is substantially the same as alleged by Senator McCarthy. In this connection it is noted that the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949.

Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 28, 1948, there is set forth information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case # 81" (identified in Lee's material as John Richard Lindsey) was not employed by the State Department having been terminated by reason of reduction in force September 12, 1947.

(62-39749-1109)

AARON JACK GROSS

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case No. 68. This individual was with the OIE. He signed Communist Party petitions in which he alleged that he was a member thereof, as did his parents also. On November 4, 1951, the Civil Service Commission recommended his removal from the Government. This was never acted upon. He is still in the State Department and has been given top clearance."

Possible Identifications:

This individual apparently is Aaron Jack Gross. The Bureau files reflect an investigation was conducted concerning this individual during January, February and March, 1948 for the Office of the Coordinator of Information - Special Inquiry.

The results of this investigation reflected that the Civil Service Commission in New York City had conducted a complete investigation prior to the Bureau's investigation. The Civil Service Commission's investigation disclosed the following: Aaron J. Gross, Miriam D. Gross and Charles D. Gross, all of 350 West 15th Street, New York City, signed a Communist petition for Israel Aaker on August 3, 1939, witnessed by Sol Newman in the 8th Assembly District. The rest of the Civil Service Commission's investigation was favorable.

Gross was given a hearing under oath at the Office of the Civil Service Commission because of the fact the investigation by them indicated he might be a Communist. As a result of the complete Civil Service Commission's investigation, plus statements elicited from Gross at the hearing afforded him, the Civil Service investigator passed unfavorably on Gross. The following is an abstract of the opinion expressed by the Civil Service examiner following his interview with Gross:

"In your examiner's opinion, the fact that the applicant and his mother have never expressed a choice of political party in their voting registrations is significant. This in view of the fact that, since 1936, the Communist Party has not appeared on any ballot in New York State due to legislation. Applicant's explanation that 'I did not want to offend anyone by expressing a preference' is especially lame in this examiner's opinion. However, the most conclusive

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Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

A. B. FITZPATRICK:jw

*[Handwritten signature]*

evidence of Communism lies in the fact that applicant signed a Communist petition. In addition, it will be noted that applicant's father and mother have both signed this petition. He has consistently denied any knowledge of having signed such a petition and stated that "it must have been at the insistence of a friend," whom as a matter of fact, he had disclosed all knowledge of Sol Brimmerlin or Terral Astor, the circulator of the petition and the candidate, respectively."

The remainder of the Bureau investigation failed to develop any unfavorable information or recommendations against Gross.

Copies of the Bureau investigative report were sent to the Office of the Coordinator of Information on April 3, 1942. A summary was furnished to the State Department on August 7, 1946. OIR referred to by Senator McCarty is the Office of Information and Educational Exchange, which was the predecessor of the present Voice of America. (77-15606)

The individual referred to by Senator McCarty as "Case No. 69" is apparently identical with the individual referred to as "Case No. 83" in the material provided to the Bureau on a confidential basis on January 27, 1948, by former Special Agent Herbert E. Lee. The material furnished by Lee identified "Case No. 83" as being Aaron Jack Gross and set forth information that he was with the Office of Information and Educational Exchange in New York City. It was indicated that he had signed a Communist Party election petition, as did his parents, on August 3, 1939, that when voting in 1938, 1939, 1940 and 1941 he did not indicate a Democratic or Republican Party affiliation as is customary in that State; that it was pointed out in the file (apparently State Department file) that the Communist Party had not been on the ballot in New York since 1936; that when questioned concerning his signing the election petition he said he did not recall signing the petition but when confronted with the fact that he had he said that it must have been at the request of a friend. Information was further set forth that on November 4, 1941, the Civil Service Commission recommended his removal from the Government. This was never acted upon and on November 30, 1942, he was advised the Commission had reversed its decision. The file (apparently State Department file) reflects no other derogatory information and the facts giving him security clearance on October 8, 1947, was checked. "Matters of investigation are completely favorable to subject."

In this connection, the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 28, 1948, there is set forth information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 83" (identified in Lee's material as Aaron Jack Gross) was employed by the State Department having been "approved." (62-39718-1109)

[REDACTED]

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case #69 - "This individual was also employed by the OIE. However, little information was available on him except that he is a Russian, and that his sister is a known Communist and that he associates closely with Communists."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently [REDACTED] on whom a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation was conducted by this Bureau in 1948 at the request of the Department of State, New York.

[REDACTED] was born [REDACTED] Her father [REDACTED] In [REDACTED] June, 1944, [REDACTED]

During her employment with the Office of Information and Education, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State, New York, in 1946 and 1947, [REDACTED] was reliably reported to have been closely associated with Nathan Galpert, member of the Jefferson Section of the Communist Party in 1947, and Sonia Handelman, a member of the Photo League, an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Both Galpert and Handelman are former employees of the Department of State. (121-5019-10)

Copies of reports covering the investigation concerning this individual were transmitted to the U. S. Civil Service Commission by cover letter dated July 21, 1948. By letter dated October 26, 1948, this Bureau was advised by the Civil Service Commission that [REDACTED] had resigned or was otherwise separated from Federal service. (100-5019-10, 15.)

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Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Case No. 70. This individual again is the typical Voice of America employee. The investigative agencies have indicated that he is affiliated with Communist-front organizations and has communistic sympathies. He is still with the State Department."

Possible Identification

This individual possibly is identical with the person mentioned in Case No. 70. The Bureau files reflect that an investigation was conducted in July, 1948, under Public Law 402 - 80th Congress (Voice of America). One person stated that while employed by her as manager of the "Showboat Night Club" in Los Angeles in 1942, [redacted] told fellow employees that the political economy of the United States was all wrong and that capitalism should be overthrown even if it took a revolution. [redacted] belonged to the Workers Alliance Union in 1942, (Workers Alliance was cited by the AG). All other persons stated they believe [redacted] loyal. [redacted] was employed with the State Department from 1945 to day, 1948, when the investigation was initiated. Copies of the reports were sent to State July 26, 1948. The file does not indicate whether or not [redacted] is still employed by State. (123-817)

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H. L. Steb

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
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*4/27/48*



STOIAN STOIANOFF

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case #71

"This individual was employed by OIE in February, 1943. He entered the United States in 1942 illegally. He is a Bulgarian. He lived six months with the editor of a Communist-controlled Bulgarian newspaper. He is a close associate of known Communists.

"The Government investigative agency reported that the subject was reluctant to bear arms during the war, and that he faked inability to understand or speak English so as to avoid the draft. He was issued a certificate of naturalization on October 8, 1945, on a false petition which stated he entered the United States on May 6, 1941. He is still working for the State Department, despite a rule that aliens shall not work therein, and while I have not been able to go into the matter completely, I have been informed that he also has top-secret clearance."

Possible Identification:

This individual is possibly identical with Stoyan D. Stoianeff, was., Steian D. Stoianeff, Stoyan Stoyanoff, Stoianev, Hoier Stoianeff, concerning whom the Bureau's files reflect that an investigation was conducted in 1949 under the character, "Internal Security - R - Bulgarian." It was reported by a confidential informant that Stoianoff had stated he had recently been released from the Voice of America program and as a result of losing his position, had become bitter and was interested in turning his sympathies to the strengthening of the Fatherland Front Government of Bulgaria among the Bulgarian colonies in the United States.

A check of the personnel records of the State Department failed to reflect any employment by that agency of Stoianoff. However, a subsequent report indicated that he was formerly employed in the Office of Information and Educational Exchange at New York City, on a part-time basis and his services were terminated in December, 1947. In making an application to the Visa Division of the State Department in May, 1943, Stoianoff stated he was employed by OWI from 1941 to 1943, and that he intended to go to the USSR and did not intend to return to the United States.

It was reliably reported that in October, 1947, Stoianoff requested his name be placed on the mailing list to receive the USSR Information Bulletin.

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According to the superintendent of the premises located at 295 West 11th Street, New York City, Stoianeff had lived with Dr. Victor Sharankeff for a number of years until inducted into the U.S. Army about 1944. This informant also advised that when Stoianeff returned from the Army in 1946, Sharankeff moved to Detroit, and Stoianeff and his family took over the apartment and Sharankeff occasionally

J. J. TORRILLO: rmarw

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visited him thereafter. The file reflects information indicating that Sharankoff was affiliated with the American Slav Congress, the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, League of American Writers, and other organizations. Sharankoff reportedly became editor of "NARODNA VOLYA", described as a Detroit Bulgarian Communist newspaper, in 1946 and left for Bulgaria in 1948 for permanent residence.

A confidential informant reported that Stoianoff's wife was considered to be a Communist among the members at the Czechoslovakian Consulate.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service files reflected that Stoianoff was naturalized in the U. S. District Court, Baltimore, Maryland, on October 8, 1945, under the name Stoian Dimitar Stoianoff, Naturalization Certificate #6483084. Stoianoff departed the United States on March 28, 1949, for Bulgaria via Lisbon, Portugal, accompanied by his two children. He claimed U. S. citizenship upon his departure.

Information subsequently received from a representative of a U. S. agency abroad reflected that in June, 1949, Stoianoff was observed wearing a "Fatherland Front" lapel button in Bulgaria. He was seen in the company of a reportedly known Communist in Sofia early in July, 1949, together with one Dr. Victor Sherankov.

A copy of the initial report in this case was furnished to the State Department and Immigration and Naturalization Service, and information as to his departure from the United States was subsequently furnished these agencies by letter.

(100-354309)

ARNOLD D. MARGOLIN

Allegation by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 72. "This case, Mr. President, is interesting in that it is the direct opposite from the cases I have been reading. I cite it to show that unless one has a communistic background one cannot qualify for a position with the Voice of America, at least in the New York office. This man applied for a job with the Voice of America. He was investigated in the fall of 1946 for a position on the Russian desk of OIE. Investigation showed he was a refugee from the Red revolution. He was naturalized in 1927. He has a reputation as an expert in Russian affairs, having studied them for a period of many years. He was employed with OSS from February 1942 to December 1942, and then was requested to resign. He was forced to resign because of Communist pressure. A known Communist and a NKVD agent in the United States openly stated, according to the Intelligence files, that he was too anti-Communist to be employed by OSS. This man's immediate superior with OSS told him he was forced to fire him because of circumstances beyond his control. A high State Department official confirmed the reason for this man's dismissal from OSS.

"This individual was very highly recommended by several witnesses as a high type of man, a democratic American, who supported democracy for Russia and opposed communism. However, he was turned down and was never employed by OIE. This was at a time when they were taking on all the other debris I have just described. Fortunately, however, his services are being presently made use of by McCloy in Germany, where he is acting fiscal adviser and, I understand, doing a good job. I believe I overlooked stating that he was born in Kiev, Russia, in 1877. I do not confuse this man, as I said, as being a Communist. The reason I cite the case is to show that the one good, sure way not to get into the Voice of America is that one is a loyal American and not an anti-Communist."

Possible Identification

This individual is apparently Arnold D. Margolin.

Bureau records reflect that an investigation was conducted concerning him under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 in connection with his appointment to the position of Russian Instructor with the Department of the Army. The results of this investigation, which was conducted during August, September and October, 1948, were transmitted to the Civil Service Commission by letter dated November 4, 1948.

The loyalty investigation reflects the following pertinent information:

That he was born in Kiev, Russia, on November 11 or 17, 1877;

That he was naturalized in New York City in December, 1927;

That another government agency's records reflect that he was a member of the Committee for Promotion of Democracy, members of which were reported to be Nazi agents and which committee was reportedly Nazi inspired and actually a front for Nazis;

That these charges concerning the Committee for Promotion of Democracy were later found to be vague and unsupported;

That Margolin entered on duty with the Office of Strategic Services on February 24, 1942, and resigned on November 28, 1942;

That he advised another government agency that his work with OSS had aroused resentment of the Communists and "fellow travellers" in OSS and particularly on the part of Jacob Landau, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, who Margolin described as a Communist, and Vladimar Stepanovsky, who Margolin described as an NKVD agent, and that a few months after he began his work for OSS he was told by Mr. Poole that due to circumstances beyond his control Margolin's work would no longer be required;

That a State Department official (Loy Henderson, Chief of the Far Eastern Division, State Department) advised that because of Margolin's outspokenly critical attitude toward Soviet Russia he was the subject of severe attacks inspired by one Jacob Landau and as a result of pressure put on Margolin's superiors in OSS his employment was discontinued;

That Mr. DeWitt C. Poole, Margolin's former supervisor while with OSS, advised that as a result of Margolin's failure to use tact and diplomacy in his contacts with the Ukrainian people it was decided to dispense with his services and that definitely no pressure was brought on Margolin to resign because of any anti-Soviet attitude;

That Margolin was generally considered to be anti-Nazi and anti-Communist.

The Loyalty Review Board advised by letter dated June 24, 1949, that Margolin had resigned or had been otherwise separated from Federal service prior to decision on loyalty. (121-10421)

LEONARD HORWIN

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 73 - "This individual is in the Foreign Service. He was born in 1913, practiced law from September 1936 to September 1942. He was with the Board of Economic Warfare from November 1942 to September 1943. He has been with the State Department as a senior economic analyst from September 1943 until the present time. He was an applicant for a position as Foreign Service career officer. An investigative report dated June 1947 disclosed that he has always associated with known leftists and was highly recommended by four well-known fellow travelers. While in California his closest associates for several years were two active Communists. A former law associate for this individual refused to recommend him for Federal employment, stating he was extremely far to the left. A memorandum in his file dated December 12, 1946, requested investigation of black-market activities on his part in Spain. No report on this point, however, has been made available. A superior court judge in California, who has known the subject well, stated that under no circumstances would he recommend him for a Government position, because of his extreme leftism, and that he would not have him in any responsible Government position. Another California judge said this individual associated closely with fellow travelers, and he would definitely not recommend him. This individual, to the best of my knowledge, is still in Foreign Service, stationed in Madrid, Spain."

Possible Identification

Leonard Horwin has not been investigated by the Bureau. There is no subversive derogatory information in the Bureau files identifiable with him except for information which was furnished to the Bureau on a very confidential basis by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on January 29, 1948. Lee at that time furnished information concerning Horwin, who was referred to as "Case No. 91", substantially the same as that alleged by Senator McCarthy which is set forth above.

It is noted that photostatic copies of the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security Investigations, State Department, before the House Appropriations Committee on January 28, 1948 contained the following:

"Case #91, (Leonard Horwin according to Lee's list) not now employed; applicant resigned November 12, 1947 pending further investigation." (62-39749-1109)

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
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JOSEPH THADDEUS JANKOWSKI

Allegations by Senator McCarthy  
Case No. 74

"This individual was employed on an American mission to the Far East during 1947. Intelligence units indicated that he was furnishing information to a Russian agent, and two sources of information reported that he was representing himself as an American intelligence agent. At that time he had been given clearance to confidential information. He was relieved of his particular assignment and transferred to different work within the Department."

Possible Identification

The above captioned individual is possibly identical with the person described in case number 74. A loyalty form was submitted by the Department of State for Joseph Thaddeus Jankowski on October 8, 1948. A review of the Bureau files disclosed that a copy of an incoming telegram to the Department of State from Shanghai, China, dated September 8, 1947 was received by the Bureau. This telegram which was signed by "Davis" stated that the State Department in Shanghai had received a confidential report which "raises some question as to the dependability and possibly the loyalty of Joseph T. Jankowski, who at times in the course of his work has custody of highly classified material. Requests have been forwarded to other channels for an investigation of his background, early associations and record in the U. S., and pending the outcome, his assignment in this office is being changed to one that will not give him access to any classified material." Because of this information the employee was temporarily refused permission to bring his family to China. A preliminary inquiry was initiated concerning Jankowski. It was determined through a review of the Personnel Records of the State Department that Jankowski entered on duty March 11, 1947, as a clerk in the American Consulate in Shanghai, China; that he resigned December 29, 1947 effective January 10, 1948. His personnel file was reviewed at the State Department and it was noted that a copy of a report dated August 28, 1947 had been received by the State Department, which report was prepared by Vice-Consul, Harry D. G. Carroll and that his file also contained a copy of a memorandum dated October 6, 1947 prepared by the Administrative Consul of the Consulate General, commenting upon Carroll's report and his more recent activities. The memorandum stated that a review had been made of all information available at Shanghai relative to the activities of Jankowski. It was further indicated that Robert W. Burwell, Assistant Commercial Officer of the Consulate had advised that about the middle of June he had received word

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- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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that Jankowski was ill. He called at Jankowski's home and found him in bed. According to the memorandum it was Burwell's opinion that Jankowski was suffering from over indulgence and lack of sleep. At the time of the visit Jankowski told Burwell he had been arrested by the Chinese Police and that he had been held incommunicado for almost two days, however, he gave no reason why they should apprehend him.

It was also noted that the file contained a memorandum dated May 22, 1947, addressed to Paul Meyer of the Consulate, which was received from the External Survey Detachment #44, U. S. Navy, which pointed out that a few informants in Polish circles in Shanghai had asked if Jankowski was an intelligence officer. This inquiry was based on the fact that he had asked questions similar to those which would have been asked by an intelligence officer. There was no assertion that he had ever posed as an intelligence officer.

It was determined that information had also been received from the same source that their informant obtained a story from a man who admitted he was a Soviet agent to the effect that he was utilizing the services of Jankowski in connection with commercial transactions. The file also contained a memorandum dated October 6, 1947 from James B. Pilcher, Administrative Counsel, advising the State Department that Jankowski's report about being detained by the Police was apparently faked to cover an indiscretion and absence from work. It was also indicated that Jankowski since his indiscretion had feigned a sickness of the arm. A suggestion was made that a complete investigation be made, however, before it was instituted, Jankowski was assigned to Tunis by way of Washington, D. C., for consultation and when he returned to the United States he submitted his resignation January 10, 1948. No further inquiry was made by the Bureau in this Loyalty case. (121-14382-3)

On October 12, 1948, Jankowski was interviewed by Bureau Agent in Philadelphia as a Translator Applicant. The interviewing agent indicated that Jankowski appeared to be capable as a Polish translator, however, his personal characteristics and history were such as to make his employment with the Bureau undesirable. According to the interviewer's report Jankowski was employed by the State Department in Shanghai, China from March to December 1947 as a clerk and at the same time acted as an undercover informant for CIC without the knowledge of the State Department. This apparently caused him difficulty with consular officials and was recalled to the United States and transferred to Tunisia, whereupon he resigned. It was also stated in the interviewer's report that Jankowski claimed that while in China he was drugged and abducted by Chinese Police who claimed that he was drunk and reported him to the State Department. It was also indicated that Jankowski's wife in 1948 spent several weeks in a Philadelphia psychiatric hospital, furthermore, Jankowski had a calcified bursa in his left arm which limited the movement of the arm. No action was taken on the application of Jankowski due to the interviewer's recommendation. (67-435430-2)

MRS. PRESTON KEESLING LEWIS

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

Case No. 75. This individual was employed in December 1946 in the Foreign Service in the State Department. According to the files in the Department, he is a known contact of two suspects in the investigation of Soviet espionage activities in the United States. The investigative report dated March, 1947, showed he sent material to one of the Soviet espionage suspects who had previously given him the names of two well known Communists whom he could contact abroad.

Possible Identification

This individual is possibly identical with the subject of a preliminary loyalty inquiry made by the Bureau in June, 1948, entitled "Preston Keesling Lewis, aka, Mrs. Robert G. Lewis, American Embassy, Department of State, Paris, France."

This inquiry was based upon information received from the Washington Field Division to the effect that, as of late fall of 1946, Preston Lewis, a contact of Mary Jane Keesey, Abel and Doris Flemm, contacts of subjects of the Gregory case, was employed in the American Embassy at Paris, France. Confidential Informants in the Gregory case advised that Mary Jane Keesey received a letter from her husband dated January 23, 1947, in which he stated "That was a beautiful letter from Emilio (Andres, French Communist). It is fine that he has the Lewis (Robert G. Lewis and Preston Lewis) contact."

This same informant reported that Mary Jane Keesey received a letter from Robert Lewis February 2, 1947, wherein it was stated that Preston had taken a position at the American Embassy and that he had presented the letters Mary Jane had given him to deliver to her (Mary Jane's) friends in Paris. Lewis enclosed with his letter a calander for the French Communist Party. (121-11291; 65-56402-2309, p. 70)

It was subsequently ascertained through State Department files that Mrs. Preston Keesling Lewis entered on duty at the American Embassy at Paris on December 3, 1946, and resigned and severed her connections with the Embassy, as of September 23, 1947. No loyalty investigation was initiated by the Bureau because Lewis was no longer an employee of the State Department. According to information obtained from Preston Lewis' personnel file at the State Department, she was born on July 5, 1919, in Wythe County, Virginia. She is the wife of Robert Guilford Lewis. From January, 1940, to June, 1941, she was employed by Roanoke County School, Salem, Virginia, and from December, 1941, to December, 1945, by the Department of Agriculture at Washington, D. C. Her husband was a student in Paris while she was employed at the Embassy. No dissemination of this information was made by the Bureau.

J. F. MAZONE:eb/ejj  
*Jm*



JOSEPH T. FORNO

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case #76

"This does not involve communistic activities, but does shed some light upon the possible reasons for some individuals' being employed by the State Department. This involves the case of a young man who was very patently incompetent and who had made gross misstatements in his application. He was turned down for employment. One of the superiors in the Department then wrote a note to the officer who had the task of deciding whether or not to employ this young man. That was after pressure had been applied from above to get him a job. The following is the comment made by the employing officer: 'If is so little concerned with the quality of Department personnel, there is little we can do. I believe he is more interested in the politics of the situation.'

"That is signed and dated."

Possible Identification:

This individual is apparently Joseph T. Forno. No investigation has been conducted concerning him by the Bureau. Bureau files fail to reflect any information identifiable with him other than information provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, by former Special Agent Robert E. Lee on a confidential basis wherein Forno is referred to as "Case No. 96" and information substantially the same as alleged by Senator McCarthy is set forth. It is noted in this connection that the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation on January 28, 1948, there is set forth information indicating that the individual involved in "Case No. 96" (identified in Lee's material as Joseph T. Forno) was not employed by the State Department, having resigned January 31, 1947. (62-39749-1109)

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R.L. HILLIARD:ama:mem

*[Handwritten signature]*

ANDREW M. KAMARCK

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case No. 78.

"This individual has made application for a P-8 position in the State Department. He has been employed by the Treasury Department from April, 1940, up to the present time, except for military release from July, 1942, to December, 1942. State Department files show that he was highly recommended by two individuals engaged in Soviet espionage activities. Another Government investigative agency indicated that he was one of the contacts of the subject of a Soviet espionage case. One of his references refused to recommend him because of his association with pro-Communists. This individual is still holding a high-salaried position with the Treasury Department, in work, as I understand, directly with the State Department."

Possible Identification:

This individual is possibly identical with Andrew Martin Kamarck, who was born November 10, 1914, at Newton Falls, New York, and whose Loyalty form and Economic Cooperation Administration application form, filed in 1948, reflected that he, Kamarck, had been employed as Chief of Division by U. S. Treasury from April, 1940, with the exception of period between July, 1942, and December, 1944, while he was in the U. S. Army.

A review of main Bureau files reflects that a preliminary Loyalty investigation was opened on Andrew Martin Kamarck on May 26, 1948, on the basis of Bureau report dated June 5, 1946, at Washington, in the case entitled "Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, was., et al; Espionage - R." This report indicated that a mail cover on the mail of the subject, William Ludwig Ullman, reflected that Ullman received a letter from S. L. Klepper, who was in the U. S. Army in Europe. In this letter, Klepper requested Ullman to give his regards to "Greg, Helen, and Andy Kamarck." (65-56402-1210, p. 161). Also, Bureau report dated November 19, 1946, at Washington in the same case stated that Dorothy Taylor, wife of subject in instant case, related that she and her children were staying at the Kamarck's house, 6905 Beverly Road. (65-56402-1909, p. 140).

The files of the Washington Field Office reflected that Andy Kamarck was listed as a reference by Bruce Waybur in his Civil Service application, and that Waybur was the subject of a Hatch Act investigation in April, 1942, his name being on the membership list of the Washington Bookshop Association as a lifetime member. (121-9119-2).

A preliminary investigation was conducted, which failed to develop any additional pertinent information tending to establish Kamarck's association with Gregory subjects, and, accordingly, the Loyalty form was returned with the following stamp: "No disloyal data FBI files, June 24, 1948." (121-9119-1).

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

J. N. Dinsmore *JND*

On the basis of Kamarek's application with the Economic Cooperation Administration, a full field applicant type investigation was opened on August 30, 1948, entitled "Andrew Martin Kamarek, aka Andrew Martin Kaemaroyk, 'Andy' - European Recovery Program." (It will be noted that copies of all reports on the applicant type investigation for Economic Cooperation Administration were sent to the Civil Service Commission for their consideration under the Loyalty Program). Treasury files reported that in July, 1948, Kamarek was recommended by the Secretary of Treasury to become Treasury Representative to the American Embassy in Rome, and left for this assignment around September 1, 1948. Further, that Kamarek received several letters of commendation signed by President Truman; John S. Wymant, U. S. Representative to the United Nations Organization; and Richard Bissell, Jr., Executive Secretary of the President's Committee for Foreign Aid.

Bureau investigation showed that, while Kamarek was overseas, he had, during May, 1945, invited Sidney Lester Klepper and Bill Taylor to his residence for dinner; that Taylor was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in the District of Columbia during the early 1940's; further, that Taylor was a dues-paying member of the Communist Party and a contact for Soviet agents. The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities indicated Klepper was a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action in 1940. This committee comes within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

In addition, this investigation revealed that Harry Dexter White had asked Bill Taylor if Andy Kamarek had returned to the United States, and that White was involved in a Soviet conspiracy during the early 1940's. Treasury Department records indicated that both Taylor and White were employed by the Treasury Department at that time, and that Taylor was Assistant Director of Monetary Research and White was Assistant Secretary of Treasury.

In addition, this investigation revealed that Dick and Elizabeth Sasuly advised that Dick had told Jack Burke to see Kamarek during July, 1946, as Kamarek may be able to place Burke in a position at the Monetary Research in the Treasury Department. Sasuly had been in close contact with persons believed to be engaged in Soviet espionage and Communist Party activities such as Bob Hall, Washington representative of the "Daily Worker" and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Co-workers and references all recommended Kamarek and believed any association with former Treasury Department employees Ullman, Taylor, White, Silvermaster, and Waybur was strictly from a business standpoint; also, in addition, the investigation revealed that Andrew Kamarek's brother, Frank Martin Kamarek, and wife, Esther, are known members of the Kings County Communist Party at Brooklyn, New York, and are both active, absorbed, and zealous Communist workers. (124-1174-7).

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Copies of all investigative reports on Andrew Martin Kamarok were forwarded the Economic Cooperation Administration and the Civil Service Commission on October 27, 1948.

Letter dated October 25, 1948, from the Economic Cooperation Administration advised that Andrew Kamarok was one of four individuals whose services had been terminated, and requested that any further investigation be discontinued. (124-1174, p. 12).

Letter dated January 28, 1949, from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board, U. S. Civil Service Commission, made reference to Andrew Martin Kamarok, Treasury Representative, American Embassy, Treasury Department, Rome, Italy. Employee was checked as "retained." (This disposition was apparently based on the full field investigation for Economic Cooperation Administration, copies of which were sent to Civil Service).

The files fail to reflect Kamarok was ever employed by the State Department, it being noted that the individual mentioned in Case No. 78 had made application for a P-8 position in the State Department.

Also, according to Senator McCarthy's statement, one reference refused to recommend the individual mentioned because of his association with pro-Communists. It will be noted the five references interviewed in the Economic Cooperation Administration investigation recommended Kamarok and furnished no derogatory information concerning him.

In addition, according to Senator McCarthy's statement, the individual referred to has been employed by the Treasury Department from 1940 to the present, except for military release from July, 1942, to December, 1942. It will be noted that the files reflect Kamarok has been employed by the Treasury Department since April, 1940, with the exception of the period between July, 1942, and December, 1944, while he was in the U. S. Army. (124-1174).

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Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

T. ACHILLES POLYZOIDES

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case No. 79

"This individual is on the special project staff at the State Department. The intelligence report in his file indicates that numerous informants reported he was pro-Communist, radical, and of dubious background. However, I understand he has been given top secret clearance."

Possible Identifications:

This individual is possibly identical with T. Achilles Polyzoides.

A check of the general indices of the Bureau has disclosed that, while no investigation has been conducted concerning him, the Bureau, as of the present time, is processing a personnel security questionnaire with a view towards conducting an investigation of him under the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. The request for the investigation is predicated on the fact that he is Director of Special Projects in the Department of State and requires access to restricted data in order to serve the Intelligence Division, both of the Department of State and of the Atomic Energy Commission.

A review of the Bureau files disclosed that T. Achilles Polyzoides was employed for eleven years by the Franklin Savings Bank in New York City, and then by a foreign language newspaper published by the New Generation Publishing Company. This company was at one time headed by his father, and he reportedly was in their employ for about eighteen months.

He entered the Armed Services and was affiliated with the Bureau of Public Relations of the United States Army in the Foreign Language Section for a period of about ten months. He then was transferred to the Military Intelligence Service in 1942. He is reported to have served continuously with this group and to have been stationed in Washington, D. C., all the time, and is further reported to have been working on Balkan matters. (105-3191-2). Examination of his personnel security questionnaire has reflected that he was an Army officer assigned to the Intelligence Branch of the War Department in Washington, D. C., from February 28, 1942, to March 4, 1946, and that from March 8, 1946, to the present time, he has been employed in intelligence work by the Department of State in Washington, D. C.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Under date of May 15, 1946, a brief summary of background information was prepared and disseminated to Colonel Cunningham of NIA, identified as the National Intelligence Authority, the predecessor to the National Security Council. Under date of January 29, 1947, the contents of the memorandum were discussed by liaison with Colonel Clarke of the Military Intelligence Division. It is to be noted at this point that the Secretary of State was a member of the National Intelligence Authority.

129

JAF

JOHN E. FOLEY:slm

A similar memorandum was disseminated on May 15, 1946, concerning Adamantios Theophilus Polyzoides, the father of the employee, who is described as a professor at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, California, a lecturer, and a writer, and who is further described by an outside source of unknown reliability as follows: "I consider him not only a fellow traveler but an out and out Communist." This opinion appears to have been predicated on his public writings. From available information, there is no indication the father is affiliated with any questionable groups, (105-3151). Under date of March 18, 1947, the Department of State furnished the Bureau with a list of cleared personnel of the Special Project Staff bearing the name, among others, of T. Achilles Polyzoides, 308 Duke Street, Alexandria, Virginia, born January 30, 1909. (64-2001-1-5).

From the available information, there is no indication that T. Achilles Polyzoides is affiliated with any questionable group.

Additional information, however, in the Bureau's files reflects that from February, 1946, to November, 1947, the Bureau conducted an intensive investigation of Ellsworth L. and Anna Raymond, which was based on information that the latter acted as an informant for the NKVD in Moscow, Russia. Ellsworth L. Raymond, who was employed with MIS from February, 1944, to October 9, 1946, as head of the Russian Economics Section, in an interview on October 20, 1947, listed Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Achilles Polyzoides, whom he once numbered as a friend, as a member of the "McCormack Group", which he alleged were pro-Soviet at all times in their analysis. (65-49812-133 and 228).

It is noted that the individual referred to by Senator McCarthy under "Case No. 79" is apparently identical with the individual referred to as "Case No. 105" in the material provided to the Bureau on January 29, 1948, on a confidential basis by former SA Robert E. Lee. In Lee's material, T. Achilles Polyzoides is identified as "Case No. 105" and information is set forth that he was on the Special Project Staff and that "numerous confidential informants reported he 'was pro-Communist, radical, left wing, of dubious background, etc.' His father is regarded as very liberal. The file (apparently State Department file) developed no tangible proof of any Communist activities on the part of the subject. He was given security clearance on the date of the memorandum." (February 26, 1947).

In this connection, the Bureau obtained photostatic copies of testimony taken before the House Appropriations Committee in connection with the State Department Appropriation Bill for 1949. Under the testimony of Hamilton Robinson, Director, Office of Control, Division of Security and Investigation, on January 28, 1948, there appears information to the effect that the individual involved in "Case No. 105" (identified in Lee's material as T. Achilles Polyzoides) was employed by the State Department, having been "approved". (62-39749-1109).

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JOHN TIPTON FISHBURN

Allegations by Senator McCarthy

"Case Number 80. This individual is a chief in the Division of International Labor. The Department's investigative agency indicates receipt of information in October, 1946, to the effect that this individual was a member of at least one Communist-front organization and is a fellow traveler. He, however, still retains his position in the State Department."

Possible Identification

This individual apparently is John Tipton Fishburn. The Bureau files reflect that an investigation was conducted concerning him during September and October, 1947 when he was an applicant for a position with the Central Intelligence Group. Fishburn was employed at that time as Chief of the Area Problems Branch of the State Department. Informants advised that Fishburn was a member of the Washington Bookshop Association, the United Spanish Aid Committee, the Capitol City Forum and the United Federal Workers of America-OIO. Acquaintances and neighbors of Fishburn at Cushing, Oklahoma, advised that they would not recommend him for employment because of suspected foreign sympathies. Copies of the investigative reports were furnished to CIG on December 12, 1947. Fishburn was denied employment by CIG on the basis of the information contained in the FBI reports. (118-2650-2X, 8, 9.)

Fishburn was again investigated by the Bureau under the Loyalty Program in 1948 when he was employed as Chief of the Division of International Labor, Department of State. This investigation developed additional information to the effect that Fishburn had written an article in 1946 portraying the World Federation of Trade Unions in a favorable light. Copies of the loyalty reports were furnished to CSC on May 17, 1948, and by letter dated September 20, 1948, the Loyalty Review Board advised that Fishburn was being retained. Copies of the loyalty reports were also furnished to the Department of Justice on March 29, 1949, and by memorandum dated April 15, 1949, the Department advised that the reports failed to disclose evidence of a violation of any Federal statute. (121-3292-9, 17, 20, 21.)

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Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_ C. H. NOON: eb:mem  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RUBY ALMEDA PARSON, nee  
Pederson, aka Mrs. Glenn Richmond Parson

Allegations by Senator McCarthy:

Case No. 51. "I think this individual has been doing this Nation untold damage because of the high position she holds in the Voice of America. This individual was in the Voice of America project, in the New York office, until some time ago. She was transferred to Europe, technically under control of the Commanding General, in the same type of work as the Voice of America, and subsequently the entire project was transferred back to the State Department, and she is today in the State Department.

"The file in this case contains a wealth of information indicating that this individual is an extremely dangerous and active Communist, completely disloyal to the United States, and loyal to Soviet Russia. Much of the information here, however, was given in strictest confidence but I shall try to give somewhat of a picture of this person.

"It is perhaps sufficient to point out that the witnesses without exception have stated in essence that this individual has collected in her office a mixture of fellow travelers and pseudo liberals and outright Communists. These witnesses indicate that the group is close knit and attempts a vicious character assassination of anyone who attempts to disagree with them, and apparently rather successfully so.

"The witnesses without exception seem to feel that this individual has exerted a great deal of control over the information used on the Voice of America, and is doing the United States immeasurable damage.

"I understand that this individual is now in Europe, and, although technically under the control of the Army, is in effect, to all intents and purposes, under the control of the State Department, and is still doing the same work as that involved in the Voice of America, formerly worked on in New York.

"Mr. President, since this paper was dictated night before last I find that she is back in the State Department.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

"Immediate steps should be taken, in my opinion, to obtain not only the discharge but the prosecution of this individual."

Possible Identification:

This individual is possibly identical with Ruby Almeda Parson, nee Pederson, aka Mrs. Glenn Richmond Parson. The Bureau's files reflect a Loyalty investigation was conducted concerning Mrs. Parson.

WS.BLAIR:iml  
121-11730



Said Loyalty investigation was initiated in July, 1945, predicated upon an allegation by a fellow employee that Mrs. Parson had advised her secretary that her husband, Glenn Parson, had been a Communist Party member for eighteen years. Complainant affirmed this allegation upon recontact. He also stated that Mrs. Parson associated with State Department employees he considered to be either Communists or fellow-travelers, because of their statements and associates. Other informants also considered her associates in the same light but lacked proof of any Communist Party membership on their part.

The original complainant is not willing to testify but did express a desire to fact the employee's secretary in the event she denied her statement to him concerning her husband.

Upon interview, Mrs. Parson's secretary denied making the allegation attributed to her.

Conflicting loyalty data was given by her business associates and neighbors, but no proof of Communist Party membership was offered. Allegations were received that Mrs. Parson was a "liberal" and associated with "leftists" and individuals considered by the interviewees to be Communists, but concerning whom they lacked proof of Communist Party membership.

Several of Mrs. Parson's associates in Voice of America questioned her loyalty or judgment on the basis she allegedly selected news items of a pro-Russian and pro-Communist slant and deleted items which were critical of Russia. Some of her associates and her superiors claimed she faithfully followed State Department policy directives, which, prior to March, 1947, were to placate Russia and thereafter took the opposite tack. Two associates felt she carried the State Department's pro-Russian policy to extremes. These two persons are willing to testify.

Several associates in VOA stated that Mrs. Parson selected personnel they considered questionable and harassed those who did not follow her orders.

Mrs. Parson voted as a registrant of the American Labor Party in 1940, 1941 and 1943. On March 29, 1944, the House Committee on Un-American Activities cited said Party as a Communist front.

Mrs. Parson's State Department superiors and her school associates consider her to be loyal.

No derogatory information was developed by the Army investigation of the employee's activities in Berlin.

No one furnishing substantive derogatory information concerning Mrs. Parson is willing to testify except as noted above.

A Loyalty investigation of employee's husband, who was employed by the Army in Berlin, failed to produce proof of his Communist Party membership, although several associates stated he was a "liberal", "radical", "Communist" and "might have been a Communist". Reliable information was received that one of his associates was a Communist Party member. A former associate of the husband stated Parson advised him in 1947, that he had refused to join the Communist Party when membership was offered to him.

(121-12961)

Mrs. Parson is believed to be the un-named subject of an article in the Washington, D. C., "Times-Herald" of May 18, 1949, entitled "Red Suspect Holds High Job in AEC", on the basis the information cited therein closely paralleled available data concerning Mrs. Parson. (100-366357)

Mrs. Parson was employed by the Office of War Information, New York City, June, 1943, to January, 1946, when she transferred to the International Broadcasting Division of the State Department (VOA), New York City. In February, 1948, she was assigned to the Office of Military Government of the United States in Berlin as Deputy Chief of the Radio Control Branch. (100-366357-4)

She returned to the United States on October 13, 1949, at the completion of her employment agreement. (100-366357-4)

Reports were submitted to the Civil Service Commission on December 15, 1948, and the results of the foreign investigation were submitted on April 11, 1949. No disposition was shown in the file as of February 23, 1950.

Reports were submitted to the Department on December 22, 1948 and the results of the foreign investigation were submitted on April 11, 1949. The Department advised on May 18, 1949, that no prosecutive action was contemplated.

Copies of the loyalty reports on the husband, Glenn Richmond Parson, were submitted to the Civil Service Commission on December 13, 1948, and the results of the foreign investigation were submitted on March 31, 1949. On August 19, 1949, advice was received that he had been "cleared on security - P.M. 808". Reports were also submitted to the Department on December 17, 1948, and results of the foreign investigation were submitted on March 31, 1949. On May 19, 1949, the Department advised that no prosecutive action was contemplated.

(121-12961;100-366357)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
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Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**X STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE X LOYALTY**  
**INVESTIGATION**

**REPORT**

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 231**

**A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE**  
**ARE EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT**  
**DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES**



JULY 20, 1950.—Ordered to be printed with illustrations

UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1950

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121-23278-196

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Attached is one of four statements received from State Department employes who worked on the project of removing all evidence of communistic activities, etc., from the files of State Department employes.

July 6, 1950

The following information is given by me freely and voluntarily without any promises whatsoever. I furnish this information because it is the truth and I feel it is my patriotic duty to furnish the facts as I experienced them.

I am living at

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

at the present time.

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b7C

In August 1946 I was released from the U.S. Navy in California. I came to Washington, D.C. and while in Washington, D.C. I was looking for a job. I went into the Walker Johnson building of State Department at 18th & New York Ave N.W. I talked to a fellow in the State Department by the name of Holcombe. I got a temporary clerical job in the files at the Walker Johnson Bldg. These files were the Departmental personnel files located in the Walker Johnson Bldg. I started work on these files in Sept 1946. When I reported for duty I was told that I would be working on a project on these files. This project had been going on for sometime before I started. There were at least 8 persons who were working on this project.

I was not formally and specifically instructed as to what the purpose of the project was, but from what I was instructed by the other clerks, I and the other clerks were to go through each personnel file and pull out all derogatory material from the file. In addition to the

Van 62  
July 6, 1950

usual personnel forms, the files contained all kinds of letters, reports, memorandum concerning the individual person. As per instructions I received, all of the clerks on this project were to pull out of the files all matters matters considered derogatory either morally or politically.

The project was very confused but I and the other clerks pulled out of each personnel file any material which could be considered derogatory. This material was removed and some was thrown in wastebaskets by us and some was thrown in ~~to~~<sup>PEB</sup> a cardboard box. I don't know what happened to the derogatory material we pulled out from the files but I do know of my own knowledge ~~that~~<sup>that</sup> a good lot of it was destroyed.

I do not recall details of each personnel file I examined, but the material I pulled out of the files pertained to either the morals of the person or in some way reflected on his or her loyalty. I recall one thick report on one state department employee who was accused of being a photographer and a member of some subversive organization which published some sort of news report. This was ~~thrown away~~<sup>PEB</sup> removed from the file and disposed of.

I worked from September till the end of December 1946 working on this file project pulling out and disposing of

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05819  
1946

Page 3.  
the derogatory material as per my understanding given  
me.

I left on Dec 31, 1946 and this project on the  
personnel files was still not finished, but my  
temporary appointment ran out and my employment  
with the State Dept. ended.

I cant recall who the official in charge of  
these files was. I met him only once a very  
few times but I could easily recognize him if  
I saw him.

I have read this statement of three  
pages and the facts are true to the best  
of my knowledge and belief

b6  
b7c

Signed -

Witnessed:

[Redacted]

July 6, 1950.

[Redacted]



New York Herald Tribune  
Thursday, June 22, 1950

## Tydings Asserts F. B. I. Cleared State Dept. Files

Says Check-Up Showed No  
Loyalty Data Tampering  
as Charged by McCarthy

By Raymond J. Blair

WASHINGTON, June 21.—A check by the F. B. I. has failed to substantiate Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's charge that eighty-one State Department loyalty files have been "raped" to eliminate damaging evidence. Senator Millard E. Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, said today.

Senator Tydings is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee investigating charges by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, of communism in the State Department. The loyalty records were made available to the Tydings subcommittee May 4 by President Truman. Senator McCarthy recently charged they had been "raped, skeletonized or tampered with" so that they did not contain all of the relevant material.

Senator Tydings told reporters that upon hearing Senator McCarthy's charge, he asked the Justice Department to investigate. Today he received the department's report, he said, in a letter from Peyton Ford, assistant to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath.

The report said, Senator Tydings stated, that a study by F. B. I. agents had shown the files were "intact" and that all F. B. I. material on the eighty-one individuals involved, whom Senator McCarthy has accused of Communist leanings, was included.

Senator Tydings also said that study of the files would be completed by the subcommittee Sunday night. It was not clear, however, whether this program was acceptable to all subcommittee members.

NEW YORK TIMES  
THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1950

## M'CARTHY IS HELD REFUTED ON FILES

Tydings Says F. B. I. Reports  
Dossiers Not Tampered With  
—Group to End Examination

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, June 21.—Senate investigators will close on Sunday night their two-month examination of eighty-one confidential State Department loyalty files and will return them at once to the Administration.

This was disclosed today by Senator Millard E. Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee that has been intermittently reading the dossiers in the White House in its investigation of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's charges of communism in the State Department.

At the same time, Mr. Tydings asserted that a special inquiry by the Federal Bureau of Investigation had established as false Mr. McCarthy's accusations that the files had been "raped" before being turned over to the subcommittee.

A letter just received from Peyton Ford, First Assistant Attorney General, stated, Senator Tydings added, that a special inquiry made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation produced the following results:

"That the files are intact, that they have not been raped, skeletonized or tampered with in any way and that the material turned over to the State Department by the F. B. I. is still in the files."

"Thus," Mr. Tydings added, "the McCarthy charges are not sustained by the facts." He declared himself unable to give out the text of Mr. Ford's letter because it would disclose the names of some of the persons whose files were under study.

121-23278-240



**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.**

*July 10, 1950*

Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

*My dear Senator:*

*I have received your letter dated June 27, 1950 inquiring whether this Bureau has examined the 81 loyalty files which the members of the Tydings Committee have been scrutinizing and whether such an examination by the FBI has disclosed that the files are complete and that nothing has been removed therefrom.*

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

*For your information, the Federal Bureau of Investigation furnished Mr. Ford, at his request, a record of all loyalty material furnished the State Department in the 81 cases referred to. For your further information, I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Ford's letter to Senator Tydings which I have secured from the Attorney General.*

*Sincerely yours,*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. Edgar Hoover", is written over the typed name.

*Enclosure*

**BY SPECIAL MESSENGER**

AMERICAN COUNCIL  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Members of Executive Committee - 1944

Robert D. Calkins, Chairman ✓	School of Business, Columbia University New York City
✓ Eugene E. Barnett ✓	International Committee, Y.M.C.A. New York City
✓ G. Ellsworth Huggins ✓	Catlin Farish Company Inc. New York City
* Philip C. Jessup ✓	Professor of International Law Columbia University, N.Y.C.
✓ James L. McConaughy ✓	United China Relief, Inc. New York City
Lawrence Morris ✓	Hawkins, Delafield & Longfellow New York City
<u>Mrs. Ada Constock Notestein</u> ✓	Former President, Radcliffe College Cambridge, Mass.
Lawrence D. Seymour ✓	Dodge & Seymour Ltd. New York City
* <u>Frederick V. Field</u> ✓	Council for Pan American Democracy New York City
✓ Raymond Dennett, Secretary	American Council, IFR, New York City

Members of Research Advisory Committee - 1944

* <u>Philip C. Jessup</u> , Chairman ✓	Professor of International Law Columbia University, N.Y.C.
H. Foster Bain	Mining Geologist and Engineer Engineers Club, N.Y.C.
Rupert Emerson	Foreign Economic Administration Washington, D. C.
Grayson Kirk	Professor, Institute of International Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Benjamin H. Kizer ✓	Graves, Kizer & Graves Spokane, Washington
* <u>Harriet Moore</u> ✓	American Russian Institute New York City
Frank M. Russell	Professor, University of California San Francisco, California
Harold Sprout	Princeton University Princeton, New Jersey
<u>Eugene Staley</u>	School of Advanced International Studies Washington, D. C.
Raymond Dennett, Secretary	American Council, I.P.R. New York City



The attached is of some interest in the Jessup case in view of the State Department's press releases to the effect that Ambassador Jessup was only one of 50 trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The Research Advisory Council, of which Jessup was Chairman, had complete editorial control over the publication FAR EASTERN SURVEY, which concentrated upon selling the Communist Party line on Asia.

During 1943, E. C. Carter technically was in control of the magazine. However, the actual physical control was exercised by Jessup at the time of the Bisson article, which initiated the Communist Party line smear attack upon the anti-Communist forces in China and the lavish praise of the Chinese Communist leaders. The anti-Communist Chinese were referred to him when they objected to the fact that the FAR EASTERN SURVEY was following the Communist Party line on China.

The attached checks represent Communist money paid to support the Jessup publication. It will be noted they are signed by Frederick V. Field, the self-proclaimed Communist who has been named in sworn testimony before the Senate Committee as a Soviet espionage agent. At this time I am unable to supply the photostats of checks paid subsequent to December 1, 1943. The committee has been urged, but has refused, to subpoena Field's complete financial records.

121-23278-240

June 10, 1947

FROM: SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

TO: SECRETARY OF STATE, GEORGE C. MARSHALL

It becomes necessary due to the gravity of the situation to call your attention to a condition that developed and still flourishes in the State Department under the administration of Dean Acheson.

It is evident that there is a deliberate, calculated program being carried out not only to protect Communist personnel in high places, but to reduce security and intelligence protection to a nullity.

Regarding the much-publicized MARZANI case, the evidence brought out at his trial was well known to State Department officers, who ignored it and refused to act for a full year.

MARZANI and several other Department officials, with full knowledge of the State Department, and with Government time and money, promoted a scheme called PRESENTATIONS, INC., which contracted with a Communist dominated organization to disseminate propaganda.

Security objections to these and other even more dangerous developments were rebuffed by high administrative officials; and there followed the substitution of unqualified men for these competent, highly respected personnel who theretofore held the intelligence and security assignments in the Department. The new chief of controls is a man utterly devoid of background and experience for the job, who is and at the time of his appointment was known to those who appointed him to be, a cousin and close associate of a suspected Soviet espionage agent. The next development was the refusal of the FBI, G-2, ONI and other federal investigative agencies to continue the whole hearted cooperation they had for years extended to the State Department.

On the file in the Department is a copy of a preliminary report of the FBI on Soviet espionage activities in the United States, which involves a large number of State Department employes, some in high official positions. This report has been challenged and ignored by those charged with the responsibility of administering the Department with the apparent tacit approval of Mr. Acheson. Should this case break before the State Department acts, it will be a national disgrace.

Voluminous files are on hand in the Department proving the connection of the State Department employes and officials with this Soviet espionage ring. Despite this, only two persons, one of whom is MARZANI, were released under the McCarran rider because of their subversive activity.

1. [REDACTED]
2. [REDACTED]
3. [REDACTED]
4. [REDACTED]
5. [REDACTED]

6. [REDACTED]
7. [REDACTED]
8. [REDACTED]
9. [REDACTED]

are only a few of the hundreds now employed in varying capacities who are protected and allowed to remain despite the fact that their presence is an obvious hazard to national security. There is also the extensive employment in highly classified position of admitted homosexuals, who are historically known to be security risks.

The War and Navy Departments have been thwarted for a year in their efforts to carry out the German Scientist program. They are blocked by one man in the State Department, a protege of Acheson named [REDACTED], who is also the chief instrument in the subverting of the over-all security program.

This deplorable condition runs all the way up and down the line. Assistant Secretary Braden also surrounded himself with men like [REDACTED] and with [REDACTED] who has a notorious international reputation. The network also extends into the office of Assistant Secretary Benton.

SUBCOMMITTEE OF  
SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

American Peoples Fund, Inc.  
18 West 12th Street

No. 7

December 27 1942

*Circular Council for the Study of Foreign Relations, Inc. — \$1,000.00*

*Amount* 1,000.00 Dollars

Madison Avenue Office  
Guaranty Trust Company of New York  
Madison Avenue at 60th Street  
New York, N.Y.

American Peoples Fund, Inc.

*Robert V. Field*

Stamp - Print

40  
PAY TO THE ORDER OF  
NEW YORK BANK  
1-45 DEC 1 1942  
NEW YORK  
40  
ON EXCHANGE BANK

40  
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1

Vertical text on the right side of the page, possibly a routing slip or address, including the words "AMERICAN PEOPLES FUND OF PEOPLE & COUNTRIES".

Madison Avenue Office  
Guaranty Trust Company of New York <sup>1-23</sup>/<sub>2</sub>  
... NEW YORK, N.Y.

Frederick V. Field

No. 54

January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1942

Pay to the order of American Exchange Bank

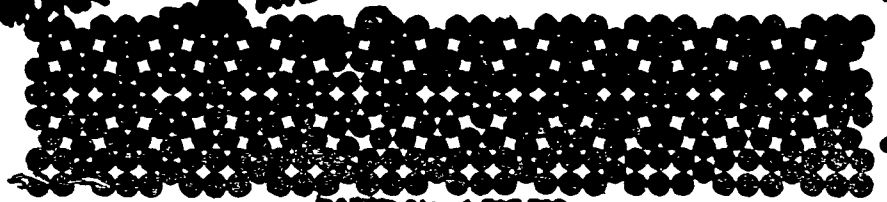
one thousand <sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Dollars

\$1,000<sup>00</sup>

*Frederick V. Field*

Special Account

PAY TO THE ORDER OF  
ANY BANK, BANKER OR TRUST COMPANY  
1-45 JAN 28 1942 1-45  
OR THROUGH THE  
NEW YORK CLEARING HOUSE  
40 ONE ENDICOTT SQUARE  
FOREIGN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST  
CORPORATION AVENUE BRANCH





Frederick V. Field

# Guaranty Trust Company of New York

Madison Avenue at 60th Street  
New York, N.Y.

Pay to  
the order of

*American Trust & Savings Bank*

*One Thousand Five Hundred*

\$1,500<sup>00</sup>

PAY TO THE ORDER OF THE  
AMERICAN TRUST & SAVINGS CO.

ALL CHECKS MUST BE CASHED AT THE BANK

SECRET

THE ORDER OF  
 DEC 17 1941  
 ON TRUST COMPANY  
 1-45  
 THROUGH THE  
 CLEARING HOUSE  
 OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK  
 PAY TO THE ORDER OF THE  
 AMERICAN TRUST & SAVINGS CO.  
 ALL CHECKS MUST BE CASHED AT THE BANK

(PHILIP JESSUP)

DATA ON COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS WITH  
WHICH AMBASSADOR JESSUP WAS AFFILIATED.

Source: "Citations by Official Government Agencies of Organizations and Publications found to be communist or communist fronts," Prepared and released by Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, December 18, 1948.

AMERICAN COUNCIL, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

1. "Cited as a Communist front which received funds from the American People's Fund, another front organized and directed by Frederick V. Field as a repository for funds to be distributed to Communist enterprises."

(California State Legislature Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 168)

Note: "American People's Fund -- organized and directed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field as a repository for funds to be distributed to Communist enterprises." This 'Communist financial organization has paid out large sums of money to \* \* \* Communist and Communist-front organizations' such as National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Allied Labor News, American Russian Institute, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee."

(California State Legislature Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 168)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO LIFT THE SPANISH EMBARGO

1. "Cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the Party carried on a great deal of agitation."

(Special Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 137-138)

2. "Cited as a Communist front."

(California State Legislature Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 210)

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE

1. "Cited as a Communist front."

(Special Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 49)

2. "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi Pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Report No. 115, September 2, 1947, p. 12)

3. "Cited as a Communist front."

(California State Legislature Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 115)

NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

1. "Cited as a Communist front."

(Special Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 102)

2. "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi Pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities,  
House of Representatives, Report No. 115, September 2,  
1947, p. 12)

3. "Cited as a Communist-front organization defending Communists. 'After the dissolution of the American League for Peace and Democracy in February, 1940, the Communist Party frantically organized a new series of front organizations. The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was one of the new fronts and it was filled from top to bottom with veteran Communist Party liners.'" (California State Legislature Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 112 and 327.)
4. "Cited as 'subversive and Un-American.'" (Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3)

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION  
(Also known as the American Russian Institute)

1. "A direct agent of the Soviet Union, engaged in traitorous activities under the orders of Stalin's consular service in the United States. Founded in 1926 \*\*\*the semi-official status of the American Russian Institute is established." (California State Legislature Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, pp. 169 and 327)
2. "Cited as 'a Communist organization supported by "intellectuals"'" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 279)

AMERICAN LAW STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

(Letterheads, which bear Jessup's name as member of Faculty Advisory Board, were printed in Communists print shop and bear label number 209, which is Communist print shop label).

1. The American Law Students Association was affiliated with the American Youth Congress.
  - (1) "Cited as subversive and Communist." (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948)
  - (2) "It originated in 1934 and \*\*\*has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth." (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10)
  - (3) "One of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line\*\*\*under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 16; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1939, p. 82; January 3, 1941, p. 21; June 25, 1942, p. 16 and March 29, 1944, p. 102)

- (4) "Launched during August of 1934 and for about 7 years \*\*\* one of the most influential front organizations ever established by the American Communist Party."  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 179)
  - (5) "The purpose of the Young Communist League in controlling and building this American Youth Congress is the same as in its other youth groups, namely, to build up a united front, to push the objective of and produce cadres for the Communist Party among persons to whom they would be unable to make a direct approach."  
(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pg. 525.)
  - (6) Cited as "subversive and un-American."  
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.)
  - (7) Cited as a Communist front.  
(Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.)
2. The American Law Student Association was affiliated with the United Students Peace Committee of 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.
- (1) "The American Student Union \*\*\* announced that it set up the 'front' movement, the United Student Peace Committee, in 1938, which has brought into its front 17 national youth organizations."  
(Special Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 80)
3. The American Law Students Association was affiliated with the American League Against War and Fascism
- (1) Cited as subversive and Communist.  
(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)
  - (2) A "Communist-front organization."  
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10)
  - (3) "Established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union."  
(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683)
  - (4) "The American League Against War and Fascism was organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26-28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy.\*\*\*It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before."  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report March 29, 1944, p. 53; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69 and 121; January 3, 1940, p. 10; June 25, 1942, p. 14.)

- (5) Hollywood unit cited as a Communist front.  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 91.)
- (6) "The Communist Party has, since the inception of the League, been a component and controlling part of it." William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, admitted his party was "a vital factor" in the League.  
(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 298 and 460.)
- (7) Cooperated with the Communist Party in defense of Morris U. Schappes, Party member convicted of perjury.  
(Rapp-Coudert Committee, Report, 1942, p. 293.)
- (8) "The American League against War and Fascism, predecessor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, both described by Earl Browder as Communist transmission belts."  
(New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.)

4. The American Law Student's Association utilized the Communist Party print shop known as the Prompt Press, using union label 209.

CHINA AID COUNCIL (Mrs. Jessup member of Executive Committee)

1. "Cited as a Communist front and a subsidiary organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy."  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 151, 319, and 336.)
2. "Cited as a 'subsidiary' of the American League for Peace and Democracy."  
(Special Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 16)

#000000

This case was presented to the Senate as a typical file covering those individuals whose cases were given to the Senate by Senator McCarthy. The name of the individual involved was deleted because of the position that McCarthy has always taken that no individual should be publicly named until he has had the opportunity to present his defense. The names of informants have also been deleted as well as all other information which might in any way hamper further investigation by the F.B.I.

121-23278-240

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FOI/PA  
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Attached are photostats of two documents which demonstrate the typical deliberate misrepresentations engaged in by the Tydings-McMahon Committee and the State Department during the entire course of this investigation.

It will be noted that the letter of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, clearly brands the Tydings statement as a lie.

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Part of a 106 page secret report prepared by a State

Department security officer for the head of the Security Division.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1410023-0

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Re: DOCUMENTS FOUND AT THE SHERMAN HOTEL  
on August 16, 1950  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Enclosures to the Bureau - Miscellaneous documents

Director, FBI

August 28, 1950

SAC, Chicago

REGISTERED MAIL

Documents Found at the Sherman Hotel  
on August 16, 1950  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Reylet August 28, 1950 captioned as above.

Enclosed are copies of the same material as indicated in referenced  
letter.

Encs.

WLR-JCS  
62-0

0005

147-2320-2412

Part of a 106 page secret report prepared by a State  
Department security officer for the head of the Security Division.

SECRET

DO NOT DESTROY  
HISTORICAL VALUE  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES



SURVEY OF DEPARTMENTAL PERSONNEL  
SECURITY INVESTIGATIONS.

S. Klaus  
August 3, 1946

~~SECRET~~

INTRODUCTION

Page 1

I. Findings

3

A. Division of Investigations--CSA

3

1. The Burden of Investigation

5

2. Scope of CSA Investigation

6

3. Review

12

4. Qualifications of CSA Personnel

14

B. Office of the Security Officer--CON

16

1. Organization and Function

16

2. Scope of Activity of CON

19

3. Relation to CSA

20

4. Relation to the Security Committee

21

C. Security Committee

21

1. Organization and Function

21

2. Relation to CON

22

3. The Scope of Review

23

D. Role of the FBI

25

1. Scope of FBI Coverage

28

2. FBI Relations

32

II. Conclusions

34

A. Objectives of Personnel Security Control

34

B. Standards of Personnel Investigation

35

1. Absence of Express Standards

38

~~SECRET~~

-2-

<b>II. <u>Conclusions (cont'd)</u></b>	<b>Page</b>
3. <u>Standards Applied in Practice— General</u>	38
<b>C. <u>Standards of Purpose or Policy</u></b>	39
1. <u>Special Legislative Standards</u>	39
2. <u>Loyalty</u>	40
3. <u>Guilt by Association—Over Acts</u>	43
4. <u>Overthrow of the Government by Violence</u>	45
5. <u>Danger of Penetration by Foreign Governments</u>	46
<b>D. <u>Standards of Proof</u></b>	49
1. <u>Principles</u>	49
2. <u>Administrative Concentration of Effort</u>	52
3. <u>Guilt by Association—Standard of Proof</u>	54
4. <u>Future Importance of Standards of Proof</u>	58
<b>E. <u>Relations to FBI and Other Agencies</u></b>	58
1. <u>Department's Ability to Handle the Investigative Problem</u>	58
2. <u>Nature of FBI's Cooperation</u>	59
<b>F. <u>Reorganization of the Present Depart- mental Facilities</u></b>	63
1. <u>Appraisal of CIA Situation</u>	63
2. <u>Appraisal of OSI</u>	64
3. <u>The Security Committee</u>	66

~~SECRET~~

-3-

	Page
III. <u>Case Studies</u>	68
A. <u>Introductory</u>	68
B. <u>Ida Hallisek</u>	75
C. <u>Millie Chalken</u>	81
D. <u>Bertha Cheney Goodwin</u>	87
E. <u>Rena Townsend Kimball</u>	93
F. <u>Clarence John Nelson</u>	97
G. <u>General Comments</u>	101
IV. <u>Recommendations</u>	102

August 3, 1946

~~SECRET~~

To: A-R - Mr. Panuch  
From: A-R - Mr. Klaus  
Subject: Survey of Departmental Personnel Security  
Investigations.

Introduction

On July 10, 1946, you directed me to conduct a survey of the Washington operations of CSA, COH, and the Security Committee, concerned with the security aspects of the investigation of Departmental personnel. You indicated that you wished the survey to be conducted discreetly and quickly.

Accordingly, I have had conferences with Mr. Fitch and several members of his staff in CSA, with Mr. Bannerman and Mr. Flinn and other members of COH, and with members of the Security Committee. I have surveyed the procedures of the three organizations, have read a number of their files, have discussed with men who handled the cases the details of certain illustrative cases, and attended a meeting of the Security Committee.

In view of the limitations imposed by you, I have not surveyed any of the CSA field offices, nor have I attempted to analyze or appraise the information received from, or operations conducted by, critical auxiliary organizations, such as FBI, the un-American Activities Committee, and the Civil Service Commission. I have not attempted any comprehensive consideration of very important aspects of personnel policy and Departmental management upon which the security investigation operations

impinge.

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

impinge. Finally, I have not evaluated in any comprehensive way the investigational techniques of individual investigators, or the qualifications and capabilities of CON and Security Committee staffs. All these subjects are relevant and must be considered, if a more thorough survey is desired. They do not, however, to my mind, affect appreciably the conclusions which I have reached.

In general, it may be said:

1. The present organization is effective as a screening activity calculated to sift applicants according to relatively crude and normal standards of ordinary employment.
2. The present organization is seriously lacking in securing the Department from penetration by professional foreign agents.
3. The implied--and sometimes explicit--standards of ideology and opinion which are in being applied as shibboleths of security raise serious questions of government policy and of their long-range effect on the intellectual character and personality of the personnel likely to be admitted to the Department.
4. The standards of proof which are being used are frequently dubious. In the cases of employees with status or employment rights, where more ex-

acting standards

acting standards of proof and thoroughness are necessarily imposed, the lack is more serious still.

I

Findings

The personnel investigations in general may be divided into two groups. The first consists of applications for original employment or transfer to Departmental rolls; the other comprises investigations of employees already on the rolls. In the former cases, ordinarily, DP will send the Civil Service Form 57 to CSA with a routine request for investigation. In the second category of cases, such investigations as CSA is requested to perform are usually initiated by CON, which has presumably been making its own study of information received from other, confidential sources such as FBI. In between these two categories are investigations which, for administrative reasons, are requested of CSA by CON and others which are requested by other persons in the Department. Outside these categories are special cases of investigations conducted for the Department by FBI; but these investigations were not surveyed.

A. Division of Investigations--CSA

The Division of Investigations, under Mr. Thomas F. Fitch, is the Department's primary "leg-man" organization. While its functions are not limited to personnel investigation, that, for some time, has constituted the largest part of its work.

Departmental

Departmental Regulation 123.6 sets out the functions of CSA as follows:

**I. FUNCTIONS.** CSA of the Office of Controls (CON) shall be responsible for the following functions:

A. To investigate Departmental and Foreign Service applications for appointment to assure Departmental security.

B. To make such investigations in connection with the granting of passports and visas as may be necessary.

C. To assist other officials, Offices, and Divisions of the State Department upon request:

1. In meeting newly arrived ambassadors and ministers and rendering necessary assistance.

2. In meeting distinguished foreign visitors and members of their parties upon their arrival in the United States, facilitating their entry and their travels within the United States.

3. By examining all files, archives, and other property in embassies and consulate offices of former belligerent nations; by safeguarding such material and property; and by arranging for its custody until its final disposition.

4. By rendering services for the Department in the transfer of foreign consulates within the United States.

**II. ORGANIZATION.** CSA shall be responsible to a Chief Special Agent and shall have the necessary organization which shall include field offices in strategic cities, each office in charge of a Special Agent."

The miscellaneous character of the Special Agents' work probably explains in considerable part the lack of special training and the methods of CSA procedure. The personnel work of CSA happens to be, in consequence of the developments of very recent years, the main portion

of the load



of the load of work and to such an extent that there is a large backlog of unassigned as well as uninvestigated cases.

While the history of the organization and the detail of its methods of operation cannot be dwelt upon here, it is noteworthy that the methods and traditions of the Post Office Inspectors' Service seem to have made their mark in consequence of the fact that both Mr. Fitch and his predecessor had spent long years in that Service and the traditions of investigation of Foreign Service and Departmental personnel applicants had for a long time been geared to the use of the facilities and the staffs of the Post Office Department.

1. The Burden of Investigation

The quality of the work done by Special Agents, especially with respect to the development of information bearing on ideological convictions and secret affiliations, must in any event be delimited by the number of cases handled, the number and quality of agents available, and the pressure of time to produce results. No case-load study has been made in this survey, but it may be noted that Mr. Fitch has current statistics which appear to show that he has had, for some time, a constant and very considerable backlog of unfinished cases of personnel investigations ranging from hundreds to thousands. This is

indicated

indicated by his office records as of July 29, 1946, a copy of which is attached to this report. On the other hand, his entire investigative staff consists of sixty-five men distributed throughout the United States. The pressure for closing cases is constant and great; current operations of divisions of the Department are always impaired to a greater or less degree by non-availability of new personnel awaiting CSA clearance; and pressure, more recently, for the disposition of cases of transfer from temporary agencies has been especially strong. This factor, of course, will be considerably reduced in the future, but the reduction will probably be counter-balanced, to a large extent, by an increase of other work of CSA, particularly passport and visa investigation. Mr. Fitch has asked the Department, and notes that he was refused, about ten additional agents.

## 2. Scope of CSA Investigation

(a) Form DS-83 is the Chief Special Agent's Request for Report. It gives the name of the applicant and the position he seeks, his address, the salary the position pays, his date of birth, the name of the requesting division, and a list of his schools, former employment and reference. This information is transmitted with the following language:

"Special Agent

"Special Agent

"The person named below is an applicant for a position in the Department. Please make the usual investigation and submit report in triplicate (original and two copies) as expeditiously as possible, based on the information and instructions appearing on this form.

"The report, in addition to other pertinent information, should cover the loyalty of the applicant to the United States; date and place of birth; suitability for the position and general reputation and trustworthiness, and comment with reference to the reputation and loyalty of the applicant's family.

"Local police records, other than traffic, should be checked.

Chief Special Agent."

There is no manual of instructions to the agents; no form of report and no visitation or other device for guidance or review.

(b) DP simply requests an investigation, submitting a Form 57, usually; it gives no instructions. FP, however, has a usual mimeographed form which in practice has set the tone in giving the direction for all CSA investigations whether for FP or DP. The usual form reads as follows(a sample file is the source):

"Dear Mr. Fitch:

"Will you kindly investigate Miss \_\_\_\_\_ who seeks appointment to a clerical position in the Foreign Service on the following points:

Character  
Honesty  
Loyalty  
Education  
Culture  
Address

Experience  
Efficiency  
Health and physical  
condition  
Marital Status

(At this point

(At this point there was typewritten:

"Birth certificate and discharge papers have been requested. Please have applicant personally interviewed." )

"Your investigator might be advised that these positions require persons of the highest standard of ability, steady in their habits, of good appearance and health, and who are experienced stenographers.

"On account of the limited number of vacancies in the Service only applicants with the highest qualifications can be selected and it is hoped that your agents will be careful not to recommend anyone who does not possess representative American characteristics and ability to an unusual degree."

(c) CSA is not provided with any standards of proof or of personnel policy or purpose, other than such as are implied in practice. It has no general instructions to guide investigations.

In the usual case, the function of CSA is, thus, to verify statements made by the applicant in his Form 57, and to check the references given on that form by the applicant. Until quite recently, these references were required to be persons, not relatives, who were the applicant's employers or supervisors. More recently, an amended Form 57 calls for three references to include persons not so limited. These tasks of verification, or investigation, are distributed by CSA to its field offices in accordance with the geographical location of the facts to be verified. The CSA investigators

investigators establish the applicant's credit standing, as disclosed by local credit agencies, his police record, his passport record, and FBI and Dies' Committee information. No single investigator, therefore, ordinarily has the entire case, nor is any one agent ever aware of what another agent's investigation has disclosed. Whatever the investigator learns he writes up in his report which is transmitted to Mr. Fitch for coordination with all other reports from CSA agents on the same case.

The type of the CSA investigation is, therefore, conditioned by:

- (1) the Civil Service Commission's forms, applicable to all agencies of the Government alike and not particularly devised to check security items, and
- (2) the fact that CSA investigates for the Foreign Service as well as the Department. Since the Foreign Service emphasizes educational qualifications of the applicant and requests CSA to check these, the CSA investigator tends, in all cases, to intensify on the period of the applicant's education, and to obtain his information on loyalty and opinion from highschool teachers and professors

and professors rather than from companions, professional colleagues or even neighborhood checks. The period subsequent to education is presumably covered by the references--who have been named by the applicant and who have had to be, until recently, superiors or supervisors. It is rare for the CSA investigator to extend his inquiry beyond these references unless specifically directed by CSA. Loyalty and opinion for the adult life of the applicant are thus reported primarily from the references.

Where the applicant has (as in the case of candidates for important Departmental positions) written books or articles, the investigator is not required to read or evaluate this material for ideological or opinion purposes, although he will frequently refer to them by name.

The "derogatory" information reported is usually only that which is obtained by consulting routine sources--police records, Dies' Committee lists, and passport files. The information found is digested and reported but is not verified independently. That is to say, for instance, the agent is required to establish the identity of the applicant with some

one of similar

one of similar name mentioned in the Dies' Committee files and the like, but having established the identity he does not and is not required to verify the derogatory fact implied, such as the subversive character of an organization, the extent of the applicant's part in it, the applicant's explanation of the circumstances of his association, or other information tending to rebut the derogatory inferences drawn from the facts reported.

(d) It may be noted that no investigation of a financial character is conducted--the Department is not aware of what business or other economic ties the applicant has which are likely to influence his opinion or disclose his actual source of income--and no attempt is made to check his income tax records.

(e) It should be noted that investigation is necessarily conducted by the special agents in those territories to which they are accredited. No investigation is, therefore, carried on abroad though there may be leads that would be checked if the places in question were within the United States. Furthermore, in areas which are not easily covered by Special Agents, the tendency still exists to ask Postmasters to send in reports.

It has been a point of criticism that CSA agents will make many of their contacts by telephone and obtain information from references on that basis. Whatever may be the merits of this criticism, the fact may be noted as indicating the tone and general character of the investigation.

3. Review

(a) Until recently there was no review within CSA; no attempt was made to draw inferences from the diverse reports received from the field, or to weigh conflicting inferences, or to elicit additional information by which to verify the derogatory hypothesis suggested by the information reported by the agent based on his own investigation, or--as is more likely--by the fact that the applicant's name was found in one of the numerous lists of the Dies Committee, or some similar organization. The reports were merely sent on to DP or FP or CON after a cursory check that all inquiries requested of the Agents had been made. According to a more recent practice, an assistant in Washington--Mr. Hackett or Mr. McCoy--calls attention to any items developed by the diverse field checks which might reflect on the employability of the applicant. If the case came through CON, that is reported back on a green sheet, which is the color of all correspondence of CSA with



CON. In general, most reports are without derogatory information of any kind.

A stock characterization is made by the review officer in the letter of transmittal which indicates whether the applicant would seem to be eligible for employment. Derogatory information of a nature not deemed to involve security is otherwise indicated by a yellow covering sheet; where security is involved, the sheet is green and is sent to CON regardless of the provenance of the case. As a matter of fact, however, CON appears to review all cases no matter what the color of the covering sheet is.

(b) The "evaluation" within CSA, conducted at the present time is not really an evaluation but is merely a flagging device; it is in no sense a judicial weighing of evidence, a critical appraisal of sources, or a decision purporting to be based on objective review of conflicting evidence. Apparently, cases are usually not sent back to the Agents for any reason other than failure to comply with instructions for investigation and those instructions as has been noted are almost always to take action which is ministerial--that is to say, it does not call for ingenious investigation or judgment requiring discretion or serious intellectual effort.

For example, in no case is there any indication

that CSA reviewers

that CSA reviewers will ask independent investigation to ascertain whether a person belonging to a "front" organization had other characteristics or behavior which would support or rebut derogatory inferences. Nor is the investigator requested to make independent check of the character of the "front" organization; he flags it because someone else has characterized it. It may be said that, in respect to investigators of this kind, CSA is governed entirely by the directions sent to it by COH and sometimes by DP or FP.

(e) As of today, there is a duplication of review between COH on the one hand, and on the other, Mr. Fitch's office staff in the person of Mr. Hackett who is also to some extent assisted in this function by Mr. McCoy; the latter persons attempt to do what Mr. Bannerman and his staff do. Messrs. Hackett and McCoy seem, however, to make very little in the way of contribution. COH on the other hand, in the persons of Mr. Bannerman and his assistants, frequently calls on CSA for additional investigation.

#### 4. Qualifications of CSA Personnel

It has already been indicated that in its direction CSA has a tradition of the Post Office Inspectors' Service. There are no explicit standards of employment for Special Agents, either of experience

or of education.

or of education. Employment is apparently the result of an individual appraisal by Mr. Fitch--who until this fiscal year operated without any Civil Service or other administrative controls, his funds having come from the confidential funds of the Secretary. However, on the basis of an examination of the Forms 57 of all the sixty-five agents on the rolls of CSA, and conversations with several members of the Washington office, I believe it a fair tentative conclusion that the field agents probably have sufficient training to conduct ordinary investigations efficiently. All the agents seem to have had some prior investigative experience, and have a high-school education; a few have, on paper, superior education.

However, as far as can be ascertained, few, if any, of the agents have had any prior training or experience or schooling in the personnel policies of the Department, in ideologies, in standards of constitutional liberties, in the court decisions and legislation with respect to Civil Service employment rights, or with respect to subversive activities or other disqualifications for employment. It is doubtful whether the average agent knows the differences among the various schools of so-called liberal and radical thought. They are unlikely, for instance, to know the

to know the differences between a Stalinist and a Socialist. Therefore, as a reading of a considerable number of reports corroborates, there appears to be an inclination to accept characterization by informants that an applicant is a "Red" or "Radical" or is "Left Wing", as though that information was sufficient in itself for transmittal to the Department. It should be added, however, that some of the CSA personnel who have been interviewed have stated that they believe that an intelligent agent, even though uninformed, would ask an informant to be more specific.

B. Office of the Security Officer--COH

1. Organization and Function

(a) The staff of the Security Office consists almost entirely of Mr. Bannerman, his first assistant, Mr. Henry Thomas, and his Specialist on Communism and related movements, Mr. Morse Allen. Realistically viewed, this office appears to be functioning almost entirely as a liaison office between other investigating agencies, particularly FBI, and CSA. De facto, it reviews the adequacy of the CSA investigations by referring cases back to CSA for additional investigation along lines believed by Mr. Bannerman not to have been covered adequately; and largely because Mr. Allen was formerly an investigator with the Civil Service Commission, directions will be given to CSA to examine

to examine Civil Service Commission hearings where derogatory information concerning applicants whose eligibility was questioned when they were with a prior organization, such as OSS, OWI, or FEA, might be contained.

(b) But, above all, this office has access on a personal basis to current FBI investigations and other material of a supposedly confidential character not made available to CSA. It is explained that while CSA requests and receives a check of the indices and files on every name sent in to FBI by CSA, information not filed and information particularly secret will not be conveyed by FBI to CSA, but will allegedly be made available only to the Department on a basis of personal trust to Mr. Lyon or Mr. Dennis Flinn of CON or to Mr. Bannerman. Moreover, FBI sends to this office through Mr. Lyon a constant flow of reports on various investigations made by FBI of a security character which, in FBI's judgment, might be of interest to the State Department. These reports are ready by Mr. Bannerman's staff; they provide, therefore, a background of information with respect to subversive activities, chiefly Communistic, which enable Mr. Bannerman's staff to read CSA reports with a certain amount of informed perspicuity.

(c) The office

(c) The office maintains no independent filing system other than an index of cases and such files as it has inherited from the security offices of various of the agencies which the State Department has taken over. Since the mass of new information which Mr. Bannerman's office contributes is contained in FBI or Civil Service Commission records, the office apparently relies entirely on the personal recollections of its staff and on facility of contact with the Civil Service Commission and the FBI, and--through CON's other divisions--with other agencies, for file searches and information from informed officials.

2. Scope of Activity of CON

(a) The position of the Security Office is, to a considerable extent, anomalous. It is governed practically speaking by no formulated standards of personnel security. Mr. Robert Bannerman, who has the title of Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Controls, presumably exercises the function of protecting the personnel security of the Department, first, by collating CSA reports with information received from sources outside of CSA concerning applicants and employees, and secondly, by vetoing (with the consent of the Committee) the employment of applicants or recommending (with the con-

sent of the

sent of the Committee) the dismissal of others where the Security Officer believes that the sum total of information in his possession makes the person in question a security risk. He also coordinates personnel security with other aspects of security--in particular, physical and procedural security and the security of our missions abroad.

(b) It appears that all CSA reports must be funneled through CON; (allegedly this is for security control--that is to say, presumably for assurance that only certain persons will have access to confidential information); in practice it means review of all cases by CON whether CSA sends them that way or not. Where CON is not satisfied with the thoroughness of the CSA investigation it requests additional investigation by CSA.

Where there are elements of doubt with respect to security, the cases are now referred by CON to the Security Committee for disposition. Where, however, the case is one of an applicant for Foreign Service career appointment, the disclosure of any doubt means that the case is first referred by CON to FBI for further investigation. This is required by a direction from Mr. Russell. FBI is, in such cases, given the benefit of all CSA and other information.

### 3. Relation to CSA

3. Relation to CSA

As has been noted CON is not restricting itself to review alone--it operates substantially with respect to CSA (but not with respect to FBI) as a de novo fact-finding body. This role of CON is resisted by Mr. Fitch who conceives of himself as responsible to CON only for administrative and budgetary purposes (whatever that means). In practice, however, CSA has accepted the review and investigation direction conducted by CON since CSA dutifully proceeds on CON requests for investigation and re-investigation.

Since there is uncertainty whether this relationship between CSA and CON is sanctioned by Departmental authority, the situation must be clarified if operations are to be efficient.

It has been indicated that in no case, as far as could be discovered, is the additional information asked of CSA by the reviewers in CON more than routine in character. Usually, on the basis of some indication in the file or some gap in employment information, or because CON has received confidential information from FBI, which was not made available to CSA in the first place, or because somebody in CON happens to know that the applicant was involved in a hearing before the Civil Service Commission, CSA is asked to make a check of an additional source.

4. Relation to the Security



4. Relation to the Security Committee

Mr. Bannerman states that his staff, apart from review, makes no determination of a final character in doubtful cases. The staff may believe there is nothing substantially derogatory and therefore may permit personnel authorities to act on cases investigated.

But where something believed to raise an issue of doubt is actually presented, no independent judgment is exercised by this office, and the burden of decision is passed on to the Security Committee. For reasons to be more fully demonstrated below, the Committee and the security office are to be considered essentially a single institution.

C. Security Committee

1. Organization and Function

(a) This Committee succeeds a prior screening committee; it was appointed, apparently, at your direction. The Committee is concerned primarily with passing on those cases which are presented to it by Mr. Bannerman's office. There is some indication that cases are also presented at the initiative of DP without formal prior clearance through CON, in consequence of DP representation in the Committee. The Committee meets irregularly, depending on the

number of cases

number of cases ready for consideration. Presumably, about twenty cases constitute the average number handled at a meeting.

(b) The Committee membership consists of Mr. Bannerman as Chairman, Mr. T. B. Hoffman (assigned by PP to CGH) as Secretary, Mr. Dennis Flinn, Executive Officer of CON, Mr. Henry Thomas, Assistant to Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Robert Alexander of VD, Mr. Robert V. Haig of PD, and Mr. Robert Ryan of DP who is assisted--it seems--by Mr. Arch K. Jean of DP.

(c) Mr. Hoffman is assigned full time. He reads the CSA reports and digests derogatory information. At the meetings, which are called at his suggestion, he orally presents the facts in each case to the Committee.

No minutes are kept except such penciled notes as Mr. Hoffman personally makes to aid him in writing up the report. No agenda is distributed to the members before the meeting. The files are not seen or read by the Committee as such at any time. No record is made other than the report of Mr. Bannerman for the Security Committee, usually prepared by Mr. Hoffman.

## 2. Relation to CON

It should be noted that apart from the formal distinction between the Committee and CON, the fact is that

is that the Committee is essentially a part of CON, and that the decisions in individual cases are largely predetermined by the views of Mr. Bannerman and his associates. It is said that in no case have there been split views in the Committee--all decisions have been unanimous.

The only person in the Committee who is not in CON is Mr. Robert Ryan of DP. Mr. Hoffman, who is said to represent the "point of view" of FP is actually only nominally in FP; he is a very young and bright Foreign Service Officer who has been employed in VD and PD, and has never occupied in FP any position of such importance as to carry the conviction that he is governed in his decisions by the employment policies or traditions of FP. Mr. Alexander of VD and Mr. Haig of PD were, it is said, selected because of their experience with subversive activity information in the issuance of visas and passports. Under the circumstances it is not improbable that determinations in given cases can be, and perhaps in effect are actually made before the Committee meets; for contrary decisions would depend almost entirely on the vigor and dissent by Mr. Ryan, the only member not in CON.

### 3. The Scope of Review

- (a) The Committee has no directive or standards in  
in any

in any written form deriving from any superior authority; it acts solely in accordance with the views of the individual members as to security considerations, and it is not at all clear that the individual members have formulated their own standards articulately. The Committee therefore is not judicial; it is in effect an administrative screening Committee only. Since it deals with all categories of security cases--new applications for employment of every kind as well as present employees--this factor is of considerable importance.

As will be seen below, this lack of standards and the lack of judicial character to the proceedings is reflected in the reports of the Committee and affects the quality of the Committee's work.

(b) The Committee has tended to proceed on the basis of the principle that an adverse recommendation should be made in every case where it entertains a "doubt". It is clear, however, that such a doubt is often asserted and adverse recommendation is made, even though further investigation might dispel the doubt or explain it sufficiently. Thus applicants for employment in every category are disqualified, and other employees are adversely reported upon with respect to continued employment, even where innocent hypotheses are also consistent with the so-called derogatory facts in the record.

An officer

An officer of CON has stated that in his view the Department should not employ anyone in any position where an element of doubt has been indicated for the reason that there are among the millions of Americans, other persons eligible for positions in the Department about whom presumably such doubts do not exist. Since, however, in actual cases these elements of doubt derive from such factors as presence of the subject's name on lists of book purchasers at the Washington Book Shop, or signers of petitions of various kinds, or membership in organizations claimed by the Dies' Committee to have been dominated by Communist elements, or acquaintances with persons against whom, in turn, there have been asserted charges of Communist sympathy, and the like, there is a preliminary question as to the validity of the premise that such doubts of loyalty to the United States are "reasonable."

Moreover, in applying this standard, the Committee has tended to slough over the distinctions between types of applicants--whether for clerical or professional employment, in any rank.

(c) The Committee's decision, expressed in memoranda usually prepared by Mr. Hoffman, do not in such cases base disapprovals on the administrative difficulties of conducting additional investigation, or on the

or on the inadequacy of available investigative personnel, but rather on the existence of a derogatory inference from what are really ambiguous facts, the innocent inference not being drawn by the Committee. This is not to say that the Committee does not ask for a supplementary investigation--it not infrequently asks CSA for "neighborhood" checks", an examination of Civil Service Commission records, etc.--but beyond some such routine additional investigation the Committee is content to base its recommendation on these inferences.

(d) Furthermore, as especially exemplified in the cases of eligibility ratings by the Civil Service Commission after hearings, the Committee has tended to disregard the favorable decisions of the Commission and the favorable evidence adduced by applicants. This, of course, follows from the premise that derogatory information in itself is sufficient to call for a negative recommendation. It also, in the case of the Civil Service Commission in particular, derives from the general distrust of the favorable decisions of other agencies which may have been produced by political or other special factors, such as the lack of danger in certain aspects of the war effort in employing persons of pro-Soviet sympathies, etc.

(e) The Security Committee,

(e) The Security Committee, it appears, has approved employment in a substantial number of cases. Many of these approvals have been almost automatic in character. For example, OWI had a large number of aliens and the Security Committee has automatically rejected the employment of aliens unless OIC (successor organization to OWI in the State Department) will make an affirmative, "strong", request for appointment of the alien because of some special need which only the alien can satisfy, etc., and where the investigative record does not show any derogatory information.

(f) The Committee apparently has given itself a wide scope in the interpretation of its functions. While there are some elements which the Committee does not consider to be of a security character and which, therefore, it decides should be referred to the personnel authorities, the Committee considers that security questions are raised by such items as credit risk, sexual aberrations of character or conduct, and truthfulness in replies to questionnaires. In the case of aliens, it makes recommendations to DP or PP in respect to the character and length of employment.

This type of fundamental impingement on personnel policy is one of the more serious factors disclosed in the survey.

(g) At my request,

(g) At my request, Mr. Bannerman has prepared a statement of what are believed by him to be the standards of security implicit in the decisions of the Security Committee. They are attached hereto and will be considered further below.

D. Role of the FBI

1. Scope of FBI Coverage

(a) Special attention is required with respect to the peculiar position which the FBI occupies in the structure and scope of the Department's personnel security investigations. The FBI, in ordinary course, feeds the Department information either in the form routine checks conducted for CSA, or for CON, by the special checks made at CON's request, or in the form of reports of interest to the Department sent without special solicitation.

(b) Mention may be made of the fact that by direction of Mr. Russell, Mr. Bannerman's office calls for a special FBI investigation of foreign career personnel applicants in all cases where some element of doubt has been produced from other sources including CSA. Twenty-three cases had, at the time of the survey, been referred to FBI under this arrangement and four reports had been received from FBI, of which one amounted to a clearance and three were derogatory. These three cases were examined and in one case it may be noted (the Kimball case) there is considerable



is considerable doubt whether the report was really derogatory on a security basis.

While this does not apply to Departmental personnel, the fact should be noted as demonstrating a further reliance upon FBI by the Department. Presumably, this check is made by FBI as a matter of accommodation, not of duty. No control is exercised by the Department over the investigation.

(c) It is important to note that the Department is entirely and practically exclusively dependent on FBI for the type of information which comes from surveillance, wide coverage, and the use of unusual methods of interrogation and investigation. CSA appears to have neither the experience nor the facilities to do that type of work and it is apparently not used by any one in that type of work. FBI is the sole repository of such information, therefore, as the identity of Communist Party members, of sympathizers and fellow travelers, of espionage cases, and of undisclosed foreign agents.

(d) FBI has prepared a chart, now in the possession of Mr. Bannerman, which purports to show a number of "agents", "Communists", "sympathizers", and "suspects" in the State Department as of May 15, 1947. The tabulation shows

Agents - - - - -	20
Communists - - - - -	13
Sympathizers - - - - -	14
Suspects - - - - -	77

Mr. Bannerman

Mr. Bannerman states that by July 12 (the date of my interview), the number had been reduced to the following:

Agents - - - - -	11
Communists - - - - -	10
Sympathizers - - - - -	11
Suspects - - - - -	about 74

Since a considerable number of the persons so characterized came with the interim agencies, such as FIA, OWI, and OSS, continued reduction in force might dispose of more of these.

It turned out that FBI had produced no convincing proof that any person was an actual agent. In other words, FBI had made no case to show espionage or a violation of the Foreign Agents' Registration Act, or similar legislation, in any case. The word "agent" was, therefore, being used by FBI or by COB-to mean simply a suspect in espionage investigation, etc.

No proof of actual Communist Party membership had been produced by FBI. The word Communist, therefore, was used merely to describe cases of such close affiliation as to lend credence to a hypothesis that the person in question was a member---a fact still to be proved.

The word sympathizer is, of course, subject to further of such qualifications.

The word suspect

The word suspect is apparently an all-inclusive phrase; it might or might not signify anything significant.

The foregoing cases presumably comprise the total of questionable employees of every security category now in the Department---i.e., questionable in the opinion of FBI.

(d) It was observed in the course of a survey that a curious situation exists with respect to relations between CSA and FBI, and CON and FBI. CSA applies to FBI for checks of names of applicants and receives reports presumably based on index searches. Yet when CON supplies the same name to FBI, information will be forthcoming that was not made available to CSA. It is explained that this information is of a current nature, not yet indexed, or is so confidential in character that CSA will not receive it in ordinary course. Such a situation is naturally embarrassing and certainly involves a measure of duplication and inefficiency of operation which is all the worse since CSA is not informed by FBI, in the case where confidential information is, in fact, available, that an application from CON will be entertained or that information is being withheld from CSA.

(e) Presumably, within

(e) Presumably, within FBI there are standing orders to the distribution personnel regarding the types of reports to be sent automatically to the State Department. We do not have that information, so far as could be ascertained in this survey. It does not, of course, follow that information is being deliberately withheld with knowledge that it would be valuable to the Department. It does follow, however, that the only organization which does conduct surveillance and active investigation in the security field and whose product we are entirely dependent upon is one which we do not control and which does not act in accordance with our needs or requirements.

## 2. FBI Relations

It should also be pointed out that COM appears to be influenced by FBI in other ways. Mr. Flinn, who is active in the Security Committee, was not only formerly with the FBI but appears to act today as an additional liaison with FBI officials. Mr. Lyon's office, on the whole, operates in close and praiseworthy cooperation and friendliness with FBI. As has been noted, valuable information not available except on a basis of personal trust and confidences is thus given by FBI to the Department under admonitions of secrecy. The differences in the relations between FBI and COM and FBI and CSA have been

have been noted.

The consequence of the foregoing would seem to be that the relations between the Department and FBI matters of investigation are fundamental to the whole problem.

The FBI Congressional appropriations have for some time provided that FBI should act for the Attorney General and the Secretary of State. But whether this requirement would permit the Department to exercise more control over the detail of FBI service to us is a matter of doubt legally; in practice it would certainly be improbable.

II

Conclusions

The following conclusions appear justified by the survey:

A. Objectives of Personnel Security Control

It may be useful to expatiate on the different factors representing dangers to security, to indicate the setting in which the personnel security problem must be viewed. There are dangers to security which do not derive from foreign agents at all; these are the dangers that come from infiltration in the Department by representatives of large business corporations and other special interests, as well as the dangers that lurk in the tantalizing prospects of employment with large business corporations or special interests should the well-placed employee become influential or sway policy in a favorable direction, or obtain influence over his fellow employees. Furthermore, the attempts of foreign governments, or their agents, may be to obtain information which it is the policy and interest of the United States or of the Secretary of the State, not only not to disclose at all, but rather not to disclose prematurely, or to disclose by some other method, and the effect of the activity of the foreign government is to frustrate that policy and interest.

Security also includes, and it would seem by far more importantly, attempts to destroy the disciplinary control of the Secretary of State and of the responsible officials  
of the Department

of the Department over information and discussion in the Department, without particular reference to the existence of interests on the part of other governments. This distinction becomes evident in those cases where not the delivery of classified information to a foreign government is involved but merely premature publicity. The press, in particular, - many of whose employees believe that they have a vested right to extract from government employees, by one device or another, information which it is the desire of the government authorities not to make public - is an important factor in the solution of this question. The legitimate interest of the press in getting information must be considered, but the security of the Department in the constant control of the Secretary over the flow of information from the Department must be deemed the primary objective.

In the foregoing sense, therefore, personnel security controls are much broader and deeper in scope and significance than the type of investigation and review discussed above seems capable of tackling.

**B. Standards of Personnel Investigation**

**1. Absence of Express Standards**

It has been indicated above that neither CSA nor the Security Committee have been given any clear standards of security either for current employees

or for applicants,

or for applicants, except in irrelevant respects. It is certain that CSA in its investigations is not governed by standards of employment provided by statute or by any policy of the Department or the Government. The same is substantially true of the Office of the Security Officer and the Security Committee. There is a fundamental vagueness of purpose in the security aspects of the investigations conducted and the review to which the investigation reports are subjected in CSA, as well as in CON and the Security Committee--and, it may be added, in DP. The investigators, having no written instructions with respect to the scope of their investigations beyond routine checks, and having no clear idea of the Department's standards of employment or of sufficiency of evidence, cannot be charged with the major fault.

2. Standards Applied in Practice--General

The standards being applied by CON and the Security Committee are ad hoc, and are not the result of any instructions from the Department or from superior authority. In the absence of such Departmental instructions, it is not surprising that CON personnel are acting in accordance with their own standards of purpose, employability, and proof.

These standards, however, when formulated--a copy

of Mr. Bannerman's



of Mr. Bannerman's memorandum on this subject is appended--appear to be seriously questionable in respect to their impingement on personnel policy and on acceptable standards of security and of proof.

It is well, therefore, to analyze alternative implications of the security standards observed in the survey.

(a) The Committee has shown a tendency to assert security risks in matters which have only relatively remote security implications. Such aspects include homosexuality, psychopathological difficulties, past financial difficulties, and the like. While persons who are homosexuals may be subject to blackmail, and while persons with psychopathic difficulties may lack balance, and persons in debt may be tempted by offers of bribes, it would seem that these are problems falling primarily and historically in the province of the personnel authorities of DP. They are of security interest only in the sense that numerous other factors may, in a crisis, give rise to an opportunity for pressure or blackmail. Regarding all pressure or blackmail, it would seem that the important elements to consider are the strength of countervailing characteristics such as compensatory strength of character, restraint from yielding to other weakness, deep

loyalty to

loyalty to duty, as well as to the government, and similar characteristics which have presumably been effective in the past in the cases of persons who have served the Department or the government long and well in spite of their homosexuality, their heterosexuality, their financial difficulties and other such weaknesses.

This responsibility should be left in DP. The Security Committee and COH should, except where specific instructions may be involved, as, e.g. compliance with statutes like the Hatch Act, concern themselves with elements of security closer to the aspects of penetration of the Department by foreign governments and of employment within the Department of persons who might reasonably be used by foreign governments or who might seek to sway United States' policy in directions not approved by the Department.

(b) There is a confusion throughout between standards of purpose or policy and standards of proof. This distinction has turned out to be of fundamental importance in this survey. The confusion between them has led to considerable difficulties.

For example, there appears to be an assumption that a person who has associated with "leftists" or "Communists" should be debarred from employment. There

might, of course,

might, of course, be a standard of policy or purpose under which we would actually, as a Department, seek to defend the proposition that no employee may talk to, be friendly with, or otherwise carry on common, innocent, intellectual, or neighborly pursuits together with "suspects". Such a policy has never been formulated and it is unlikely that it will be, except in cases where the Department is clearly embarrassed by an officer's associations. On the other hand, if the association is a circumstantial evidentiary fact offered to prove the ultimate fact of concerted conspiracy between the applicant and suspects, or of the ultimate fact of sympathy of the applicant for the suspect's activities to such extent as to make it likely that the applicant will be an agent or co-conspirator of the suspect, the matter becomes one of proof and the question at issue is whether by fair standards of logic and experience the ultimate fact is proved sufficiently for the purpose at hand.

**C. Standards of Purpose or Policy**

**1. Special Legislative Standards**

There are, of course, provisions affecting employment which are laid down by Congress, and which must be met with a degree of proof required by the language of the

language of the statute or the applicable legal considerations. Of course they overlap the general standards of employment and security which fall in the province of the Secretary under the statutory powers conferred on him to manage his Department (as provided in Title 5 U.S.C. Section 22 and Section 156).

Since to some extent, therefore, the special statutes overlap the Secretary's general powers, it is sufficient to mention that the chief ones among them are:

The Hatch Act  
Rule XII of the Civil Service Commission  
Rule V of the Civil Service Commission  
McCarran Rider, valid during the 1947 fiscal year

Since this survey was completed, the Department wrote a letter to Congressman Jenks, Republican member of the House Appropriations Committee, in which the standard of "reasonable doubt as to loyalty" was announced. That standard may hereafter also be considered as bearing on future formulations of guides to investigation.

## 2. "Loyalty"

"Loyalty" is used commonly as a standard of eligibility for employment. In the instructions of CSA to its field agents accompany each request for investigation, a specific direction is given that the

investigator shall

investigator shall ascertain the applicant's "loyalty" to the United States. The meaning of the word is assumed, and no doubt the assumption has the support of general usage. But while standards are necessarily general and must depend for definition on individual reasoned cases under the standards, this particular word has not received that type of definition. An examination of the CSA reports and the CON--Security Committee recommendations indicates that all along the line, beginning with the CSA agents, there is an assumption that "liberal", "leftist", "radical", "Socialist", "Red", and "Communist" are interchangeable terms, all inconsistent with "loyalty". These words are applied by informants without further specification and are accepted by agents who quote them in their reports as indicating disloyalty to the United States.

Vague language may, as has been indicated, for a variety of reasons be desirable or necessary as an ellipsis; but it cannot be permitted to result in the dismissal or disapproval of employees, based on findings of disloyalty to the United States, where the findings are drawn from expressions of opinions and beliefs which would not be held by the courts, or by the public, or by the responsible officials of the government, to be opinions and beliefs inconsistent with loyalty.

Evidence that a

Evidence that a person has uttered certain views may suggest leads for further investigation as to his loyalty--but there should be no confusion between the fact of those views and the ultimate fact of disloyalty.

The case presented, therefore, is frequently really not one of loyalty or disloyalty to the United States, but rather, first, whether the Department should employ persons at all who are characterized as "liberal", "radical", and the like, in the crude language of opinion of more or less discriminating informants of CSA investigators; and, secondly, whether the Department is prepared to terminate the employment of persons as security risks on such evidence alone.

For the purpose of filling the content with case by case definition, it should be noted that the word "loyalty" is unsatisfactory on an objective basis when not specifically dovetailed with the factor of active and powerful bias in favor of another government. Reflection and consideration of American history should demonstrate that persons who seek to change the existing forms of our government, or of existing economic institutions, may still be intensely loyal--on accepted subjective standards--to the government and traditions of the United States; and they are not necessarily the less loyal when their views are not popular and would seem to the majority of persons to

be undesirable.

be undesirable:

This consideration is important since even Communists frequently argue that they seek, out of their "loyalty" and love for the United States, to give us a form of government which they consider superior. That these protestations may be sincere is indicated by the not infrequent cases of Communists who have left the Party and abjured the faith because of disillusionment. Any standard, therefore, which does not take account of the liberties of American citizens to hold unpopular views, to discuss these views freely, and by peaceful means to convince others, and which do not by fair interpretation contravene the provisions of law and the Constitution, cannot be applied as an acid test of loyalty to the United States.

Other standards of employment may, however, be violated by the same showing of fact.

3. "Guilt by Association---Overt Acts"

(a) It is commonly contended that persons should be disapproved for employment, or dismissed, because of their "associates". This standard is sometimes referred to as "guilt by association". As has been indicated, there is a difference between association as evidence of an ultimate fact of violation of some other standard and association as itself a standard of guilt.

(b) The memorandum

(b) The memorandum entitled "Criteria Employed by the Security Committee", dated July, 1946, from Mr. Bannerman to me, made a part of this report, shows that association as in itself a ground for a finding of guilt is employed by the Security Officer and the Security Committee. Under the heading of "Subversive Activities" the memorandum lists, in addition to membership in certain parties and responsible positions in Communist-dominated organizations, the commission of so-called "overt acts", and adherence to the Communist Party line, the following:

"Close association with individuals who are members of the above-mentioned organizations or who are sympathetic to the purposes of these organizations."

(1) This standard means, and the cases decided by the Committee show it to mean, that standards of guilt, completely unauthorized by law or by the accepted policy of government or of the Department, may, in fact, be imposed with consequences that appear to be arbitrary, if not tyrannical. The Dorothy Cheney Goodwin case, discussed in this report, is a good example of the application of this standard.

It does not follow, of course, that the Department should not insist that there is a point

at which



at which Departmental officers must be discreet for the prestige of the Department. That point, however, would appear to fall far short of the application suggested in the Committee's standard as exemplified in cases like the Goodwin case.

(2) Under the same heading may be discussed the standard of "overt acts" in the Bannerman memorandum. The language is meaningless. It is presumably derived from the federal law relating to conspiracy and treason, where the distinction is made between a thought or plan and an act committed in execution. Obviously, if this standard is to make any sense, or if it is to be applied with objectivity, it should be reanalyzed and restated. Perhaps it is intended to emphasize serious or determined activity or affiliations as against passive or minor activity or affiliations---a fussy thought.

#### 4. Overthrow of the Government by Violence

This standard is usually applied to Anarchists and Communists, and sometimes to Nazis and Fascists. It is the Hatch Act standard. In the Schneiderman case, the Supreme Court indicated that members of the Communist Party who are seeking to accomplish their aims by the use of Constitutional means, such as the ballot, cannot perhaps be deemed to be seeking to

overthrow the

overthrow the government by violence. It is, of course, true that the Marxists, and the Communists, would probably overthrow the government by violence if they thought they would be successful. In view, however, of the Supreme Court's opinion, this standard may be too vague for the usual case; for the Communist Party is, in most states, a legal political party, seeking to accomplish at least some of its aims by Constitutional means. The Civil Service Commission, of course, has ruled that the provisions of the Hatch Act, which do not mention any party by name, are to be interpreted as applying to the Communist, Nazi, and Fascist parties. But the courts have not yet squarely passed on the validity of this interpretation; there may be considerable doubt whether the interpretation would be sustained.

5. Danger of Penetration by Foreign Governments

(a) A clearer standard of purpose would seem to be this: The Department should not employ any person who is acting under instructions of any foreign government, directly or indirectly, either for the purpose of obtaining Departmental information and transmitting it, or for the purpose of influencing the policy of the Department in favor of the foreign government. It is also improper to employ a person who, while not an agent acting under instructions, is so overpoweringly sympathetic to a foreign government or biased

ment or biased in its favor as to make it clearly likely that he will be moved by the strength of his conviction voluntarily to divulge information, or will seek, in spite of his oath of office and the terms of his employment, to influence Departmental policy in the foreign government's favor. Such a person would consider his loyalty to the Department and to the United States to be either less binding than his sympathy for the other government, or at best he would consider the two synonymous.

The foregoing standard should, of course, apply with respect to all foreign governments, friendly and unfriendly. In practice, however, the problem is most acute with respect to Soviet penetration.

It should be emphasized, also, that this, too, is a standard of purpose or policy--not a standard of proof.

(b) The Communist Party in the United States, as in other countries, is an instrument of Soviet policy. It appeals to the ideals of people and makes of them more or less fanatic devotees of a mystical cause, usually for no personal or mercenary gain, and it appeals to the more educated and intelligent classes from whom the government is more likely to recruit its personnel. Members or conscious sympathizers of the Communist Party, therefore, probably provide

a likely

a likely source for both recruitment of actual agents and infiltration of volunteer propagandists within the Department.

(c) Agents being persons acting under instructions and presumably reporting back to their principals, then can be detected if sufficient manpower and ingenuity are available. It must therefore be only the inadequacy of the Department's security personnel and of the FBI or legal obstacles to surveillance that account for our failure to discover such agents, to dismiss them, to bring them to trial and to convict them, where crimes have been committed. If they are not subject to trial and conviction, the failure must be, in part, ascribed to the lack of adequate information.

(d) However, where we are not dealing with actual agents but with only persons likely to be used, the standard should be one of reasonable danger, for we are dealing here with the opinion and belief of a citizen. The standard of civil liberties based on "clear present danger" is too risky for State Department employment and would be repudiated by Congress. As a standard for discharge, however, the "clear present danger" concept is a more apt one for use.

The standard of "reasonable doubt as to loyalty",

which must be

which must be resolved in favor of the Government (set out in the Department's letter to Congressman Jonkman) is substantially the same as this.

D. Standards of Proof

1. Principles

(a) The necessity to distinguish between standards of policy or purpose, and the standards of proof, has been emphasized. As has been noted, there appears to be a running confusion throughout between the primary standards of purpose or policy and the auxiliary standards of proof necessary to satisfy the primary standards. What is sufficient proof is determined by many factors, chief of which are the purposes at hand. The distinction between the standards of "proof beyond a reasonable doubt" and "proof by preponderance of the evidence" is well known; there are others. The survey has shown that however disguised, the chief, and frequently unconscious and unarticulated factor explaining the failure to comply with simple accepted rules of sufficiency of evidence, is the factor of administrative necessity.

(b) It is true, of course, that the ideological convictions of a person may be hard to prove, especially where he has reason to conceal it. It is also true that investigating the hypothesis of agency

for a foreign

for a foreign principal is something which the ordinary CSA investigator finds unnecessary, probably because it appears impossible for him to prove. The CSA investigators do not even interview the applicant in respect to such a hypothesis, and so have no opportunity to match their wits against his, if they were otherwise capable of doing so, on the issue of such concealed convictions or connections. The investigators, therefore, report only such routine items as the appearance of the applicant, whether his name is on any of the lists collected by the Dies' Committee and the casual and frequently uninformed opinion in this field of a supervisor in former or present employment. In all these cases, the evidence adduced usually suggests merely hypothesis which is subject to proof or disproof by additional investigation.

The reviewers, like the investigators, tend to stop with the hypothesis and to determine on the basis of the strength of the inference whether approval or disapproval should be advised.

(c) This is an unsatisfactory situation. CON and the Security Committee have tended in cases to assume an inference of Communist Party membership, or its equivalent, from facts which are clearly subject in experience

ject in experience to an equal or stronger inference of innocence; and on the other hand, true foreign secret agents, who would naturally avoid opinion and never associate with organizations under fire, might succeed in penetration of the Department in consequence of the diversion created by the application of this test alone.

Whether the evidence is merely consistent with a lively interest in public problems, or fairly demonstrates actual bias or conspiratorial activity, is thus a question of proof. If the hypothesis suggested by the ambiguous evidence is one of actual agency on behalf of a foreign government, the hypothesis should--I repeat--by its nature be capable of proof if sufficient investigative effort is applied; of course the detection problem is difficult but it is not insoluble. Whether it is administratively feasible to obtain such proof is a separate subject.

Moreover, it is obvious that the standard of proof must be higher where the employee has a status--of present employment or of right to re-employment--than where he is merely an applicant. There may, too, be powerful considerations of personnel policy which call for a greater investment of investigative effort and competence in certain types of applicants than others.

2. Administrative Concentration of Effort

(a) As has been indicated, there appears to be a tendency, more or less conscious, to apply the same standard of proof to CAF-1 as to P-8, where items of ideology, support of "front" organizations, and the like are involved. Experience, however, would seem to indicate that this proposition is deserving of considerable further examination. In many cases, the problem would seem to be more fairly described as essentially one of personnel policy rather than of departmental security.

(b) The lack of sufficient personnel, equipment and time to give to each mysterious factual problem, and the effort needed for its solution, calls for a practical distinction between types of cases and, therefore, between standards of proof. It may very well be desirable, therefore, in order to achieve a maximum concentration of effort on the more important cases, to reject out of hand applicants in certain categories on whom the record contains important unsolved issues of fact bearing on security. These will be cases, in the main, of new applicants for employment for positions that can be easily filled by other applicants of equal ability and merit without raising important questions of public policy; messengers, guards, and clerical help certainly would fall in this class.

(c) The importance of



(c) The importance of conservation of effort lies in the advantages of making cases that will stick. The example, for instance, of an agent actually discovered in the Department, or of an attempt to infiltrate in a critical position, would be most salutary. Above all, such an approach with other factors would permit us to avoid diversions and other entrapments for the dissipation of energy which would result in discrediting the investigative services and the Department itself, and permit both quiet infiltration during the tumult, or easier infiltration after the humiliation.

(d) The decision with respect to concentration must also be determined, in large part, by the personnel needs in the Department. Foreign Service officers and professional experts should, because of the interest of the Department in obtaining the best people, be subjected to the most thorough investigation and, therefore, to the higher standards of proof. It is not permissible, from a Department policy standpoint, to reduce the Department to the employment of insipid, colorless persons without intellectual curiosity or idealism, merely because it is administratively difficult to make the investigation necessary to affirm or rebut hypotheses suggested by ambiguous evidence, such as membership

in the Washington

in the Washington Book Shop or signature to some petition, or social friendship with a suspect person.

3. Guilt by Association---Standard of Proof

(a) There can be no doubt that there is truth in the maxim that a man is known by the company he keeps. On the other hand, there can also be no doubt, on reflection, that the standard here must be not mere acquaintance or casual friendship with persons under suspicion, or even frequent association alone. It must be so close and intimate a relationship as logically to compel the conclusion that the two are engaged in the same conspiracy, or share the same loyalty, which is the ultimate fact to be proved. So broad a standard must, of course, be tested by the individual case, but it is important that the standard be clarified for the benefit of the investigator and of the reviewer in CON and the Security Committee.

(b) The same, of course, is true of membership in "front" organizations which from their very purpose are designed to attract innocents in large numbers. Innocents, in these cases, are not unintelligent people. They are merely people of good faith and good will, manipulated in concededly clever and subtle ways by professional

persons.

persons. To say that the Department should not employ such persons raises a serious question of personnel policy; but to use such membership as a starting point for further investigation, or to treat the matter as one of administrative necessity to concentrate investigative effort on limited cases, (as, for example, cases of discharge, or applicants to positions of relatively higher work or in terms of other specialized personnel needs of the Department) is a different story.

4. Future Importance of Standards of Proof

Considerations which govern the standards of proof tend to become clear as the present emergency, caused by a sudden influx of large numbers of employees and by the pressure of Congressional criticism, subsides. At that stage the real and very difficult problem will be the continued attempts to penetrate the Department precisely by persons who do not belong to "front" organizations, whose records on the basis of the kind of routine, ministerial investigations conducted by CSA in police records, Dies' Committee files, mailing lists, and neighborhood checks, will be clear.

For the purposes of such investigations, the standards of proof in the security interests of the Department must be different and in many respects

will probably permit

will probably permit rejection of applicants, or even discharge of present employees, on suspicion of an entirely different character. Therefore, the security officers of the Department must bear the distinction between true foreign agents and mere "joiners" carefully in mind, and formulate a thoroughly considered and carefully planned program of investigation calculated to deal with this greater and more difficult future problem. The present standards of investigation are calculated to deal only with routine requirements of the normal personnel policy of the government, or the special interests of the Department in such items as education and personality. That the present investigative service of the Department is not adequate, as now organized, to deal with this future problem appears evident.

**E. Relations to FBI and Other Agencies**

**1. Department's Ability to Handle the Investigative Problem**

(a) The personnel aspects of security in the Department are, particularly from the long run point of view, beyond the present capacities of the Department's investigative personnel to control. Professional and systematic attempts to penetrate the Department by planting agents of foreign intelligence organizations

gence organizations in the Department cannot be discovered by the current type of CSA investigation or by the CSA investigators, except fortuitously. The investigation is almost entirely circumscribed by the applicant's answers to the Form 57, and by collateral information about the applicant in files of agencies which do not have the Department's security needs as their purpose. Since the Department cannot rely on its own investigators to disclose the critical information in this field, thought must be given either to the utilization of other agencies, or to the expansion of the Department's own facilities, to a degree beyond their present scope.

(b) The problem of personnel is in essence coterminous with the problems of counter-intelligence investigations. To an extent, of course, it is broader in the respect that the Department must also be protected against infiltration by private domestic interests who would like to place trusted personnel in the Department to influence policies or obtain useful information. But, on the whole, our problem is to know the intelligence organizations and personnel of other governments operating in this country. With that information at hand, we

should be better

should be better able to recognize which present employees and which applicants are likely to be used by those foreign systems, and what directions our investigations should take.

It is obviously not enough to attempt an investigation of each individual name of employee or applicant. The very selection of items to be verified or investigated with respect to any person presupposes a fund of information and experience which provides touchstones whereby significant items are distinguished from insignificant items. Therefore, the investigation must be informed as well as intelligent and ingenious.

(c) In a sense, the present situation is somewhat ludicrous. It is one in which we are feverishly organizing elaborate precautionary security measures without ever knowing where the menace which we fear is coming from, what form it will take, what its dimensions will be. This sort of defense is blind, confused and expensive and, therefore, probably only partially effective. We must know how to concentrate our limited investigative facilities in the most profitable way to avoid diverse and unproductive tangential investments of personnel and time, and to conserve our strength and Congressional appropriations in a manner

priations in a manner to produce tangible results.

(d) In the final analysis, therefore, the acid test of the investigative facilities used by us-- and that means, primarily, by the FBI--must be the discovery of actual penetration by foreign agents, as demonstrated by sound evidence with the effect of seriously damaging as well as exposing the intelligence system of each important foreign power operating in this country, and doing so in such a way as to identify the agents of that system. Such evidence FBI has not yet produced.

Per contra, every employee dismissed or rejected as an agent or a probable agent, should become the subject of intensive counter-intelligence investigation, so that our action may be meaningful and just.

## 2. Nature of FBI's Cooperation

(a) Since the Department is dependent almost entirely at the present time on the quality of the product and the extent of cooperation of FBI, both for professional investigation of individual cases of employee for applicants and for general information of counter-intelligence character, it is important to note limitations on the type of work FBI does for the Department.

FBI acts for

- (1) FBI acts for us by way of accommodation; it cannot afford to be meticulous in its work in view of the wholesale demands made upon it for similar accommodation--by Congressmen, and by other departments and agencies of the Government.
- (2) FBI establishes its own priorities of investigation, therefore. And it transmits to us only such information as, in the opinion of FBI officials, may be properly known to us.
- (3) The information obtained from FBI is not necessarily evaluated or subjected by FBI to those standards of proof to which FBI is compelled to subject information which it collects for use of the Attorney General or in the courts.
- (4) What we are asking FBI is not incapable of proof; whether a man is a member of the Communist Party is not unprovable, especially since FBI has penetrated or can penetrate the Party, for example. It follows, therefore, that the failure of FBI to provide proof which will stand up is simply the evidence of FBI's own administrative limitations with respect to the work it does for the accommodation of agencies whom it has no statutory duty to serve.
- (5) Where FBI investigations serve our needs at  
all, it is



all, it is still a fact that the investigators are not subject to our direction and control and we have no means of evaluating the source.

(b) We are therefore faced with the alternative of strengthening our own investigative services, or utilizing more and more the services of other agencies. Since other agencies of the Government having their own investigative services--the Civil Service Commission, the Treasury Department, the Post Office Department, for example--are faced with the same problem even though to a lesser extent, it might be desirable to explore the possibilities of cooperative effort in co-ordination with FBI.

It is imperative, and will become more imperative after the present personnel emergency passes, therefore, that there be the most thorough co-ordination of the Government's intelligence and counter-intelligence investigations, here and abroad, in order to provide the information and guidance needed for the direction of the Department's foreign policy as well as the Department's personnel policies and investigations. This will require us to come to an understanding with Mr. Hoover and the Attorney General, and with the

Director of CIG.

Director of CIG.

(c) It is noted that the FBI Appropriations Act has for some time carried the provision that the FBI money is to be used for investigations on behalf of the Attorney General and the Secretary of State. It is true that there may be practical difficulties in effecting closer direction by the Department over the investigative work of FBI, irrespective of the language of the Appropriations Act.

The accommodation character of FBI's service to the Department is not tolerable. FBI must perform as a direct service of obligation to the Department, or the Department cannot be said to be fulfilling squarely or honestly its duties of fact-finding and decision. In that case, the Department should explore possibilities of a closer working arrangement with CIG, with which it is an equal partner by the terms of the CIG charter.

(d) The use of CIG to the extent possible should, of course, continue in any event; as should the use of other agencies able to assist the Department without interfering with each other, or with the FBI. As has been noted, it is most likely that co-ordinated effort in a common cause by several investigating agencies will be more productive than exclusive

monopoly in any

monopoly in any single agency without a concomitant statutory obligation to perform for all.

F. Reorganization of the Present Departmental Facilities

1. Appraisal of CSA Situation

(a) The conclusion with respect to the role which CSA plays is that it is almost entirely ministerial, or one of police investigator, while the functions exercised by CON are in comparison those of reviewers. In a certain sense this is a usurpation of function by CON for which there is only the justification of practice. It is doubtful, on the other hand, that CSA could perform with its present staff any operations other than ministerial ones. To a considerable extent, this is undoubtedly the result of the lack of clear directives and standards for the agents in the field, and for their superiors in Washington. The only standards the agents have are those of the mimeographed instruction forms sent by DP and FP and OPS.

(b) There is no doubt that the CSA personnel is not schooled or trained adequately for the proposed type of activity, or for its present functions beyond the familiar type of routine check. Examination of personnel files indicates that, by and large, the agents should provide good raw material for further training. On the other hand, it may

appear more

appear more desirable to recruit, select, and train specialists in ideology and other difficult work in this field, leaving to the other agents the routine activities of CSA and the routine checks of ordinary personnel not likely to involve any infiltration into the Department. This is a subject that should be taken up further. The extent of the use of such specialized personnel must depend to some degree on the progress of negotiations with FBI and other investigating agencies.

(c) Reconsideration must therefore be given to improvements of CSA within its present organizational setup. Thought should be immediately given to forms of instructions, expanded scope of investigation, schooling and retraining, redistribution of load, reorganization of review and other administrative improvements which would contribute greatly to enabling the Department to meet the duties of investigation which lie before it with its present investigative personnel.

## 2. Appraisal of CON

(a) There is at present no valid distinction between CON and the Security Committee. Except for a representative of DP, the Security Committee is

tightly a CON

tightly a CON activity. The Security Officer should affirmatively act on all cases. This, the Security Officer does not now do. The Committee, therefore, is called upon to act as a sieve between CSA and DP.

(b) It has been noted that the quality of the reports submitted by CON--and the Security Committee--will stand considerable improvement as to weight of evidence, evaluation and critical treatment of sources, and the like. This is a responsibility which CON should not pass on to the Security Committee since, after all, it is CON which is the Secretariat of the Committee and which provides the membership which alone is capable of supervising the report writing.

(c) The staff of CON working on security matters should be considerably reorganized and trained in personnel policies, in standards of security, and in background information from sources in addition to FBI. CON should undertake to treat FBI reports critically, to request reinvestigations, to evaluate sources, and so far as possible, to take such action as it would take with regard to CSA reports.

To some extent, of course, a critical approach

can be

can be attained by the device of frequent review of CON by higher authority; but such review is bound to be ineffective where there is a fundamental unresolved and tenaciously-held difference in view on such fundamental issues as tolerance for certain unpopular views whose relation to security from penetration by foreign governments, as a matter of Departmental policy is disputed.

The review authorities in CON, however, must act with finality in their recommendations. The review over them will be provided by experience, in the hands of Departmental superiors, by subsequent indictments or other disclosure of the presence of foreign intelligence agents in the Department, and by the interception of reports of intelligence services which seek to penetrate the Department. The distinction in responsibility between CON and any Committee should be clearly marked.

### 3. The Security Committee

(a) It has already been indicated that the Security Committee is not judicial in character. It is essentially a Committee of the investigating agency, that is, CON. Its methods are not those of a judicial body; there are no hearings in doubtful cases, the records are not read in advance, there is no presentation of two sides of the case; the members are not required to exercise individual decision

decision as reflected in recorded votes or written opinions, etc.

It is said, of course, that a number of the Committee members are lawyers. That may be true; but the fact is, first, that they are not practicing lawyers, and secondly, that they do not act as lawyers. More important, however, is the fact they do not act as judges, and that most of them also act as investigators and prosecutors in the same cases in which they sit as judges.

(b) While hearings--that is to say, an opportunity for the person under investigation to adduce evidence in his own possession which may rebut derogatory inferences, or to explain away elements of doubt--need not be given as a matter of right, there are certain cases where the record cries for that type of additional information. The Committee does not ask for it. Whether it should be asked for may be in part governed by administrative convenience, but the absence of a procedure of such explanation is a reflection in my opinion in individual cases on the whole procedure from CSA through the Committee.

III Case

III.

Case Studies

A. Introductory.

1. In order to obtain a clear idea of actual operations, examination was made of certain closed cases. CSA was requested to submit all the files of closed cases in a recent period; this was done in order to exclude any suggestion of selectivity. I selected the period June to July 1946, which netted about 136 closed cases, i.e. closed in CSA.

In this batch, it appears that approximately five cases were sent in on yellow paper, indicating elements of questionability other than security or loyalty. These were read and rejected for the purpose of the present inquiry. Cases of derogatory nature bearing on security (always typed on green paper, indicating that the file had been received from, or was being directed to the attention of, OOH) were then examined; these turned out to be approximately twenty in number and of these twenty, three were selected for further consideration. A number of green papers are included in this batch of twenty only because the investigation had been started by OOH--they did not necessarily involve derogatory security information.

The chief basis of selection of the three cases was the availability in Washington of special agents of CSA

who



who had actually worked on the case. It will be noted that the other cases of disapproval falling in this category of security risks were, thus, few in number.

2. It may be remarked, with respect to those that were on green cover sheets and involved affirmative elements described as derogatory, the cases in brief were as follows:

(a) One applicant was reported to have been a member of the American Civil Liberties Union in California and was so noted on the Dies Committee record. An informant said, "He was too smart" though not a "Red"; an anonymous informant said that he was responsible for participating in a Communist Party "Whispering Campaign" (nowhere explained), and that it was "rumored" that Communists lived in the house in which he lived.

(b) In another case, a former editor of ANASIA was finally approved on the basis of general character study without any investigation of the applicant's knowledge of the internal policies and management of ANASIA.

(c) Another applicant, being transferred from OIC, was reported to COH as a risk because her reference, a former teacher in a local university, said she seemed reserved with respect to her  
loyalty;

loyalty; the teacher in question, however, had--I note--in other reports of CSA and CGH been described as herself close to the Communist line and the very reference to her had in three cases apparently been considered to reflect against the applicant. CSA, however, made no further investigation. It appeared further that the applicant had received a Communist line newspaper, "In Fact", and had once violated instructions not to announce over the air certain script having to do with the contribution of women Communists in the Spanish Loyalist cause.

(d) Another case involving a transferee of CIAA, FBI at first reported that the applicant was a member of a club known as the Sacco-Vanzetti Club, but then reported that he had merely received an invitation to attend a meeting of the club and that there was no evidence that he had responded. The file is mystifying but apparently no further investigation was ever made.

3. Mr. Bannerman was requested to produce all disapprovals by the Security Committee within the period May 29, 1946, to July 2, 1946. These turned out to be fifteen in number. From this group three cases were selected on the basis of availability of CSA agents in Washington; one of the three cases had already been selected by me from the CSA group.

The five

The five cases thus selected were those of the following persons: Ida Wallack, William Chaikin, Penn Townsend Kisball, Dorothy Cheney Goodwin, and Clarence John Nelson. It should be noted that on the basis of this selection, no consideration was given of the mooted cases of present employees whose expulsion from the Department has been demanded by some Congressmen.

4. It may be noted in passing that the derogatory items emphasized in the remaining cases reported by the Security Committee were these:

An applicant for Foreign Service Guard, found to be a heavy drinker, disapproved as a security risk.

An applicant for Foreign Service (presumably clerical), described by informants as overdressing, and said to have made false statements (not bearing on security) in his Form 57, disapproved.

An applicant for a clerical position in FP, said by an employer not to be stable, determined to be a security risk.

A transferee from OIC disapproved because his second cousin had worked for the Japanese in Japan and informants had said he was indiscreet and not trustworthy.

An applicant for Foreign Service disapproved because, as a college student, at college he had been "close to" a group of persons accused by a New York State Legislative Committee as having been Communist and because he had signed a petition against Lend-Lease which had appeared in the

Daily

Daily Worker; yet the file shows that the professors who gave these derogatory statements had concluded that the applicant should be favorably recommended for Foreign Service appointment.

An applicant for Foreign Service disapproved because his father was alleged to have been affiliated with the American Labor Party in New York, and because he was found to have associated with Communists, and possibly been a Communist Party member, some years before; no investigation was made of the intervening period. It is noted that a vaguely unfavorable comment by a former professor was reported, although information in the Department (not contained in the file) will--I believe--indicate that the professor in question has himself been adversely reported upon by Government agencies as close to the Nazi Government.

An CIC transferee was disapproved as a security risk because he was homosexual.

A transferee from OSS on temporary appointment was disapproved because of evidence that a person of a similar last name who might be a relative had been mentioned in a notebook of an alleged Communist picked up in Europe by a foreign police officer, and because as a college student he had taken active part in Communist front organization work. No investigation was made of his subsequent conduct, or of the reliability or substance of the foreign police information.

A woman

A woman transferee from FEA to the Department disapproved as having lied on her Form 87; the lie, which was allegedly repeated by her, turned out to be entirely concerned with her attempts to explain an illegitimate child--no reason was given why this was a security matter.

A stenographer had been continuously tardy while employed in the Navy Department; the file indicates that the stenographer may have had salaries but no indication was given why this was given as a security case.

B. Ida Wallack.

The applicant sought a position as Foreign Service clerk. Though an FP case, the investigation and treatment accorded this case appear to be the same in substance as in any BP case. The file of CSA shows that on May 8, 1946, a formal request was made to Mr. Fitch by FP on the usual mimeographed form, which read as follows:

"Dear Mr. Fitch:

"Will you kindly investigate Miss Ida Wallack who seeks appointment to a clerical position in the Foreign Service on the following points:

Character	Experience
Honesty	Efficiency
Loyalty	Health and physical condition
Education	Marital Status
Culture	
Address	

(At this point there was typewritten: "Birth certificate and discharge papers have been requested. Please have applicant personally interviewed.")

"Your

"Your investigator might be advised that these positions require persons of the highest standard of ability, steady in their habits, of good appearance and health, and who are experienced stenographers.

"On account of the limited number of vacancies in the Service, only applicants with the highest qualifications can be selected, and it is hoped that your agents will be careful not to recommend anyone who does not possess representative American characteristics and ability to an unusual degree."

While the file does not contain the original application form, it appears that instructions were sent for personal interview to Philadelphia, in which the applicant resided, and for investigations in Atlanta, Georgia, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In addition, there were the usual checks in Washington of the Dies' Committee files and police and credit records. The Washington investigator found no derogatory information in Washington except a Dies' Committee record. A communication to Mr. J. V. Henselt, then Special Agent in Philadelphia, and now Special Agent in charge in Washington, said that the Dies' Committee file showed that a person named Ida Wallach, of 3212 Susquehanna Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, had signed a Communist Party election petition for the State of Pennsylvania for 1940; and that another person, Mary Wallach, of the same address, had signed similar petitions in 1940 and 1941. Mr. Henselt was asked to ascertain the relationship of Ida to Mary, and to "investigate subject's un-American activities." Philadelphia had already been requested, in making the CSA investigation, to check with the American

American Red Cross and "Dr. Milton Weeman" for whom the applicant had worked, and the latter of whom the applicant apparently gave as a reference.

The Philadelphia CSA report by Special Agent Garrity, dated May 21, 1946, is the source of the derogatory information which ultimately led to the recommendation of the Security Committee that Miss Wallack be denied employment. While Agent Garrity was not available in this survey, Mr. Hemelt informed me that he knew about the case from conversation with Garrity. He said that the Philadelphia office had three Special Agents who worked substantially independently; that is to say, Mr. Hemelt, as Agent in Charge, would distribute the incoming cases, including himself as a distributee, and the completed agents' reports would be sent in to Washington without review by him. This practice may have been changed very recently, he said, so as to call for a certain amount of review by the Agent in Charge. From Garrity's report and Hemelt's comments, it is, therefore, possible to reconstruct what happened:

Garrity interviewed the Red Cross and Dr. Weeman--presumably, Weeman was a misspelling--and found nothing derogatory. With respect to the Dies' Committee disclosure, the report reads: "The following information was ascertained:

'Subject was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 23, 1915 . . .'

Then follow, within the quotation, two pages of quoted material concerning the Wallack family, giving the history

of Ida,

of Ida, her sister Mary, the father, and the mother.

The paragraph, still within the quotation, which contains the derogatory information reads as follows:

"Subject, Ida Wallack, apparently is a member of the Communist Party. She is a signer of the 1940 Communist Nominating Petition in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. From an informant in the neighborhood it was learned during the latter part of 1941 and in the first few months of 1942, she and her sister Mary held many Communist meetings at their home. The people who attended these meetings are white and colored. From a confidential source it was learned during 1941 and the first few months of 1942, both Ida and Mary had contact with the Communist Party Headquarters, 250 S. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The nature of their contact with Communist Headquarters was relative to the work the Party was doing at that time. Both Mary and Ida are readers of the Communist Papers "Daily and Sunday Worker." Mary is also a signer of the 1940 and 1941 Communist Nominating Petitions in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mary also has contact with Selma Weiss, who is employed at Communist Headquarters, and a known Communist."

The last paragraph within the quotation in Garrity's report has the following statement:

"Neighborhood of subject's is Jewish and a hot bed of Communism. Mary Wallack is classified as a Red Hot Communist."

Agent Garry concluded his report with the following statement not in quotation marks:

"During the investigation, it was ascertained that subject's family are not known to be interested in Communism; however, Ida and Mary Wallack are considered out-and-out Communists. Selma Weiss, who is a friend of the family and also employed by Communist Headquarters in Philadelphia, is known for her Communistic leanings."

It appears



It appears that Ida Wallack was not then in Philadelphia and that her mother was unwilling to give her address. Other information, however, indicated that she was in San Francisco, where she was subsequently interviewed.

It may be noted that Agent Garrity did not disclose where he had obtained the quoted statement nor whether he had made any effort to check the authenticity of the allegations, or the sources of the information of the anonymous author. It did not appear, further, whether his own conclusion was based on investigation of his own, or was simply a summarization of the material quoted by him. Mr. Henelt, in the interview with me, said that all that happened here was that Agent Garrity went either to a Bios Committee office or to the Pennsylvania State Police, discovered the statement in question, and copied it, and made no other investigation whatever. Mr. Henelt conceded that names on Communist Party petitions might be unauthorized and that, in this connection, Mary Wallack could have signed Ida's name, and that obviously no investigation had been made by Agent Garrity with respect to this possibility. He also conceded that since Mary and Ida Wallack had lived in the same house, the author of the quoted derogatory report might simply have meant that Mary Wallack had meetings with Communist Party sympathizers in the family home, in which Ida was not necessarily associated.

The file shows that investigations were made pursuant to Mr. Fitch's request, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where a

Mr. Goff

Mr. Goff resided who had supervised Ida Wallack in the WACS. Mr. Goff said that Ida Wallack was loyal, etc. and he did not hesitate to recommend her. In Atlanta, Georgia, another employer, a Mr. Schwemle, made a similar statement.

On June 4, 1946, the Agent in San Francisco wrote a report of a personal investigation. The investigation disclosed that Ida Wallack was working for the Royal Indemnity Company where her supervisor gave her a very favorable recommendation for efficiency and loyalty, etc.

A personal interview in the Special Agent's office on June 3, is summarized in a report which commented on the applicant's national origin, in these words:

"It is believed that her origin would be obvious to those whom she might be called upon to meet, and she does not give one the usual impression of the normal free and sincere American girl."

With respect to the Communist issue, the report said that the agent gave Miss Wallack "not the slightest idea that we had such information concerning her." The report said:

"Therefore, she was only asked if she or any member of her family had ever belonged to any political organization. She flatly denied that she or anyone in her family has now or has had the slightest interest or connection in any movement of this type."

It will be seen that the personal interview report does not necessarily indicate that the Special Agent went into the Communist question at all, beyond asking Miss Wallack the general question whether she or any member of her family belonged

belonged to any political organization. No attempt was made, therefore, to obtain any information with respect to items charged to Mary Wallack or to ascertain the extent to which Ida Wallack was involved or to confront Ida Wallack with the Communist Party petition matter.

The file shows, finally, that FBI reported on June 13, 1946, presumably summarizing information in the FBI file, indicating that Ida Wallack was a signer of the 1940 nominating petition, that her sister, Mary, was an active worker of the Communist Party, that information was received at the Bureau that suspected Communist Party meetings were held at the home of Ida and Mary Wallack, but that in view of the fact that Ida Wallack was a WAG, the FBI "closed its investigation." Thus it does not appear that any independent investigation was ever made by FBI of Ida Wallack.

In submitting this file to FP, "through GCR", on June 26, 1946, Mr. Fitch reached the conclusion "that the applicant does not merit favorable consideration for employment in the Department of State." In support of this conclusion, CSA (apparently in the person of Mr. Hackett, the review officer) paraphrased that portion of the report obtained by Agent Garrity quoted above. He said:

**"Conclusion:"**

**"Investigation discloses evidence of a material nature tending to affect adversely the applicant's loyalty to the Government of the United States and**

**its**

its institutions. It reveals that the applicant has been definitely associated with Communist activities, and apparently is a member of the Communist Party. The records disclose that she is a signer of the 1940 Communist Nominating Petition in Philadelphia, and information elicited through a neighborhood investigation establishes the fact that both the applicant and her sister, Mary, held Communist meetings at their home during the latter part of 1941 and first few months of 1942. These meetings were attended by both white and colored people. From a reliable source, it was learned that during this same period both Ida and Mary had contact with the Communist Party Headquarters, 250 S. Broad Street, Philadelphia, relative to the work the party was doing at the time. Both are readers of the Communist papers "Daily and Sunday Worker." Further investigation reveals that the applicant's sister, Mary, who was married to one Julius Schwartz on October 28, 1940, is also a signer of the 1940 and 1941 Communist Nominating Petitions in Philadelphia, and that she has contact with Selma Weiss who is employed at Communist Headquarters, and a known Communist."

I discussed this case with Mr. Hoffman, Secretary to the Security Committee, whose initials appear on the pink action sheet of COX, disapproving the applicant on account of derogatory information. Mr. Hoffman stated that, according to his best recollection, someone in COX had read the report of CBA and requested Hoffman to pass the case on to the Committee. The Committee, in accordance with its usual practice, had not seen the file and had come to the conclusion on the basis of Hoffman's oral statement of the facts that the applicant should be disapproved. In accordance with this disapproval, he wrote as the reasons for the disapproval the following on the pink transmittal sheet under the heading, "Remarks":

"The subject is regarded as a strong security risk as the CBA investigation disclosed that she has

definitely

definitely been associated with Communist activities, and may well be a member of that Party. She signed a Communist Party nominating petition in 1940, and the subject and her sister held Communist meetings in their home during the latter part of 1941 and the first part of 1942. It is also indicated that the subject was in association with one Selma Weiss, a known Communist, who is employed at Communist headquarters in Philadelphia.

"The investigative file is attached."

I pointed out to Mr. Hoffman that apart from the alleged appearance of Ida Wallack's name on the Communist Party petition, which had not been independently checked, all the information of derogatory character concerning her might actually apply only to her sister, Mary; and I pointed out further that it did not appear from the CSA report that any independent investigation had been made by the CSA agent. Mr. Hoffman said that he did not know this, nor did he know what the source of the CSA agent's statement was, nor how far what was said by the CSA agent represented conclusions and inferences of the agent or of his anonymous source rather than facts. He said he knew that the FBI was not investigating Ida Wallack.

C. William Chaiken.

This person's case came up on an application for transfer to the permanent rolls of the Department from the Research and Analysis Group of OSS, which had been brought into the Department. Mr. Chaiken had served with OSS, had been investigated by OSS and the Civil Service Commission, and

after

after a hearing by the Civil Service Commission, had been certified as eligible.

It appears from the file that CON initiated the present investigation; it requested CSA on February 6, 1946, to check the Civil Service Commission's files on Chaiken, and particularly to make a check with regard to information found in the files of the un-American Activities Committee that a person of that name had been dismissed from the National Youth Administration. On April 8, 1946, CSA Special Agent McCoy (now one of the review officers in CSA) wrote his report which was thereafter transmitted to CON. Mr. McCoy stated, when interviewed by me, that he had simply complied with his instructions, which were to visit the Civil Service Commission and digest the information in the file. He had made no independent check of any of the so-called derogatory information contained in the file. Mr. McCoy stated that he knew that the Civil Service Commission, after the hearing, had rated the employee as eligible, but apparently this was considered irrelevant to the inquiry and was not adverted to in Mr. McCoy's report. Mr. McCoy explained that at the time he and other agents handled fifty or sixty cases a month, being pressed by the Department's drive for preliminary screening; he said that the assumption was that if the preliminary report was deemed by the Department inadequate, a further investigation would be made.

Mr. Hoffman,

Mr. Hoffman, who wrote the CON and Security Committee statement, was also interviewed. He said that after the original Security Screening Committee (which preceded the present committee) had disapproved Chaiken on the basis of the CSA report, Mr. McCluney, the Administrative Officer for SA-L, communicated an unsigned memorandum on behalf of Mr. Langer vouching for Chaiken's loyalty, and followed this with two memoranda from Chaiken's supervisors who took the same view. The case was again presented to the Security Committee and the Security Committee ruled in favor of disapproval without any additional investigation. Mr. Hoffman explained that no re-investigation was deemed necessary in this case since, from 1943 when the last Civil Service Commission investigation was made to the present time, Chaiken had been in OSS and the documents transmitted to Mr. McCluney would be considered equivalent to a statement of findings by an investigator during that period. Mr. Hoffman emphasized, as does his transmittal memorandum of June 27, 1946, that in the Committee's view, the case against Chaiken is based on the fact that the CSA digest of the Civil Service record disclosed that ten references given by him "were listed in the subversive files of a government agency and a number of these have been prominently identified with Communist front activities."

The CSA file is confused. It shows that the first five references, presumably given on the Form 57, were the following

following persons: Maurice Mandell, Alexander Meiklejohn, Professor Milton Chernin, Frederick S. O'Laugh and Philip Lillenthal.

It appears also that at the time of a personal interview by a Civil Service investigator, Chaiken submitted five letters of reference; it is not indicated whether the letters were solicited by the investigator or whether any limitations were placed on the relationship of the references to Chaiken. The persons who wrote these letters were Bernard Serkov, Harold McGrath, Mrs. Reidy, Martha Fletcher, and Hyman Kaplan. With respect to these individuals, the Civil Service investigator seems to have said: "All were individually listed in a government agency subversive reference file."

No independent check was made by CON or the Committee with respect to the allegations against the references.

It also appears that no consideration was given by CON or the Security Committee to the fact that at least the first five references were apparently required, by clear language on the face of Form 57 in effect at that time, to have been supervisors of the applicant in prior employment. Since the applicant had been an employee of NYA (the file showed that his termination at NYA was the result of some internal dispute with no clear relation to any Communist issue), the University of California, and a School of Social Studies (which has figured in other investigations of CSA and whose  
faculty



faculty and students have not been declared ineligible for that reason), there is considerable question whether the adverse recommendation on these grounds would be justified.

It further appears in the file that there was considerable dispute whether references characterized as Communists were actually Communists. Thus, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, who was described in Mr. Hoffman's memorandum as a person who "has a long record of affiliation with Communist front organizations and has been reported as a Communist," and with respect to whom it is said that "he was named as a propagandist leader for the Communist Party and previously had been reported as a member of the Communist Party Speakers' Bureau," should have been known to OCH as a former President of Amherst, and former Dean of the Experimental College of the University of Wisconsin, and of other affiliations which would raise considerable doubt that anyone who was associated with him in any teaching enterprise was necessarily guilty of associating with a known Communist. Moreover, Mr. Hoffman's report states that Meiklejohn has been affiliated "with the following front groups or organizations," including the League for Industrial Democracy of which he is described as having been Vice President during 1935. It is notorious, however, that the League for Industrial Democracy is not a Communist "front" organization but a Socialist organization in which Norman Thomas, Harry Laidler and other

anti-

anti-Communist Socialists have been active.

With respect to a reference named Professor Chernin, the report relies on a Civil Service agent's interview with the Captain of the campus police of the University of California. That person is reported to have said: "Anybody in any way connected with Professor Chernin I would say you have a Red case on your hands." Apparently the word "Red" as used by this policeman is taken by CON as a statement of fact rather than opinion, and as meaning that Chernin is "a Communist or Communist sympathizer", and that therefore Chaiken, by association, is the same.

The report further states, in quoting the same source, that Chernin "is associated with 'moral re-armament' through his association as a member of the California Prisoners' Association"; if this is intended to mean a connection with the Oxford religious movement, the inconsistency between such an association and a Communist association would appear to be obvious to anyone who has an acquaintance with Buchmanism.

Finally, the report relies on a statement in the record of the District Attorney's Office in San Francisco that Chernin's brother-in-law constructed a subway in Moscow, Russia, and is a representative "Red". If that means that Chernin's brother-in-law is a Russian living in Moscow, he would naturally be a Communist. If it means that he participated in the construction of a subway in Moscow, the report

falls

CSA - Division of  
Investigation

CON - Office of  
Security Affairs  
(both state dept.)

fails to state how he is more "Red" by virtue of that fact than other American engineers who worked in the Soviet Union.

The whole file thus is based on loose usage of the term "Red", "Radical" (in connection with the School of Social Studies in San Francisco) and similar phrases.

As against the foregoing, the statements taken from supervisors since 1943, who quote him as an aggressive, able, person definitely not a Communist were considered not to change the fundamental objection.

The conclusion in Hoffman's report that the recommendations of these supervisors "are rather reserved" is not, in my opinion, justified as a paraphrase of the language of the supervisors.

D. Dorothy Cheney Goodwin.

This case was referred to CSA as an application by Miss Goodwin for the Foreign Service Auxiliary to fill a position as Cultural Affairs Officer in India. Mr. Fornes of FP appears to have thought that the file should be gone over by the Security Committee, which apparently was created after the CSA report was received. On March 21, 1946, COM noted by memorandum to CSA that the Dies Committee had three entries regarding the same name and requested investigation to determine identity. While this was pending, Miss Goodwin transmitted a memorandum, dated April 16, 1946, in which she gave "a history of investigation of my character and loyalty made by the

by the Civil Service Commission in the spring of 1942, in case some question is raised again about the results of that investigation." She had been "officially cleared", she said. She then proceeded to discuss her membership in the Cooperative Book Shop in Washington and her relations with a girl named Edna Sugihara. She concluded with a denial that she was a Communist, etc. and said that an examination of her position would show that she was hostile to both Communist doctrine and Communist practice, and that she was ready to be questioned and re-examined on the subject.

Thereupon, CON requested CSA to check the files of the Civil Service Commission as to three items:

- (1) The extent of association between Miss Goodwin and Miss Ruth Friedson and with whom Miss Goodwin had roomed during 1938 or 1939;
- (2) The extent of association with Edna Sugihara, and to determine whether Miss Sugihara was ever rated eligible by the Civil Service Commission;
- (3) To determine the veracity of the statements of Miss Goodwin in her April 16 memorandum, that the Commission had asked her to denounce Miss Sugihara "as a Communist, in writing, after she had been officially cleared of the charge and refused to do so"; and that "it had become a matter of record that the charges against her (Sugihara) were in error." It was suggested that CSA also

transmit

transmit "any information which may come to your attention regarding subject's association with known or reported Communists, or with Communists or Communist front organizations."

On May 13, 1946, GSA Agent A. W. Bynitzky wrote a report on the latter inquiry. Another GSA report, on a prior investigation, was not in the file; it is referred to hereafter. It appears that investigation had already determined that Miss Goodwin was not a Dorothy Goodwin listed in the Dies Committee as connected with a Communist school in New York. Agent Bynitzky, interviewed by me, stated that as requested he went to the Civil Service Commission and re-read the files. From this it appeared that Miss Goodwin had roomed with Miss Friedson for three years; that she had described Miss Friedson to the Civil Service Commission inquirers as a labor unionist "pretty straight New Deal" and had denied that "Miss Friedson has strong leftist tendencies." She was reported to have testified that she had joined the Book Shop as a member on the suggestion of Miss Friedson and that she had been led to believe that the books were "straight", and that there was no evidence of support by the Communist Party. With respect to Edna Sugihara, it was further found by Agent Bynitzky that Miss Goodwin had made a statement to the Commission that she had met Miss Sugihara through Miss Friedson, the two latter having become roommates some time after

after Miss Goodwin ceased to live with Miss Friedman. She had given her opinion to the Commission, in testifying, that Miss Sugihara's "loyalty to the United States is unquestionable". She said her relations with Miss Sugihara were purely social, that the only thing they belonged to together was the Book Shop, which she considered purely incidental. With respect further to Miss Sugihara, the Agent reported that the National Resources Planning Board was requested by the Commission to terminate her appointment "because of a reasonable doubt which existed with respect to her loyalty to the American form of government", but that after an appeal, the Civil Service Commission determined that her termination from the Board should not be "with prejudice." Thereafter, the Commission authorized a promotion for her in GFA; however, her transfer or reassignment, the Civil Service Commission specified, could not be effected without prior approval of the Commission, and she was not to be employed in connection with confidential war work.

Agent Eynitzky reported that "no information could be found to bear out the statement of the applicant that the Civil Service Commission had asked her to denounce Miss Sugihara as a Communist, nor could any information be found whereby the said Commission had admitted error in the charges against Miss Sugihara."

Agent

Agent Buynitzky, in his interview, stated that he had based his conclusion solely on examination of the Civil Service Commission's files; he did not know whether in personal conversation an employee of the Commission did or did not make such a request of Miss Goodwin, nor whether Miss Goodwin might have been led to believe that such a request was being made of her.

It should further be pointed out that the decision of the Commission to cancel the "with prejudice" entry, which it had thereto had made, might be interpreted as an admission of error, especially since thereafter Miss Sugihara was in fact rated eligible for certain types of government employment.

Agent Buynitzky reported also that in the same Civil Service Commission files he found that eleven associates or references of Miss Goodwin had been checked and nothing derogatory concerning them had been found while two were shown to have been connected with the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the Book Shop. However, the two were professors in the university attended in Washington by Miss Goodwin and the agent's report is noncommittal on the significance of these affiliations.

On the basis of this report, the case was presented through the Security Committee by Hoffman. The Committee ruled against Miss Goodwin but the report was written up by

Mr. Morse



Mr. Morse Allen, assistant to Mr. Bannerman. Mr. Allen stated in an interview with me that the remarks on the memorandum of disapproval, dated June 4, 1946, represent the views of the Committee as well as of himself on this case. The points made by him in his report were that investigation "has established that she is a close friend of individuals regarded as Communists and Communist sympathizers"; that she has admitted membership in organizations regarded as "front" groups of the Communist Party, that "in her statement of April 15, she has made statements that are false or deliberately misleading", in saying that she had been requested by the Civil Service Commission to denounce Miss Bugihara as a Communist after she had been cleared, and finally--relying on matters brought out in a prior CSA report not in the present file--that when she was being questioned by the Civil Service Commission as to her views, she had made a statement demonstrating "that the applicant shows a complete lack of responsibility for the truth and an amazing lack of discretion (since at this time the Nation was at war) which should automatically preclude her from employment with the Department's Foreign Service."

This statement of Miss Goodwin's, to which the CON report alludes, was made in the course of her Civil Service hearing. It was, "that I think we are fine ones to point a finger at Hitler for his treatment of the Jews. I think  
the treatment

the treatment of Negroes in almost all parts of this country is pretty closely comparable to that of the Jews in Germany."

It will be noted that the conclusion that Miss Goodwin is a "close" friend of certain individuals seems to derive entirely from her having been a roommate for several years of Miss Friedson, and having known, through Miss Friedson, Edna Sugihara. That this demonstrates an adherence to a Communist program would seem to be considerably farfetched as a matter of logic; for neither reason nor experience compels such a conclusion. The conclusion that she was a member in Communist "front" organizations appears to relate entirely to her membership in the Book Shop. Mr. Allen conceded that this would include many people who are not Communists. Her memorandum of April 15 states that she refused to resign when the organization was under fire, because as a matter of principle she wanted to know the evidence against it; and she added that her membership, however, has long since lapsed.

Miss Goodwin pointed out in the same statement that her other associations were with the Republican Party, with which she was registered, although she also voted Democratic, the Smith College Alumnae of Washington, and the United Federal Workers Union in the Departments of Interior and Agriculture, which she quit in 1942 because she disapproved of the

of the activities of the union. She also said that she had signed a petition to allow Marian Anderson (the Negro singer) to appear in Constitution Hall.

With respect to the circumstances of her questioning by the Commission concerning Miss Sugihara, an attempt was made by GSA or CON to obtain amplification from Miss Goodwin.

Mr. Allen, in the interview with him, insisted that his remarks concerning Miss Goodwin's opinion on the mistreatment of Negroes in the United States were justified and a ground for rejection of the applicant. He contended that if she said such things in wartime she might be a propagandist against the United States; but he conceded that the statement had been made as a matter of opinion in the course of an examination of her views on racial questions by the Civil Service Commission, and not in any propagandist pamphlet or other public activity on her part.

The disapproval, it is noted in the file, is being appealed by Miss Goodwin.

E. Kenn

E. Penn Townsend Kimball

Mr. Kimball is an applicant for the Foreign Service. He had been investigated by CSA and a favorable recommendation was sent to Mr. Chapin of OFS. It appears that when he was about to take his oral examinations, it was noted in OFS that no FBI report had been received on him. When requested for its report, FBI reported by telephone that in 1941 the New York Newspaper Guild's PM Unit had distributed a circular defending a strike of the North American Aviation Company in California, and that the name of Penn Kimball of the Grievance Committee of the Newspaper Guild had been included on this circular. FBI noted that this was the strike which had prompted the President to furnish troops to protect the workers.

Kimball passed the oral examinations and thereupon COM sent his case to FBI for investigation, in accordance with the practice recently established in agreement with Mr. Russell, by which FBI checks on Foreign Service applicants against whom doubtful information has been adduced. On the basis of the FBI report the Security Committee prepared an adverse recommendation on July 12, 1946. The FBI report was not in the files which were turned over to me.

The Committee noted in its report that Mr. David Lawrence, owner of the United States News in Washington,

upon being

upon being interviewed said that Kimball had left his employ to take employment with PM; that Kimball had displayed a turning "to the left". The CBA report on which this statement was based shows that Mr. Lawrence knew the applicant's father, and had recently offered the applicant a position as a Foreign Correspondent, "but the applicant was not keen about accepting it". Mr. Lawrence described the "liberal side" of the applicant's views as probably due to his father's business career as a "staid, old, Connecticut manufacturer."

Mr. Hoffman stated, when interviewed, that the Committee's chief reliance, however, was on the opinion of the applicant's most recent supervisor, on TIME magazine. This FBI report could not be found in the file made available to me; but as digested by Hoffman, the FBI reported that the TIME supervisor described Kimball as "definitely a left winger", who "is always vitally interested in some sort of social reform and unwaveringly espouses the cause of labor in any dispute, regardless of the merits involved in a particular case." The digest adds: "This reference stated that he definitely would not trust the applicant in any country where there is a growing possibility of Russian dominance."

It may be noted that no informant believed the applicant to be a member of the Communist-Party or a fellow-traveler.

traveler. FBI seems also to have investigated Kimball's reputation in New Britain, Connecticut. As reported, his reputation there was described as that of being extremely liberal and inclined toward Socialism. One informant said, "He was one of those young fellows who has received too much education and gone Communistic or Socialistic". That these informants used the language "Communistic" or "Socialistic" in the sense of adhering to Marxist doctrines seems unlikely.

The applicant was rejected as a security risk.

It may be noted that Kimball's file showed that he had been a Rhodes scholar in mathematics, that his reputation as a student was excellent, that he had served in the Marine Corps with the rank of Captain having been a combat correspondent in the Solomon Islands, and that he was described generally in the CSA investigation as "absolutely loyal."

No investigation was made of the situation in PM, which notoriously had an anti-Communist minority, or among his other recent associates on PM, or the Marine Corps, or on TIME.

F. Clarence John Nelson

This case, involving a telegrapher, is now pending before the Security Committee and was to be considered, I was told, at the next meeting.

I attended the

I attended the meeting of the Security Committee held in Mr. Bannerman's office on July 24. The Nelson case was the first on the agenda. It appeared that Nelson had been a telegrapher for years, working in the Navy Department, in the Embassy in London, and for some time in the State Department proper. As a Veteran, he has Veterans' rights, including the right to a hearing. As a telegrapher, he has war service re-employment rights. The case against him must, therefore, be handled essentially as one of dismissal on charges.

It was asserted that the telegraphers' room, under the facilities of the Department, is so organized that a security risk cannot be effectively handled by segregation.

Evidence against Nelson would indicate that he is at least interested in current problems; that he is argumentative; but that there has been no objection to his work as a telegrapher, or any indication of a breach of security since 1938 when he came with DC/R.

The case has been investigated by GSA more than once. The information reported was of this character:

Persons who knew him years ago in a small town in Michigan said that he was garrulous and was known as "squeaky"; that he was the "conscientious objector type"; that he was a friend of a man named Peterson who was the town's leading or only Communist and as such a frequent

candidate for

candidate for public office; that an informant who knew him in the Navy had said that Nelson once had a trunk which contained "Communist and radical literature", which, however, the informant did not further particularize; that in the course of a penny ante poker game he got into an argument with a friend when he called a Hitler-lover while his friend called him a Stalin-lover, whereupon the friend reported to the investigator that Nelson did not resent being called a Stalin-lover; that some years ago it was reported to his supervisor in the Department that he had placed a copy of the Daily Worker in the pocket of one of the oldest telegraphers of the Department, now retired, with a suggestion that a certain editorial would be of interest to him, and that he had done so after getting three cents from the old man.

Mr. Morse Allen of CON, it appears, had concluded the man was a Communist.

The Committee divided in its discussions on this subject, several members taking the view that Nelson was a Communist and a security risk, emphasizing the Daily Worker story (there was no evidence with respect to the content of the editorial in question). One member said that he had come to the conclusion that Nelson was a crackpot. Most of the members agreed that Nelson ought to be in some position where he would not have access to the



Code Room or Telegraphers Room; but it appeared that Nelson worked today on plain telegrams only and that he did not encode or decode. The only possibility of employment for him elsewhere, it was said, was in New York.

That Nelson is an agent, or a Communist Party member, appears not to be demonstrated; the evidence adduced on both investigation and re-investigation was far from establishing either proposition on any standard of proof. On the other hand, if the issue was whether Nelson was too talkative, his many years of service in the Department and the Government as a telegrapher associated with code rooms should be a matter of investigation among associates and superiors in a methodical way. If the issue is whether Nelson is the kind of person who could be recruited by a foreign intelligence service, the issue would depend on the strength of his character; but it does not appear that any attempt has been made to interview Nelson or to ascertain the extent to which his convictions and his duties conflict. On the record it would seem the case raises the question whether a telegrapher in the State Department should be permitted to remain employed at that job if it is discovered that he shows an intellectual interest in problems of Socialism or even Communism where it is not plain or proved that he is affiliated or adheres to the programs of any group.

G. General

G. General Comments

The foregoing cases are, it is believed, fair examples of the methods and scope of investigation, review and decision, and of the standards of purpose and of proof applied in OSA, in CON, and in the Security Committee. A more thorough discussion of individual cases, based in some instances on information not in the files examined in this survey, is contained in reports made separately to you by me for other purposes in connection with Miss Goodwin and Messrs. Chaiken and Kimball. It may be recalled that in the Chaiken case I concurred in the disapproval upon the ground, which I expressed, that while the proof was not adequate to sustain the charge, administrative convenience of the Department justified the conclusion that the case be closed on the proof available.

Reports have also been made to you in collateral respects regarding the Colton, Dickman and Kenikov cases, in which the evidence adduced by investigation was analyzed. Those reports support the conclusions drawn by me in this report.

IV

Recommendations

On the basis of the survey conducted, and subject to its limitations above described, the following recommendations are made:

A. The quality and scope of investigations should be improved, particularly along the following lines:

1. Investigators and review officers should be schooled and re-indoctrinated, from time to time, in the Department's standards of employment, current information concerning foreign intelligence operations in the United States, legal requirements for evidence under the Hatch Act, the Civil Service regulations and Departmental action of similar character, the applicable standards of evidence and proof, and improved methods of investigation.

2. The investigators, considerably enlarged in number if necessary, should expand their work beyond merely routine checks; they should undertake imaginative, critical and, if necessary, more difficult investigation, rather than compel the Department to rely upon other agencies such as FBI. Investigations of this character will call for correspondingly improved direction from Washington.

3. More discriminate use should be made of the

investigations

investigations conducted by other agencies such as FBI, and the possibility should be explored of using additional agencies such as the Treasury Department and CIO, in the manner and to the extent noted above.

B. Intelligence coordination from all sources should be vastly enlarged and improved. Critical evaluation must be expanded in many directions.

1. Evaluators such as those in CON should be trained in the sufficiency of evidence and the application of standards to facts. The report writing in personnel cases should be improved in respect to the presentation of facts and the drawing of inferences and conclusions.

2. The staff of CON should be reorganized and amplified for the purposes of providing personnel trained in the evaluation of evidence and in the standards of government policy and constitutional rights. For this purpose it would be advisable to consider the assignment of lawyers of superior training and experience.

3. The work done in the political divisions such as that of Mr. Raymond Murphy, must be co-ordinated or brought to bear on the evaluation in CON.

4. Staff work for the reading, digesting, and evaluating of the security aspects of information arriving in CON or in the Department, or available in the government from all sources, should be a major func-

tion. To the extent

tion. To the extent that COH is not prepared to engage in such a function, consideration should be given to such staff work in the office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration.

C. Standards of employment and security should be carefully formulated and frequently re-formulated as indicated by experience for the guidance of personnel officers and security officers. The responsibilities for personnel policy should be separated from security policy so far as is feasible.

1. Written instructions to CBA, COH, and personnel officers of the Department should be formulated, setting forth standards of employment and rejection.

2. Consideration should be given to the preparation of additional questionnaire forms for applicants to disclose necessary information beyond that called for in the present Form 57 by the Civil Service Commission. CBA investigators would be required to verify replies to specific questions or to use them as starting points for necessary investigation.

D. The Security Committee should be abolished. Its present functions of sifting evidence and passing on individual cases should be squarely divided between Personnel and COH.

1. A new committee should be organized, responsi-

ble to the Assistant

ble to the Assistant Secretary for Administration, which should act as a quasi-judicial body dealing with cases of new applicants and cases presented for termination, on security aspects alone. This committee should proceed safely as a review body, after affirmative exercise of discretion and sifting of cases by both Personnel and COH.

2. The practice and procedure of the review organization should be calculated to provide judicial handling of cases for decision. Agenda should be provided to the members, each member should be required to read the entire record and express his conclusions, minutes of the disposition should be kept, and provision should be made for personal appearance of the employees themselves for statement and questioning, either before the Committee or before its representative.

E. The place of the Department in the entire counter-intelligence field should be re-examined, with a view to coordinating personnel investigations and policy with informational developments respecting the activities and plans of foreign governments vis-a-vis this government, or vis-a-vis the Department. Every case of a rejection or termination on evidence of foreign agency should, for example, be ipso facto a cause for counter intelligence

consideration and

consideration and report to the Department. For this reason, careful re-examination should be made of the role of the FBI as an intelligence agency serving the Department and the proper use of the facilities of CIG and other government agencies for the same purpose.

## MILITARY RECORD OF SENATOR TYDINGS

Enlisted with Company D, Maryland National Guard, June 1916, and saw service on the Mexican Border. Upon returning from this duty, while discharge from service was still in the mail, war with Germany broke out and again was called out April 6, 1917, and thus served continuously until May 30, 1919, being promoted through the ranks from enlisted man to Lieutenant Colonel.

Upon completion of studies at Ft. Sill, Okla., graduated first in class and was awarded Division Instructor's Certificate in Musketry. Upon completion of studies in Second Corps Machine Gun School at Chatillon-sur-Seine, France, graduated first in class and was awarded Corps Machine Gun Instructor's Certificate from said school.

While with the 29th Division in Alsace, commanded the machine gun units covering raids on German trenches and also had charge of the harassing machine gun fire program which called for shooting-up enemy targets with machine guns six times each 24 hours.

Participated in Meuse-Argonne Offensive and while in this engagement, worked out a flanking machine gun attack on German positions which was successful and which is set forth in one chapter of an Army publication called "Infantry in Battle", one of the text books used at the West Point Military Academy.

Cited by Generals Pershing, Morton, and Upton; awarded Distinguished Service Medal and Distinguished Service Cross.

### A man of international stature

Keep a patriot with a fine record in office, where he has helped and is continuing to help keep America strong. Millard Tydings is known and respected from Maine to California. He has put Maryland on the political map.

## RE-ELECT TYDINGS

By authority of Thomas J. Kenny

# THE REAL FACTS

*about*

THE TYDINGS SUBCOMMITTEE  
Investigation of the State Department

121-23278-264  
ENCLOSURE



When you hear the charge of "Whitewashing" or "covering up" of disloyal employees in the State Department by the investigating committee, tell them:

1. Don't you know the official record shows that these same persons were investigated not by *one*, but by four separate committees of Congress during the years 1947 and 1948, at a time when Congress was overwhelmingly controlled in the House and Senate by the *Republican Party*? How come these 4 Republican committees did not turn up any Communists from the same charges? Were the *Republicans* "whitewashing" a Democratic administration?
2. Tell them—that in a speech made on the floor of Congress by Representative Jonkman, *Republican* of Michigan, (of a sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs investigating these same charges) page 9793 of the Congressional Record of August 2, 1948, said:

"But before the 80th Congress adjourns, I want the Members to know that there is one Department in which the known or reasonably suspected subversives, Communists, fellow travelers, sympathizers and persons whose services are not for the best interests of the United States, have been swept out. That is the Department of State."

3. Tell them—what Senator Lodge, *Republican* member of the investigating sub-committee, had to say, as quoted from the Congressional Record of July 21, 1950:

"... I did not find any Communists in the State Department but I went to all lengths to which I think any man could go, in that I personally interviewed the State Department agents and special agents covering a large part of the United States, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, and I asked every one of them whether they knew of any Communists in the State Department. All of them said they did not."

NOTE: The original printed hearings of the 4 committees and the Congressional Records containing the Jonkman speech and Senator Lodge's

remarks are available for your inspection at the Tydings Headquarters in the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland.

The F.B.I. will be glad to get any information concerning Communists in government. It's their job to ferret them out—and they do just that.

\* \* \*

If you hear that the files and records examined by the investigating committee were "raped, rifled or incomplete", tell them the F.B.I. says "No".

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

September 8, 1950

Honorable Willard E. Tydings  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senators:

In response to your inquiry as to whether the FBI reviewed the State Department personnel files that were under consideration by your Committee for the purpose of ascertaining whether reports submitted by the FBI to the State Department were incorporated therein, this is to advise you that at the request of the Attorney General, we did make such a check on July 13, 1950 and found that the State Department files were intact, as indicated in the letter from the Attorney General to you dated July 17, 1950.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

DOC LAB NOTE

ITEM (S)

CAN NOT

BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

Publication

WHERE THERE'S A SMELL

THEN WHAT'S THAT AWFUL SMELL!!

SEE? STRICTLY FRESH!!

HEALTH INSPECTOR

SEN. MCCARTHY

WELFARE STATE FISH MARKET

RED HERRING OUR SPECIALTY

MER-SIA CASE  
GOLD CASE  
BRIDGE'S CASE  
FUCHS CASE  
HIS CASE  
COMMY LEADERS CASE  
REMINGTON CASE

121-000974 - 264 ENCL OSURPT

MORRIS BENKING



A few documents submitted by Senator McCarthy to the Tydings Whitewash Committee.

It should be remembered by those who complain that LEGAL CRIMINAL CASES were not proved against all the individuals named that:

The following material was developed without the right to subpoena any witnesses or cross examine those few called by the Committee. The ranking Republican member of the Committee asked that some thirty witnesses be subpoenaed - witnesses who had been previously interviewed and whose backgrounds had been thoroughly checked by either the Republican counsel or McCarthy's investigators and who had valuable information on Communists in key positions in the State Department. This request was flatly refused by the Democratic members of the Committee.

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Waikart

DATE: October 2, 1950

FROM : Mr. Nichols

SUBJECT: HEARINGS BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF  
THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE (Tydings Committee)

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

For record purposes, there are attached Parts 1, 2, and 3 of printed testimony of Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session, pursuant to S. Res. 231 a resolution to investigate whether there are employees in the State Department disloyal to the United States.

This testimony should be indexed.

Attachment

LEW:loh

FBI  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/27/85 BY 9145/cf/gf

#264,078 3-19-86 9145 JFE/AG/CAL  
COPY SP-7 mac/DB 6/2/87

*Typed this 1 copy of the  
cover letter to be placed  
with the encl. The orig. copy  
is in file. 8-10-55 JFW*

121-23278-267X12  
part 2 appendix  
pages 1485-2510  
part 3  
pages 2511-2525  
2-24-52

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT SENT TO  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES (JFKARCA)  
DATE 8/26/96 HSCA SUBJECT  
MORGAN, Edward Propriet  
DR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-19-86 BY 9145JFE/  
264.078

SP-7 mac/DB  
6/2/87

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121-23278-267X12

**STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE A

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE**

**EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS**

**SECOND SESSION**

**PURSUANT TO**

**S. Res. 231**

**A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES**

---

**PART 3**

**JUN 28, 1950**



12

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

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HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 231**

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

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**PART 3**

JUNE 28, 1950

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1950

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121-23278-267 X 12



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**FRANCIS O. WILCOX, *Chief of Staff***  
**C. C. O'DAY, *Clerk***

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**SUBCOMMITTEE ON SENATE RESOLUTION 231**

**MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Maryland, *Chairman***

**THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, Rhode Island**      **BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa**  
**BRIEN MCMAHON, Connecticut**                  **HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., Massachusetts**

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**WILLIAM J. KLIMA, *Assistant Counsel***      **LYON L. TYLER, JR., *Assistant Counsel***

**MARGARET B. BUCHHOLZ, *Subcommittee Clerk***

## FOREWORD

Upon the recommendation of the Foreign Relations Committee the following transcript is printed as part 3 of the hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, pursuant to Senate Resolution 231. The discussion recorded below, which was not included in the original printed hearings, took place at a meeting of the subcommittee on June 28, 1950, at which time members of the subcommittee and the staff were canvassing certain procedural matters. In order that this section of the record may appear in its proper sequence, reference should be made to part 1 of the printed hearings, page 1484. The following exchange, which appears on page 1484, is repeated at this point to afford the necessary continuity:

Mr. MORGAN. I assume, then, that it will not be necessary at this point to incorporate by reading all of this into the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't see any point in it, but any member of the committee, anytime, ought to be able to go through this and see anything that we have here.

The additional testimony follows from this point.

My opinion is that a lot of it will be just a waste of time.

Senator GREEN. Have we got answers to all the questions?

Mr. MORGAN. I think, Senator, that a great many of them we have the answers to. Yesterday, for example, Senator Lodge asked for certain reports, I believe, in connection with the case of John Service. The Department of Justice has advised me that they do not have any such reports bearing those dates, and they are sending a letter up concerning the whole matter, which we will have later. So I obviously don't have that.

There are some outstanding requests of the Department of State. There is an outstanding request of the Navy Department. There is, I believe, one outstanding request of the Department of Justice and perhaps another of the War Department. There will be others, but a great many of them have been answered, and, of course, that is the material which I have here today.

Senator LODGE. It seems to me that we ought to also get all the papers of the loyalty board in the Service case, and if the loyalty review board passed on it, we ought to get that. I also would like to have the opportunity to question somebody from the State Department with respect to the quality of Service's record before and after the Amerasia case. It seems to me you have got to do that before you can even pass judgment on that case. I don't know whether we will be turned down or not. The Service case was not 1 of the 81, and we may not be allowed to see any of that stuff, but I think we certainly ought to see it because we want to make a judgment on that matter.

Senator TYDINGS. We will look into that.

Senator McMAHON. I think that somebody would come up and testify as to his competency and conduct as a State Department employee. I would be rather disappointed if they wouldn't.

Senator LODGE. I would, too.

Senator TYDINGS. I think we will get that all right, but whether we will get the record or not is another thing. I will have to explore that before I commit myself.

Mr. MORGAN. Incidentally, for the record at this point, in connection with the Service case, Mr. Peurifoy called me to advise the committee in this session, in the event the matter of Service came up, that the press stories to the effect that the loyalty and security board of the State Department has cleared Service are not accurate. The board has not rendered a decision concerning Service and does not intend to do so, according to Mr. Peurifoy, until the State Department has an opportunity to review our record in executive session, if we make it available to them. Furthermore, he advised that he specifically requested to be disqualified to pass on the Service case and that Under Secretary Webb had agreed to review the decision of the loyalty board at such time as it is formally rendered.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Incidentally, there are a couple questions, based on information that I have received just before noon today, that I would like to ask Mr. Service.

Senator TYDINGS. Would you indicate what they are, Senator?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I would prefer not to.

Senator TYDINGS. The only reason I asked was to see if we had covered any of the ground while you weren't here.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have reviewed the questions that have been asked him, and this happens to be a question to ask him.

Senator TYDINGS. This is new matter, you mean?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It involves other individuals.

Senator TYDINGS. In the State Department?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. No. It involves other individuals with whom he may have had some contact. I have received some information that he had contact with other individuals than those that our record discloses.

Senator TYDINGS. What I mean is, would it be pertinent to our inquiry?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It would, indeed.

Senator TYDINGS. How? Would it bear on his loyalty?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes, sir.

Senator TYDINGS. You don't care to tell us who they are?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Not at this time, because it is purely rumor. I have just received the information over the telephone and it happened just shortly before noon. This information may or may not be accurate at all.

Senator TYDINGS. Don't you think you ought to have a little more verification of that before we, busy as we all are, go into things of that sort? I don't want to be captious about it or anything of the sort. I am just asking for your opinion. You get a rumor. Is the man that gave the rumor willing to support it with any kind of reasonable fact which would make it worth while inquiring into? We can run rumors down from now on to the year 4006.

Senator LODGE. More than that, Mr. Chairman, we could run down perfectly legitimate questions from now to the year 4006 and still not exhaust all the questions that can be asked within the legitimate purview of Senate Resolution 231. That is the defect of this whole set-up.

Senator TYDINGS. I agree with you.

Senator LODGE. We could work ourselves to the bone, and we have worked hard on this committee, and still not scratched the surface of this subject.

Senator TYDINGS. Let me say this to you. My own thought is, and I want to be completely fair to my colleagues in this matter, is that under Resolution 231, we were instructed to inquire into the loyalty of State Department employees, past or present. In connection with that, we had to look into the loyalty of Mr. Larsen and Mr. Service, who are two State Department employees that were involved in Amerasia. I think that I was very liberal, in the absence of some of the other members of the committee, in letting the whole purview of Amerasia go in, as to whether the Department of Justice had done a good job, whether they had been fixed, which wasn't really what we set out to do. We personally set out to keep it within the State Department purview, and I tried to frame the questions, as the examination and cross-examination will note. It went into all phases of Amerasia, even though at times it seemed to me we were getting pretty far away from loyalty of the employees in the State Department. We went into whether Mr. Hitchcock did a good job or not. We went into whether the FBI did a good job or not. We got pretty far away from the State Department in many of our phases. However, it was all done in good faith and in order to be broad and liberal and fair about it.

Now, likewise, in the Lattimore case, Mr. Lattimore never was an employee of the State Department. Nevertheless, we had a great deal

of testimony about Mr. Lattimore and his books and writings and this, that and the other thing. I have done my best and with some success. When nobody thought we were going to get the 81 loyalty files, I went down and got them. I didn't know what was in them.

Senator McMAHON. Untampered with.

Senator TYDINGS. Untampered with. After the charge was made that they had been tampered with, I went to the FBI and said I wanted a check made of this, that if they had been tampered with, I wanted to know it. I am very hopeful that, having proceeded in that vein, we can more and more get back within the purview of the resolution and that we can conclude this hearing, because it is going to take a long while for us to make a study of this and see what report we are going to make. We probably will not agree on many phases of it. Quite frankly, I feel that we have done a good job. We have gone into it and we have all worked hard. This can be off the record.

(Off the record.)

Senator LODGE. Let me make a little statement, Mr. Chairman.

Senator TYDINGS. Certainly.

Senator LODGE. I agree that this committee has worked very hard. I think the staff has worked hard. I want to compliment them on the way they have worked. I know the Senators have put in a tremendous amount of time on this whole matter. However, Senate Resolution 231 is, and I think I can quote it right here, "to investigate persons who are disloyal to the United States who are or have been"—I underlined those three words, "or have been"—"employed by the Department of State."

Now, when you go into that, there are a whole lot of questions that suggest themselves to you that without any strained construction at all are squarely within that purview. I have just jotted down a few of them here that have been asked on the floor by Senators and that have been asked in the press, some of which would take months and years to go into.

What State Department officials were responsible for placing Hiss and Wadleigh in the State Department?

Have we investigated what person or persons were primarily responsible for sponsorship of employment of sexual perverts in the State Department?

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want all this on the record?

Senator LODGE. Yes. I think it would be a good thing for the men who wrote this Senate Resolution 231 to see, because some of them didn't understand what they were getting into.

Has an investigation been made with a view to determining whether those State Department officials who opposed United States recognition of Soviet Russia and who thereafter warned against any appeasement of the Soviet regime were in any way discriminated against or unfairly treated by the Department?

Has an investigation been made of the procedures whereby Communists gain entry into the United States upon the basis of visas obtained through our consular service abroad?

Has an investigation been made with reference to the release of the Soviet spy named Gaik Badalovich Ovakimian on July 23, 1941?

Has an investigation been made with reference to the release of the Soviet spy named Mikhała Nickolavich Goran on March 22, 1941?

Have questions been addressed to Adolph Berle with reference to his statement to the House Un-American Activities Committee that Alger Hiss belonged to the pro-Russian clique in the State Department?

Who in the State Department was responsible for obtaining the services of Frederick Schuman and Owen Lattimore as speakers for the Department's indoctrination course for Foreign Service employees? I have had many people ask me that.

Has the subcommittee investigated the charge that a State Department security officer whose decision that 10 members of the Department be discharged was subsequently reversed by higher authority?

What State Department officials were responsible for the advice given higher officials that the Soviet Government would allow free elections in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the other satellite countries?

Has the subcommittee investigated the facts surrounding the case of Arthur Adams, an alleged Soviet atom spy, who was permitted to leave the United States in 1946?

Now, any one of those questions would be good for 6, 7, or 8 months of the year.

Senator TYDINGS. That is right.

Senator LODGE. Take the Lattimore case alone. We have got nothing in the record to show where Lattimore's precise relationship with the State Department has been set forth by an official of the State Department. I don't think the State Department has answered for the record, whether the relationship to the State Department which Senator McCarthy applied to Lattimore was correct or not.

Senator TYDINGS. How about the four letters from the Secretaries of State?

Senator LODGE. Do you think that that completely clears up his relationship with the State Department?

Senator TYDINGS. I think as far as that phase of it is concerned, they said they didn't know him, that as far as they knew, he had no influence in molding foreign policy.

Senator LODGE. They said that, but did they set forth his exact place on the Reparations Commission to Japan, his exact appointment as lecturer?

Senator TYDINGS. That has all been testified to, that he was appointed at the request of Ed Pauley on the Presidential Mission, not with the State Department. That is in the record.

Senator LODGE. All right, I will look it up again.

Senator TYDINGS. I remember it.

Senator LODGE. Let me ask you this: Has the subcommittee questioned all persons mentioned by Budenz as having had relations with Lattimore?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes.

Senator LODGE. Have we all of them?

Mr. MORGAN. All persons?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. In what sense?

Senator LODGE. Have we had them in and questioned all the persons mentioned by Budenz as having had relations with Lattimore?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Budenz named in executive session a great many contributors to Pacific Affairs, the publication with which Lattimore

at one time was associated. Of course, we have not interviewed all of them. There were some 16, as I remember.

Senator TYDINGS. Lattimore specifically answered each one of the charges that Budenz had made or that anybody had made. I remember that in his testimony. I don't recall it specifically, but I do know he took up one thing after another.

Senator LODGE. We haven't questioned them all, I don't think.

Mr. MORRIS. Lattimore hasn't been in since the second Budenz testimony.

Senator LODGE. Have we questioned those who have headed the China desk in the State Department to determine whether Lattimore gave advice on United States policy for China and whether this advice was acted upon?

Have we questioned the United States Ambassadors to China who were there during that period in order to get answers to those questions?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In that connection, may I say that I talked to them about 4 weeks ago. I have been trying to locate their signatures so that I can present them. I talked to a Chinese representative here who told me that in discussing Chinese matters with the State Department he had been on repeated occasions sent to Owen Lattimore from the Far East Section of the State Department. They said, "Well, you see Lattimore about that."

Senator TYDINGS. Well, what of it? That doesn't make him an employee of the State Department.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. No; but it goes to the question of his influence.

Senator TYDINGS. We are not trying his influence. We are investigating whether State Department employees have been disloyal, and Lattimore is not a State Department employee.

Senator LODGE. I would like to just complete this; it wouldn't take me very long.

Senator TYDINGS. Excuse me.

Senator LODGE. On the question of asking the Department of Justice whether they have had any new information respecting Lattimore since that date, I think it was March 24 that we went down and saw the summary of the file.

Senator TYDINGS. By "new information," do you mean derogatory or general information?

Senator LODGE. I understand they were conducting a surveillance of them or an examination of them or a study into them.

Mr. MORRIS. As I understand it, they had 70 FBI men working on Lattimore subsequent to that.

Senator TYDINGS. Who told you that?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I heard that from about four or five different sources.

Senator TYDINGS. Name me one, so we can judge and measure the authenticity of what you heard.

Mr. MORRIS. One of them was a man named Nelson Frank.

Senator TYDINGS. Who is he?

Mr. MORRIS. He is a man who used to work for the Navy. He is a newspaperman. He is in New York. Apparently he is recognized by the Bureau as something of an expert on Communist literature. He gets frequent calls from the FBI.

Senator TYDINGS. What are we trying to find out about Lattimore, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I think the principal charge is he was the architect for our far eastern policy.

Senator TYDINGS. How does what you told me, 70 men of the FBI looking into it, make him the architect of our far eastern policy?

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry, I didn't hear that question.

Senator TYDINGS. How could he be the formulator of policy if he wasn't in the State Department?

Mr. MORRIS. I can think of one thing. He was one of the principal consultants last October, when they had the conference.

Senator LODGE. The question I raised was very simple. On the question of asking the Department of Justice whether they had any new information since March 24, they can say, yes, we have and we don't want to tell you or they can say no, we don't have, or yes, we have.

Senator TYDINGS. I shall ask that question and put the letter in the record. I think it is a very proper question.

Senator LODGE. They asked us all to come down and look at this summary.

Senator TYDINGS. I think it is a very proper question.

Senator LODGE. It is just a question of bringing the thing up to date.

Senator TYDINGS. That is right.

Senator LODGE. Now, at the hearing on April 25, Budenz stated that he would furnish the subcommittee with names of Communists whom he knew to be in the State Department. Have we received that list?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes, I have got a letter from him in which he says he has been very busy and hasn't had time to get around to this yet, that sometime in the autumn he hopes to have time to devote some attention to this.

Senator LODGE. Budenz says that?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes.

Senator LODGE. Will that letter be in the record?

Senator TYDINGS. You will put it in the record.

Senator LODGE. I think it ought to be in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I have got the letter somewhere. The reason I haven't brought it over here is that I didn't think of it, for one thing. Another thing is he says he wouldn't be able to do something until autumn. He sent a copy of it to each one. He says on the letter to me a copy to so and so and so and so. I think every member of the committee got a copy of it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I got a copy.

Senator TYDINGS. He says that on there. That is the reason I didn't bring it up.

Senator LODGE. I think it ought to be in the record for the sake of completeness.

Mr. MORGAN. I have my copy to incorporate in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. You have got a copy. Put it in the record. That will take care of that.

Senator LODGE. Have we contacted and investigated all those whom Lattimore is supposed to have brought in to the Institute of Pacific Relations? If not, I think we ought to do something about that.

Mr. MORGAN. That, Senator, is a bridge that I think we ought to cross right here. To propose to undertake an investigation of that



character, you might just as well give up all hope, with the existing facilities, and you might as well get set for an investigation that will extend over 1 year at the very least.

Senator LODGE. All right, now, I want to talk about that. I want to make my little speech about that. I have asked all these questions, and I think the questions are obviously questions that fall within the purview of this Senate resolution. However, with the congressional committee machinery, we could sit for another year or 2 years and we still couldn't get to the bottom of all those questions. In all the years I have been here, I have never been on a committee where people worked harder and where a more sincere effort was made.

Senator TYDINGS. I have had to do 3 or 4 hours on the committee in addition.

Senator LODGE. You are the chairman of the Armed Services Committee and you have a lot of other things to do. I have never been on any other committee where the members put in more time and worked harder. However, the nature of a congressional committee is such that the Senators haven't the time and, in most cases, haven't the expert background, and the tools which a congressional committee has, which are the publicity and the furnishing of facts on which public opinion is formed, are not the tools that you need to apprehend the existence of disloyalty in Government departments. What you need there are detectives and secret work, which a Congressional committee does not have. So I think that if we sat from now until doomsday, this committee, with the other things it has to do, which we as Senators have got to do, which are just as important as this, could never get to the bottom of the question of who hired Alger Hiss or how about all these people that Lattimore got into the Institute of Pacific Relations. Therefore, at the proper time, I am going to renew my motion that a trained bipartisan commission of experts be set up to go into this thing, under the seal of secrecy, with a definite requirement that no report be made until well after the election, taking this whole thing out of politics, getting to the bottom of it, and let the chips fall where they may. That is the system that has been tried in other countries and they have gotten a lot of results from it.

I wanted to make that statement fully and frankly here, because I intend to make it in public later, and I don't want to have you gentlemen learn my views in public for the first time. I want you to hear it here.

Senator TYDINGS. I think there is a great deal, Senator Lodge, in what you say. I am not out of sympathy or in disagreement with any of the fundamentals you have expressed. Take my own situation first. In addition to what each other member of the committee has had to put in on this, I have had to put in probably 2 hours extra each day because of the mail coming to me, and I have carried, you can imagine, a pretty heavy load here.

Now, I think we have done a pretty thorough job. I don't say that we have explored every bay and inlet and river and rivulet or we haven't explored it. I am not passing on that. What I would like to do is to take what we have got and present it to the Senate and come to some recommendation that we might all agree upon for a further continuance of this thing. Now, I can't see where anybody can be hurt on that score. My own conscience will be clear and

my sense of the discharge of the duty will be clear, because I have worked like the devil on this case.

Senator LODGE. I don't understand what you say about a continuance.

Senator TYDINGS. I say, we will take the evidence that we have now and make any conclusion we want from it, either in agreement or three different versions or five different versions, or any way we want to do it, and that incorporated in our general findings there be some provision and recommendations for a further pursuit of security under whatever mechanics we decide, either along your line or some other line.

Senator LODGE. Not necessarily by this same subcommittee?

Senator TYDINGS. We would be out. They would take it over and go ahead with it. I don't think we can do much more than we have done. I think it is like a sculptor. He takes his clay and he gets it in general shape. Now we are down to where the refinements come in, and we haven't got the time to go into all these things. My opinion is that we ought to make our findings on what we have and make a recommendation, which I am sure will be honored, that there be further pursuit of this proposition. By that, I don't mean this particular evidence. I mean anything that is in the picture at all that has to do with better security for the country, I am with it.

Senator LODGE. Off the record.

(Off the record.)

Senator TYDINGS. I haven't talked this over with my colleagues; I will tell you that in good faith. I haven't talked it over with Senator Green or Senator McMahon, but I have reached the conclusion that I want above everything else, this country to be secure against the bad people in it, particularly in the present time. While I have done the best I could do, and I think a pretty good job was done by all of us, in getting the essentials of what brought us into being before us for some consideration, I am not content to leave the matter go without further pursuit by people who have the time and the effort and everything else that can be made to do the job.

Senator GREEN. I may say I am in entire sympathy with the general principles, but whether I would be for any particular plan will be another matter.

I ought to be excused. I talked with my office and there are people who have been waiting for sometime over there to see me.

Senator TYDINGS. I would like to get some expression from you, Senator Green. I would like to get this from you today. I would like to have Mr. Morgan complete this record with such other information as has been requested to be furnished us in writing. Then I would like to have all of this made available and have the committee make whatever findings it wants to make and ask for such other pursuit of it as is necessary. I have no objection. I don't care. I don't want to drop it.

Senator GREEN. Somebody ought to make a tentative draft. That is the only possible way of getting at it.

Senator TYDINGS. I mean the committee ought to bring in its findings. We can say they are imperfect, if we want, or we can say that we have done the best we can.

Senator GREEN. My point is to get down to earth. Someone has got to make those findings or a draft in order that we may come to an agreement.

Senator TYDINGS. Make a motion, then, so we can get your point of view on paper.

Senator GREEN. Well, I would suggest that the counsel for the committee make a draft report for this committee that we can discuss, in the first place. When you once have that draft report and have been over that, then we can discuss the findings.

Mr. MORRIS. May I say, Senator, that the first basic request that I made in commencing this investigation was for the books and records of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, inasmuch as there was evidence that his money was the heart of the Communist cell in the Institute of Pacific Relations. I maintain that that was necessary. It was basically necessary to start that kind of an investigation.

Senator TYDINGS. There isn't anything, Mr. Morris, that isn't pertinent, and we can keep on asking for things, and there is no doubt in the world that would be a good thing to get, and you could ask for 5,000 different things, but we are pretty far away from loyalty in the State Department when we get out in the Institute of Pacific Relations with our little force. We just haven't got it.

Are you ready for a discussion?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I want to make an observation on that. I think it would be an utterly futile thing to make a draft report at this time. I consider we haven't even scratched the surface.

Senator TYDINGS. How long do you think it would take us to do it?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't know how long it will take us, but I would like to see us get into some of the ramifications of these witnesses as the only way way that you can develop evidence upon which you can base any final conclusions, and I will have to oppose such a motion at this time.

Senator GREEN. It seems to me that we have done all that we need to do in connection with the job that was imposed upon us. We have examined the case of everyone who has been accused, by name or by number corresponding to the name.

Senator LODGE. If the Senator will yield, we were not directed by the resolution to do that.

Senator GREEN. No, but we have not supplied want ads in the paper to find additional ones. We have had plenty of publicity about this committee's work, and we would have had other names suggested to us if these people who are constantly writing letters to us had names to offer.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. We have 20 or 30 names that I think we ought to look into.

Senator GREEN. I say, all that have been presented to the committee, I think we have examined.

Senator TYDINGS. I think we ought to reach a decision here today. I think we have done an exceedingly hard lot of work. This committee has worked hard and turned up all the essential facts. We have got to admit that there is a great field of endeavor here which we, as Cabot says, are not qualified to do. It would take us years, take much more money, take more investigators.

Senator GREEN. The point was to see whether there were present any cases of disloyalty in the State Department, or former employees of the State Department now in other Government departments. I think we have examined every case that comes within those two categories, and I think that was our duty. We want to make a report and file it and go on with other committees to continue the job that is considered necessary.

Senator TYDINGS. Is there any further discussion?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes. Before we vote on this matter, I would like to suggest a "for instance." I am compiling a list right now, which I will have this afternoon and you can have tomorrow afternoon, a list of a substantial number of witnesses to whom the trails in this thing lead.

Senator GREEN. Do they come under those two categories?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes, indeed—associations and connections in the State Department.

Senator GREEN. I think that is going on a fishing expedition. A witness who may know of something in the State Department is one thing, but if you can give us the name of anyone in the State Department on whom there are reasonable grounds for suspecting his disloyalty will be another thing.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. For instance, I would like to make a request at this moment, that Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, Assistant Chief of Staff in G-2, General Headquarters in the Far Eastern Command, under General MacArthur, furnish a review of the sort in the Smedley case, with special reference to their American associations.

Senator TYDINGS. I think, Senator Hickenlooper, without taking issue with you, we could sit here and probably think of a thousand pertinent sidelights, and some of them would be more than sidelights, perhaps.

Senator GREEN. Excuse me, I started to leave. I am afraid I will have to leave in the middle of this.

Senator TYDINGS. Let's have a decision, Senator Green. Your motion is pending. Are you ready for the question?

Senator GREEN. I would like to have a vote on it.

Senator LODGE. That is, to have the counsel prepare a report?

Senator TYDINGS. And submit it to us on the evidence up to date.

Senator McMAHON. That doesn't commit us to anything except seeing a compendium of what we have got.

Senator TYDINGS. You are going to have to do this sometime. You might as well walk up to it now. There never will be a point where you will be finished.

Senator McMAHON. I personally, in voting for this motion, want it understood as meaning in my mind that we are going to have an orderly presentation of the work of the committee to date. When I take a look at that report—I shouldn't call it a report; I should call it a memorandum of work that has been done—it would be very helpful to me in charting what I think should be the future course of the committee.

Senator GREEN. That is my suggestion.

Senator LODGE. Is it your thought that there should be a draft of a final report?

Senator GREEN. To date.

Senator LODGE. I don't like that word "final." I don't think the public will take it as final.

Senator GREEN. A draft to date of the work we have accomplished is what I would like to see. Can we decide we ought to fill in this gap or that gap or decide we ought to do this or follow up something else, so that we can have a definite statement of what we have done up to date?

Senator TYDINGS. My point is this, that we ought to take our hearings as of today, and we ought to have a report drafted for them to see whether we can agree to turn this over to the full committee, with our recommendations about its pursuit of this whole field of operations thereon.

Senator GREEN. We may make a great many changes in the report.

Senator TYDINGS. We wouldn't all agree, we will want this changed and that changed, but we will have to start sometime. I imagine the report will be pretty long. We have got a hundred-and-some people to deal with.

Senator LODGE. Let me say this. I think that I have some basic assumptions about this whole situation, which will not make it possible for me to sign this report.

Senator TYDINGS. I would suggest as an alternative that each man draw his own report and submit it and see where we can meet.

Senator LODGE. I have no objection to the staff working up any kind of a document that they desire, but I want to make it clear that as far as I am concerned, I don't think I will be able to sign it, because my basic assumptions about this whole proceeding are different.

Senator TYDINGS. That is all right. I am willing to start on my report. What I would like to do is get it here and tell you what I am going to say, and if you don't agree with it, make one of your own, but I want a report on the work. I think our work is pretty well concluded, if you want my opinion.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't think it has even started, Mr. Chairman.

Senator TYDINGS. You disagree with me?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I disagree with you.

Senator TYDINGS. But I disagree with you, so there we are.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I mention just one case here?

Senator TYDINGS. Mr. Morris, we can mention cases from now until doomsday.

Mr. MORRIS. It is in the record, Senator. May I just finish?

Mr. TYDINGS. Of course, you are not a member of the committee. When we want counsel to speak, we will ask them, but I am going to let you speak. However, that is a matter for the committee to decide.

Senator LODGE. I would like to hear what he has to say.

Mr. MORRIS. There is a case of a man named Theodore Geiger. He has been an employee of the State Department. He is now one of Paul Hoffman's top assistants. He is doing work that is quasi-State Department in character. I have gone and gotten some witnesses together who will testify that he was a member of the same Communist Party unit as they were, and I think that we would be delinquent if in the face of this evidence that is now on the record—

Senator TYDINGS. Why didn't you tell us this? Why did you wait until this hour to tell me?

Mr. MORRIS. I am not waiting, Senator. One day Senator Green made me a witness and I put it all in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. You haven't told me about it. This is the first I have heard about it.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I assume that you are aware of everything in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. No. There are some things in the record I haven't been able to read.

Mr. MORRIS. Certainly Mr. Morgan knows it. I have mentioned it several times to him.

Senator GREEN. That wouldn't have anything to do with my motion.

Senator TYDINGS. Turn it over to the FBI or do something else with it. I would like to get a decision here. We don't want to waste this afternoon.

Senator Green has recommended that the counsel prepare a report which will review the work that we have done, and that it may be used as a basis for committee action or individual action upon the matters we have already had under examination. Is that substantially it?

Senator GREEN. That is substantially it, yes.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want to add to it?

Senator GREEN. No. I accepted that as a basis for conclusions which we may later reach.

Senator McMAHON. Before voting I would like to say that I think it is a profitable thing to do, because we have been in existence now for how long, Mr. Chairman?

Senator TYDINGS. We are going on our fifth month.

Senator McMAHON. Fifth month. I would like to see a review, and in a form that I can very easily digest, of what we have already adduced in the record and, measuring that against our resolution of instructions, to see exactly where, in my mind, we are, and it is for that purpose of being helpful to me that I vote aye on the motion.

Senator TYDINGS. All those in favor will signify by saying "aye."

(Chorus of "ayes.")

Senator TYDINGS. Opposed?

(Chorus of "noes.")

Senator TYDINGS. All those in favor will signify by raising their hands.

(A show of hands.)

Senator McMAHON. Before we finally take a record vote, can I ask the basis of the objection for getting counsel to submit a brief to us? Perhaps I don't understand.

Senator LODGE. I have many basic objections.

Senator McMAHON. It seems to me like a sensible thing to make use of our counsel to give us a brief of what we have already done.

Senator LODGE. In the first place, there is the use of the word "conclusion" or "concluding," which Senator Green inserted into his motion. Senator Green is a man who understands the language and uses it very carefully, as I have had occasion to learn many times from my associations with him. The idea of that word "conclusion" is flatly at variance with my idea that this thing is by no means concluded and will not be concluded until we have a trained bipartisan commission that will make an independent investigation. That is one thing. Sec-

ondly, my whole basic assumption about this whole situation is so different that I think I would be misconstruing my own position if I were to vote for this particular motion.

Senator GREEN. We must make some sort of a report, must we not?

Senator LODGE. My position is that the thing we ought to do is to report out a resolution, setting up a trained bipartisan commission of experts to make an independent investigation.

Senator GREEN. That may be a conclusion, but we must make a report of what we have done, surely.

Senator TYDINGS. Cabot, what will we do with what we have already done; take it down and turn it over to them without reaching any conclusions?

Senator GREEN. Conclusions are a separate matter. It doesn't have to be a conclusion, not this report. It is just for a basis.

Senator LODGE. A basis for conclusions.

Senator GREEN. In other words, the conclusion might be that we can't reach any definite conclusion. That might be the conclusion we will reach.

Senator LODGE. I think you have got the votes to carry the motion.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't want to carry any motion by sheer force.

Senator McMAHON. I tried to frame what I interpret it to be, a working paper to give me the benefit of what has already been done in this committee period. Now what I do with the working memorandum when I get it and read it is a horse of another color. But I can't see why counsel can't prepare a working memorandum and submit it to us without any vote at all. I am quite willing to vote.

Senator GREEN. I've got to go. It is always a half hour, or another hour, or 2 hours.

Senator TYDINGS. I know, but this may save you two or three more committee meetings, where we would go over the same ground again.

Let me suggest that counsel prepare a tentative report to submit to the members of this committee, that each man prepare, if he wishes, such report as he wants and such recommendations as he wants, and that we pool those here and see if we can reach collectively or individually a basis for bringing our present hearings to a close and passing it on with recommendations for further action.

Senator GREEN. If it would suit Senator Lodge better, I would just call it an interim report.

Senator LODGE. You see, I start in with this basic assumption.

Senator TYDINGS. Would you object to an interim report?

Senator LODGE. I don't object to your telling Mr. Morgan as chief counsel to prepare a summary of the testimony today, if you want to, although to me it wouldn't be a document of much significance.

Senator TYDINGS. What I wanted to do was to find out whether we could tell the country what we found out up to now and then go on from there in any other field we want.

Senator LODGE. Let me answer you this way. My basic assumption is that in 1945, at the end of VE-day, those who were running this Government utterly failed to sense the new realities of the situation; that that showed itself in the fact that no reason was ever given for maintaining our Armed Forces; so that a clamor developed to not just demobilize, but to disintegrate our Armed Forces to a point where we had no influence left. In the case of the State Department, that

revealed itself in this carrying into the service of the State Department 4,000 people from these temporary war agencies, with no screening whatever, many of whom were totally unfit to be in the Government.

Senator GREEN. That all ought to be in the report.

Senator TYDINGS. It is in the report already.

Senator LODGE. That the administration in 1945 totally failed to sense the realities of the world situation.

Senator TYDINGS. Yes, sir, it is all in there.

Senator LODGE. I will be interested to read that.

Senator TYDINGS. It is all in there. We have got a complete explanation of it.

Senator LODGE. I would like to see that report before I vote.

Senator GREEN. Certainly.

Senator LODGE. If it has got that in there it will be interesting.

Senator TYDINGS. There isn't anything that isn't completely open and aboveboard.

Senator McMAHON. I deny that it is in the record, that at the end of the war the administration totally failed—I deny that that is in the record.

Senator LODGE. I thought you would.

Senator McMAHON. I, incidentally, deny the truth of it.

Senator LODGE. I thought you would.

Senator McMAHON. If you want to say it was the administration, say it was the American people, all the American people, everybody in the world, but that is immaterial to this record.

Senator LODGE. Senator, if the leaders of this country had said to the American people that we must maintain our Armed Forces of a certain size and bear a certain relation to the other armed forces in the world, the clamor to demobilize would never have arisen. It was the lack of real leadership. The reason we are in such trouble today is because of that.

Senator TYDINGS. My dear friend, we have got a proposition before us whereby we have been working going on our fifth month. We have assembled a vast amount of evidence about matters that are pertinent to this inquiry and upon which the public ought to be informed. The suggestion before us is that counsel prepare a report on the evidence we have taken up to now. It doesn't necessarily mean that we have to quit there or stop there. We can do whatever we please. But I would like to make a report on what we have done up to now, with recommendations flowing from that about what should be done in the future. Now, could there be any objection to that?

Senator LODGE. I understand that the text has already been drafted of this report; is that right?

Senator TYDINGS. I have asked Mr. Morgan to keep his text as current as he could. He has got a lot of it done. I haven't read it.

Senator LODGE. Why do you need the motion if he is writing it?

Senator TYDINGS. Senator Hickenlooper got one current, and you have got one current. Now let me get this straight. All you have got before you is this: Here is our evidence.

Senator GREEN. What are you arguing for?

Senator TYDINGS. Will you let me make this statement?

Senator GREEN. Yes; certainly.



Senator TYDINGS. Here is our evidence. Why shouldn't we make a finding on the evidence we have got up to now, plus such recommendations as we want to make based on the evidence?

Senator GREEN. I want to get the statement of evidence before I make any findings.

Senator TYDINGS. I am not talking about findings.

Senator GREEN. You just said findings.

Senator TYDINGS. I said we ought to make a report based on the evidence up to now.

Senator GREEN. You said findings.

Senator TYDINGS. Well, do you want to vote on it?

Senator McMAHON. Does that include the 81 down at the White House?

Senator TYDINGS. It looks to be like we are just afraid. What are we afraid about?

Senator LODGE. I am not afraid to make my report.

Senator McMAHON. Nor I mine.

Senator TYDINGS. All those in favor of the Green resolution will signify by saying "aye."

Senator GREEN. Aye.

Senator McMAHON. Aye.

Senator TYDINGS. All those opposed signify by saying "no."

Senator LODGE. No.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. No.

Senator TYDINGS. Two votes no and two the other way.

Go ahead, Mr. Morgan, and prepare your report. The meeting is in recess.

Senator McMAHON. I never saw a committee where the committee did not vote unanimously to have a report of its work brought to its attention.

Senator LODGE. That shows how controversial this subject is.

Mr. MORGAN. Pursuant to the committee's approval of this action, I am at this point incorporating in the record all of the various items which we thus far have collected in the office of the staff.

(These items are included in the appendix to the record at pp. 1756 to 2509.)

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

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**STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE A

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

**EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS**

**SECOND SESSION**

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 231**

**A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES**

**PART 1**

---

**MARCH 8, 9, 13, 14, 20, 21, 27, 28, APRIL 5, 6, 20, 25, 27, 28,  
MAY 1, 2, 3, 4, 26, 31, JUNE 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 1950**

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1950

**STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION**

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## CONTENTS

Testimony of—	Page
Bielaski, Frank Brooks, president of the Research and Security Corporation, New York City.....	923-967
Bess, Demaree, associate editor of the Saturday Evening Post.....	796-797
Browder, Earl Russell.....	669-707
Brunauer, Esther Caukin, Assistant Director for Policy Liaison, UNESCO Relations Staff, State Department.....	293-314
Budenz, Louis Francis, assistant professor of economics at Fordham University.....	487-558
Dodd, Dr. Bella V., attorney, New York City.....	631-659
Field, Frederick Vanderbilt.....	709-735
Ford, Peyton, assistant to the Attorney General.....	1054
Hanson, Haldore, chief of technical cooperation projects staff, State Department.....	341-371, 1179-1180
Heald, Robert L., assistant counsel, Foreign Relations Subcommittee.....	1206-1207
Hitecock, Robert M., attorney, Buffalo, N. Y.....	1001-1051
Holmes, Gen. Julius C., Foreign Service officer, assigned as Minister, in London.....	1165-1178
Hoover, J. Edgar, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	326-339
Jaffe, Philip J., former editor of Amerasia magazine.....	1213-1227
Jessup, Philip C., Ambassador at Large, State Department.....	215-275
Kenyon, Dorothy, attorney, New York City.....	176-214
Kerley, Larry E., reporter, New York Journal American.....	660-667
Ladd, D. Milton, assistant to the Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	1053-1074
Larsen, Emmanuel S., former employee of State Department.....	1075-1123, 1125-1164
Lattimore, Owen, director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University.....	417-486, 799-871, 873-921
McCarthy, Senator Joseph R.....	1-32, 33-72, 73-108, 109-175, 277-292
McGrath, J. Howard, the Attorney General.....	315-326
McInerney, James M., Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Criminal Division, Department of Justice.....	971-999, 1001-1051, 1053-1074
Morris, Robert, assistant counsel, Foreign Relations Subcommittee.....	967-970
Nichols, L. B., Assistant Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	1053-1074
Nicholson, Donald L., Chief of the Division of Security, State Department.....	373-390
Peurifoy, John E., Deputy Under Secretary of State, in Charge of Administration.....	1229-1256
Richardson, Seth W., Chairman, Civil Service Loyalty Review Board.....	405-416
Service, John S., Foreign Service officer, State Department.....	1257-1349, 1351-1390, 1391-1453
Snow, Gen. Conrad E., Chairman, Loyalty and Security Board, State Department.....	391-404
Thorpe, Brig. Gen. Elliott R., United States Army, retired.....	558-568
Tyler, Lyon L., Jr., assistant counsel, Foreign Relations Subcommittee.....	1206-1210
Utley, Freda, author.....	737-796
Van Beuren, Archbold, former Director of Security, OSS.....	1185-1206
Vardaman, James K., member of Federal Reserve Board.....	1181-1184

## SCHEDULE OF EXHIBITS

Number and summary of exhibits	Intro- duced at page—	Appears on page—
1. Protest in Daily Worker, Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade	18	1485
2. Letterhead, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.	20	1486
3. This exhibit was not received by reporter but was described by Senator McCarthy as "a cordial invitation to attend a dinner and presentation of the first annual award of the American-Russian Institute to President Franklin Roosevelt for 'Furthering American-Soviet Relations'" (transcript, p. 26)	26	1487
4. Letterhead, Conference on Pan-American Democracy	31	1487
5. Letterhead, Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee	66	1488
6. Open letter to the New York Times, Schappes Defense Committee	67	1488
7. Daily Worker, February 10, 1938, Isaac's Stand on Gerson	69	1493
8. Letterhead, League of Women Shoppers	70	1494
9. Letterhead, American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature	71	1495
10. Letterhead and Attachment, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom	71	1495
11. Letterhead, Citizens Committee to Aid Striking Seamen	71	1498
12. Letterhead, Film Audiences for Democracy	71	1499
13. List of officers and advertising board of Films for Democracy	71	1499
14. Program, Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights	71	1500
15. Open letter to the New York Times supporting Communist cause in Spain	71	1504
16. Letterhead, Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain	72	1506
17. Letterhead, Milk-Consumers Protective Committee	72	1507
18. Statement of Senator McCarthy on Haldore Hanson	75	1508
19. State Department departmental announcement No. 41	75	1512
20. McCarthy's statement on Esther Caukin Brunauer	83	1514
21. Program of Washington meeting of the American Friends of the Soviet Union	83	1514
22. Call of the American Youth Congress in 1938	86	1515
23. The American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts	91	1518
24. The New York Times' release on The American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts	91	1519
25. Proceedings Congress of Youth	91	1520
26. Senator McCarthy's statement on Owen Lattimore	92	1523
27. Letterhead of Amerasia magazine	92	1532
28. Times Herald of June 6, 1946, How Come by Frank C. Waldrop	93	1532
29. Invitation for Membership, Institute of Pacific Relations	100	1534
30. Program, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights	103	1535
31. Writers Congress, 1943 program and list	104	1536
32. Senator McCarthy's statement on Gustavo Duran	110	1542
33. Spruille Braden's letter, dated Habana, December 21, 1943	120	1548
34. Intelligence report by Edward J. Ruff	122	1548
35. Senator McCarthy's statement on John S. Service	130	1549
36. Letterhead, Testimonial to Ellis Island Hunger Strikers	144	144
37. Letterhead, China Aid Counsel of American League for Peace and Democracy	144	145
38. Letterhead, African Aid Committee	144	145
39. Call to a national conference on American policy in China and the Far East	144	147
40. Summons to a congress on Civil Rights	144	150
41. Statement of American educators	144	154
42. Invitation to a dinner for Henry A. Wallace in New York, Sept. 12, 1949	144	157
43. Statement calling for reinstatement of University of Washington professors	144	159



## SCHEDULE OF EXHIBITS—Continued

Number and summary of exhibits	Introduced at page—	Appears on page—
44. Advertisement for Culture and the Crisis, League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford	144	160
45. List of officers and members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee	144	160
46. Daily Worker, Apr. 16, 1947, Notables Defend Communists' Rights	144	165
47. Press release of National Wallace-for-President Committee	144	166
48. The text of an open letter calling for greater unity of the anti-Fascist forces	144	167
49. Clipping from Daily News, Feb. 14, 1940, Plot To Wreck Labor Party Exposed	177	1555
50. Dorothy Kenyon's letter to Alex Rose, State secretary, American Labor Party, dated Oct. 10, 1939	183	1557
51. New York Times, May 26, 1941, open letter to President Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies	184	1558
52. Voice of America radio monitor of Russian broadcasting, Russia Has Freest Women On Earth	187	1560
53. Letter in New York Times, Feb. 16, 1946, Columbia Professors Ask Declaration To Aid UNO Commission	268	1561
54. Dr. Jessup's letter, Mar. 24, 1950, with attached list of individuals at round table discussion in Department of State, Oct. 6, 7, and 8, 1949	293	1561
55. List of Esther Caukin Brunauer's publications	297	1562
56. Esther Caukin Brunauer presents testimonial letters	299	1563
57. Letter from American Association of University Women to Senator Tydings	311	1582
58. Statement of duties of Haldore Hanson with the Department of State 1942 to date	371	1584
59. Text of Hanson letter to Senator Tydings, Mar. 24, 1950	371	1587
60. Chart, Chain of command for personnel security	375	1589
61. Chart, enforcing the President's loyalty program	370	1590
62. Chart, screening civil-service applicants (since October 1947)	378	1591
63. Chart, screening non-civil-service and Foreign Service applicants	381	1592
64. Chart, eliminating security risks	382	1593
65. Chart, composition of Loyalty and Security Board, Department of State	383	1594
66. Chart, State Department Loyalty and Security Board, procedures for handling cases	383	1595
67. Biographical notes on members of State Department Loyalty Board	392	1596
68. Letter to President Roosevelt from Chiang Kai-shek, Jan. 12, 1942, re: Owen Lattimore	422	1602
69. Minutes of fourth meeting of Arctic Research Laboratory Advisory Board, May 17, 18, 19, 1949	423	1603
70. An analysis of Mr. Alfred E. Kohlberg's charges against the Institute of Pacific Relations	425	1612
71. Comparison of McCarthy's and Kohlberg's charges	425	1641
72. Program, a Conference on Democratic Rights, June 14, 15, 1940, at Baltimore, Md.	432	1646
73. Excerpts from letters and telegrams from scholars with a professional knowledge of Owen Lattimore's work	437	1648
74. Disaster in China by James F. Kearney, Columbia, September 1949	499	1660
75. China's Communists Told Me by Philip J. Jaffe, October 12, 1937	499	1665
76. China's Part in the Coalition War by T. A. Bisson, June 7, 1944	499	1670
77. Draft of Louis F. Budenz' article for Collier's magazine	508	1677
78. Daily Worker, April 29, 1949, Situation in Asia, by Owen Lattimore	521	1683

## SCHEDULE OF EXHIBITS—Continued

Number and summary of exhibits	Introduced at page—	Appears on page—
79. Group of testimonial letters re Dr. Dodd.....	636	1685
80. New York Herald Tribune, Double Trouble in Asia.....	763	1689
81. Letter to Senator Tydings from Demaree Bess, April 7, 1950.....	797	1689
82. Telegram from Edith Chamberlain Field to Mr. Abe Fortas, April 26, 1950.....	803	1691
83. Transcript of hearing re John Santo.....	812	1691
84. List of contributors to Pacific Affairs March 1934 to June 1941.....	817	1725
85. Signers of letters from people who know Owen Lattimore's work.....	825	1730
86. Minutes of meeting of Fighting Funds for Finland, Inc. February 20, 1940.....	832	1733
87. Quotations from Owen Lattimore's writings.....	880	1734
88. Attack on Owen Lattimore in Communist Press, April 1949.....	881	1735
89. Emmanuel S. Larsen's draft of Plain Talk Article.....	1118	1739
90. Brooks Atkinson's article in New York Times, October 31, 1944.....	1290	1753

## SUPPLEMENTAL DATA

	Page
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Austin W. Wood, vice president and general manager of the News Publishing Co., Wheeling, W. Va., dated March 25, 1950, relative to newspaper account of Wheeling speech of Senator McCarthy.....	1756
Clippings from the Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer, Friday, February 10, 1950, concerning McCarthy's charges that Reds Hold United States Jobs.....	1756
Clipping from the Nevada State Journal (Reno, Nev.) February 12, 1950, McCarthy Blasts State Department.....	1757
Affidavit of Paul A. Myers, as program director of radio station WWVA dated April 25, 1950, relative to tape recording of Wheeling speech of Senator McCarthy.....	1758
Tape recording of Senator Joseph McCarthy's speech given on February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, W. Va.....	1759
Affidavit of James K. Whitaker, as news editor of radio station WWVA dated April 25, 1950, relative to tape recording of Wheeling speech of Senator McCarthy.....	1763
Tape recording of Senator McCarthy's speech given on February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, W. Va.....	1763
Subpena to Dean H. Acheson, Secretary of State, Department of State, to appear before the subcommittee established by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States on April 4, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.....	1767
Subpena to J. Howard McGrath, Attorney General, to appear before the subcommittee established by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States on April 4, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.....	1768
Subpena to Harry B. Mitchell, Chairman, Civil Service Commission, to appear before the subcommittee established by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States on April 4, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.....	1769
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Peyton Ford, Deputy Attorney General, dated June 16, 1950, contained list of State Department files made available to the subcommittee.....	1770
Memoranda concerning data extracted from the State Department loyalty files relative to 108 individuals. These memoranda were prepared in 1947 by investigators for a subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations of the Eightieth Congress. These individuals are identified only by numbers.....	1771
Employment data on persons mentioned by Senator McCarthy during appearances before the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and on the floor of the Senate.....	1813

## SUPPLEMENTAL DATA—Continued

	Page
Letter to Hon. Millard Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary, dated June 19, 1950, enclosing the following State Department press releases, which are set out in full thereafter-----	1818
Press release No. 491, May 12, 1950, State Department analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors-----	1818
Press release No. 501, May 15, 1950. State Department's analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech at Atlantic City-----	1825
Press release No. 529, May 20, 1950. State Department's analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech at Chicago-----	1826
Press release No. 549, May 25, 1950. State Department's analysis of some of the factual inaccuracies in the speech delivered by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at Atlantic City, May 15, 1950, to the Sons of the American Revolution-----	1834
Press release No. 553, May 26, 1950. State Department's comment on Senator McCarthy's speech at Rochester, N. Y.-----	1840
Press release No. 558, May 27, 1950. Department of State's analysis of some of the factual inaccuracies in the speech delivered by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at Rochester, N. Y., on May 25, 1950, to the National Convention of the Catholic Press Association of the United States-----	1841
Press release No. 614, June 9, 1950. Department of State's comment on Senator McCarthy's statement that a photostat he produced on the Senate floor June 6, constituted proof that three men individually listed by the FBI as Communist agents in 1946 are still working in the Department-----	1845
Memorandum No. 19, September 21, 1948—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Classification according to section 3, part III, of E. O. 9835 of organizations previously designated by the Attorney General as within the purview of the Executive order-----	1848
Memorandum No. 43, April 25, 1949—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Attorney General's letter of April 21, 1949, listing additional organizations designated under and classified in accordance with section 3, part III of Executive Order 9835-----	1851
Memorandum No. 44, July 21, 1949—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Certain organizations and groups connected with organizations previously designated and classified by the Attorney General under section 3, part III of Executive Order 9835-----	1853
Memorandum No. 49, September 27, 1949—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Attorney General's letter of September 26, 1949, concerning change in name of an organization designated and classified under section 3, part III of Executive Order 9835-----	1853
Letter to Robert L. Heald, assistant counsel, Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Conrad E. Snow, Chairman, Loyalty Security Board, dated June 23, 1950, setting out current statistics on loyalty program-----	1854
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Stephen Brunauer, dated May 8, 1950. Enclosed was (1) a statement which Brunauer wrote about himself; and (2) a file of testimonial letters—with a copy of his request for the letters; and (3) a copy of the statement about Brunauer which was released by the Navy Department on March 13, 1950-----	1855
Letter to Hon. Millard Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary, dated July 6, 1950, relative to appointment of Dr. Harlow Shapley-----	1864
Letter to Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Gustavo Duran, enclosing an affidavit dated May 10, 1950-----	1865
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Harlow Shapley, dated May 9, 1950, enclosing copies of two statements issued publicly by him, dated April 7 and 22, 1950-----	1870
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Frederick L. Schuman dated May 9, 1950-----	1873

## SUPPLEMENTAL DATA—Continued

	Page
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Mary Jane Keeney, dated May 15, 1950.....	1874
Two letters to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Louis Francis Budenz dated May 3 and 5, 1950.....	1874
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Peyton Ford, Deputy Attorney General dated June 22, 1950, relative to Father Kearney.....	1876
Letter to Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General, dated May 26, 1950, relative to testimony of Mr. Budenz.....	1876
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Carlisle H. Humelsine, Acting Deputy Under Secretary, dated July 3, 1950, relative to Mr. Haldore Hanson.....	1877
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from W. L. Holland dated April 15, 1950, enclosing alphabetical list of names of the people that signed a statement concerning Owen Lattimore's character, loyalty, etc.....	1877
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Paul A. Porter, dated May 11, 1950, enclosing copies of Owen Lattimore's correspondence to the Soviet Ambassador and the Chief of State of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1947, as well as copies of correspondence with Dr. Walther Heissig.....	1879
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Adrian S. Fisher, the legal adviser of the Department of State dated June 22, 1950, concerning the part of the State Department had in financing three Mongolian scholars at Johns Hopkins University, enclosing copy of the contract of agreement between United States and Johns Hopkins University.....	1892
Letter from Department of Justice to Senator Tydings concerning affidavits turned over to the FBI by Senator McCarthy.....	1895
Material inserted in the record at the request of Mrs. Freda Utley.....	1897
Chronology of events furnished the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee by Mr. Charles Edward Rhetts, attorney for John S. Service.....	1902
Two letters to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from C. E. Rhetts, attorney for John S. Service, dated June 27, 1950, concerning press item on Admiral Nimitz and information relative to statements of General Hurley.....	1905
A carbon copy of the memorandum, 'The Stilwell Affair and Hurley's Appointment, recovered in the offices of Amerasia.....	1912
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Peyton Ford, Deputy Attorney General, dated June 19, 1950, stating that the document referred to by Senator McCarthy on June 7, 1950, was not prepared by the FBI.....	1913
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary dated June 28, 1950, enclosing copies of the Department's press releases of June 6 and June 9, 1950.....	1914
Letter to Hon. James E. Webb, Under Secretary of State, from John Edgar Hoover, Director, FBI, dated June 14, 1950, wherein Mr. Hoover stated that the comments made by Mr. Samuel Klaus, of Mr. Webb's Department, in his report concerning the alleged FBI chart as appeared in the newspapers, were completely erroneous.....	1915
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Peyton Ford, Deputy Attorney General dated June 13, 1950, giving information as to the dates of various searches made by the agents of FBI of the offices of Amerasia and the residences of the subjects in the case.....	1915
Office memorandum to Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, from D. M. Ladd, dated April 18, 1945, relative to FBI conferences with the State and Navy Departments on the Amerasia Case.....	1916
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Mathias F. Correa dated June 13, 1950, on behalf of the executors of the estate, submitting a photographic copy of a portion of Mr. Forrestal's personal papers together with an affidavit of Eugene S. Duffield who has custody of various of Mr. Forrestal's personal papers at the present time.....	1916
The staff of the subcommittee submitted memoranda on interviews with the following persons: Joseph W. Ballentine (May 19, 1950), Robert Bannerman (May 22, 1950), William J. Donovan (May 25, 1950), Frederick B. Lyon (May 17, 1950) and Judge Proctor (May 10, 1950).....	1917
Information developed by the staff of the subcommittee on persons believed to be Washington contacts of Philip Jacob Jaffe.....	1920

## SUPPLEMENTAL DATA—Continued

	Page
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Francis P. Matthews, Department of Navy, dated June 26, 1950, relative to Lt. Andrew Roth.....	1923
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Peyton Ford, the assistant to the Attorney General, dated May 16, 1950, stating that a copy of the transcript of grand jury proceedings in the case <i>United States v. Philip J. Jaffe</i> would be available to the Subcommittee at the Department of Justice.....	1924
Letter to Millard E. Tydings from James M. McInerney, Department of Justice, dated May 10, 1950, enclosing a photostatic copy of the Demurrer, motion to quash, and motion to suppress evidence also a newspaper article which appeared in the September 28, 1945 issue of the <i>Evening Star</i> entitled "Larsen Charges FBI Made Illegal Search of Home for United States Files".....	1924
A certified record of official court reporter of proceedings before Justice Proctor on September 29, 1945, <i>Case of United States v. Philip Jacob Jaffe</i> .....	1933
A certified record of official court reporter of proceedings before Justice Proctor on November 2, 1945, <i>Case of United States v. Emmanuel S. Larsen</i> .....	1937
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Peyton Ford, Deputy Attorney General, dated June 19, 1950, relative to corporate status of Amerasia.....	1939
Letter to Mr. James J. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General, from Rev. Robert C. Hartnett, S. J., Editor of <i>America</i> , dated June 26, 1950, enclosing a clipping of Mr. McInerney's letter as it appeared in <i>America</i> for July 1, in regard to documents in the Amerasia case.....	1940
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee from James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General, dated June 29, 1950, enclosing a mimeographed copy of the presentment returned and filed by the special grand jury in the southern district of New York on June 15, 1950.....	1941
Medical certificate from Luke Berardi, M. D., of Mount Vernon, N. Y., dated May 12, 1950, relative to John Huber.....	1945
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from William Foster, Acting Administrator, ECA, concerning Theodore Geiger's loyalty, dated July 5, 1950.....	1945
Incorporation by reference of a portion of the record of the hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate held March 23, 1948.....	1945
Incorporation by reference of the record of hearings before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, Eightieth Congress, second session, held March 10 and 12, 1948.....	1945
Incorporation by reference of a portion, being pages 169 through 210 and 206 through 210, of the record of the hearings before the subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Eightieth Congress, second session, held January 28, 1948.....	1945
Incorporation by reference of the speech made on the floor of the House, August 2, 1948 by Congressman Jonkman, entitled "Department of State" which appears in the <i>Congressional Record</i> for that date at page 9793.....	1945
Letter to Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Adrian S. Fisher, the legal adviser from the Department of State dated July 10, 1950; enclosing a copy of Public Law 535 and a departmental announcement No. 41.....	1946
Transcript of proceedings of the Loyalty Security Board meeting in the case of John S. Service.....	1958

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE  
LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1950

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTED UNDER SENATE RESOLUTION 231,  
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a. m. in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator Millard E. Tydings (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Tydings (chairman of the subcommittee), Green, McMahon, Hickenlooper, and Lodge.

Also present: Senators Connally (chairman of the full committee) and McCarthy.

Senator TYDINGS. The committee will come to order.

I think it appropriate first that the record show why this committee is meeting and what its scope and purpose is to be in these proceedings. Senate Resolution 231, introduced by Mr. Lucas, was considered, amended, and agreed to on February 22, 1950. The resolution reads as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete study and investigation as to whether persons who are disloyal to the United States are, or have been, employed by the Department of State. The committee shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date the result of its investigation, together with such recommendations as it may deem desirable, and if said recommendations are to include formal charges of disloyalty against any individual, then the committee, before making said recommendation, shall give said individual open hearing for the purpose of taking evidence or testimony on said charges.

In the conduct of this study and investigation, the committee is directed to procure by subpoena and examine the complete loyalty and employment files and records of all the Government employees in the Department of State, and such other agencies against whom charges have been heard.

The resolution was adopted by the Senate because of certain statements made on the floor of the Senate, on Monday, February 20, 1950, and Wednesday, February 22, 1950.

In order that the committee may have all of the evidence that it should properly consider available in the record, the chairman has had the pages dealing with the information and charges and debate on these 2 days culled from the Congressional Record and, without objection, at this point the proceedings of the Senate dealing with this matter will be incorporated by reference in the record. Is there any objection? (None.) They will be incorporated by reference in the record.

(The material from the Congressional Record incorporated by reference is as follows:)

Pages 2043-2071, February 20, 1950.

Pages 2104-2110, February 21, 1950.

Pages 2168-2169, 2173-2195, February 22, 1950.

Daily Digest, February 27, 1950.

Pages 2485-2486, 2523-2524, February 28, 1950.

Page 2678, March 2, 1950.

Senator TYDINGS. In the course of these congressional deliberations, Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin, made certain statements in, I believe 81 different cases, and gave a short account of why he thought each of the cases questioned the loyalty of the individual in each case. Senator McCarthy has been invited by the committee to come before us today as our first witness.

I am sure, Senator, that you yourself realize that the individuals who are charged with disloyalty to our Government are confronted with one of the most serious charges that can be leveled at a patriotic or other individual.

Senator McCARTHY. Especially the "or other."

Senator TYDINGS. If these men are guilty of these charges, the committee would want to find it out. If they are not guilty, we will want to inform the public accordingly.

Unless the chairman is overruled, all witnesses coming before this committee will be sworn. In your own case, as a Member of the Senate, the chairman is not going to compel you against your will to submit to be sworn, but I would like to ask you now if you would consent to be sworn.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, I think it is an excellent idea to swear all witnesses. I do not think we should have anyone take advantage of any immunity, whether it is a Senator, Secretary of State, or what, so I would like to be sworn.

Senator TYDINGS. I am glad you said that, Senator. That is the way I feel about it. I think we all ought to feel that way. If you will hold up your hand, I will proceed to swear you.

Do you promise that the evidence you shall give in the pending matter before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Senator McCARTHY. I do.

Senator TYDINGS. Now, Senator McCarthy, the information you presented to the Senate has been read by all of us, I am sure. You will want to supplement that, no doubt, and comment further on it.

Senator McCARTHY. That is correct.

Senator TYDINGS. But, before you do, there is one matter that, to make the record complete as of the congressional debate, I would like to ask you about for just a minute.

If you will turn to case 14, that you mentioned in the Record—

Senator McCARTHY. Do you know what page that is on, Mr. Chairman?

Senator TYDINGS. I will try to find it in a minute.

Case 14 is in the Congressional Record of February 20, 1950, page 2051, column 3, and page 2052, column 1. I would like to read this particular case to ask you a question dealing with the other 81 cases.

Senator McCARTHY. Certainly.

Senator TYDINGS. I am quoting your remarks:

Case 14: This is a case of pressure from a high State Department official to obtain security clearance for an individual with a bad background from the standpoint of security. He was appointed in December 1945 as a translator in the State Department. This is an interesting case, showing the extent to which some of their superior officers will go when they find that some of these very unusual individuals are going to lose their jobs. He was appointed in December 1945 as a translator in the State Department. A report from another Government investigating agency, under date of January 9, 1946, advised that the subject should be dismissed as a bad security risk because he was flagrantly homosexual. He had extremely close connections with other individuals with the same tendencies and who were active members of Communist front organizations, including the Young Communist League.

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

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

Senator McCARTHY. Let me interrupt you there, Mr. Chairman. The "or physically" should not be in there. I was quoting accurately. I do not agree with the "or physically." I think a vast number of people have physical defects. I have some myself. I do not think that makes a Communist. Let's make that clear. I wanted to make that clear as we go through it.

Senator TYDINGS. It is reported in the Record. I have read the Record as it is reported.

The State Department's own security agency recommended the discharge of this employee on January 22, 1946.

Now this is the part to which I would like to draw your attention. I will repeat that.

The State Department's own security agency recommended the discharge of this employee on January 22, 1946. On February 19, 1946, this individual's services were terminated with the State Department. Subsequently, on April 1, 1946, the action discharging this individual was rescinded and he was reinstated in his job in the State Department. In this case a CSA report of September 2, 1947, is replete with information covering—

and this is the point—

the attempt of a high State Department official to induce several individuals who had signed affidavits reflecting adversely upon the employee to repudiate their affidavits. The file shows that that high State Department employee even went out and personally contacted the individuals who signed the affidavits and asked them, "Won't you repudiate them?"

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

Now, the purpose of reading that is this. Is this man who was in the State Department, this high State Department official whom you allege tried to doctor the records, one of the cases of the 81 that you brought before the Senate, or have you referred to him here only to substantiate the facts in case 14?

Senator McCARTHY. I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that you will have to let me go through these cases as I have them documented, and we will get to that case. I think we will have to wait until we get



to that case, and I can assure you we will get to it. I have other cases documented for your information this morning. I am going to ask the committee to do this, if I may. As I discuss one case, let's try and stick to that case, and I assure you we will get to all of them without any trouble at all. I will be unable to jump, say, from case 1 to case 72 back to case 58. As of this time I can assure the Chairman that all the information which he wants on case No. 57 will be gotten to him, but I frankly cannot give him that information now, because I haven't arrived at that case this morning. I am sure we won't get to that case this morning.

Senator TYDINGS. Just a minute. Just a minute. Just a minute! All I am asking you is this. This is a very serious charge—

Senator McCARTHY. Very serious.

Senator TYDINGS. That a high official in the State Department is tampering with the records to protect people who are charged with disloyal activities.

Senator McCARTHY. That is right.

Senator TYDINGS. What I would like to know is this: Is he one of the cases that you are going to bring before this committee, or is he just incidental in this case? You can certainly tell me that.

Senator McCARTHY. I will bring his name before the committee and give the committee all the information.

Senator LODGE. I would like to express the hope that Senator McCarthy will get the courtesy everyone gets, of being able to make his own statement in his own way, and then be subject to questioning.

Senator TYDINGS. The only reason I am bringing this out now is, we want to hear Senator McCarthy. We have put this all in the record. I have read over all of these cases three or four times, and studied the possible ramifications of them. I would like to know whether we are to hear this as a collateral matter of proving case 14, or whether this man himself is to be charged with disloyal conduct as a separate case. You can certainly answer that, and then we can leave it.

Senator McCARTHY. I will answer that. I will give the committee all of the information which I have. If the committee decides this man is disloyal, all right. If they decide not, it is up to the committee. There will be no information held back from the committee, and I want to thank the Senator from Massachusetts very much. I would like to be allowed to proceed and present the information in an orderly fashion, and the committee can be sure that any questions they have to ask will certainly be answered. I will answer that question, Senator, that you will be given all the information on the case.

Senator TYDINGS. Let me ask the questions, Senator McCarthy. I am at least charged with the responsibility of conducting this hearing, and I prefer to conduct it as I want it conducted and as the committee wants it conducted, rather than to have you tell me how to conduct it. I will be glad, and we will give you full and free opportunity to present anything you want to present.

All I am asking you now is, do you know the name—I do not want you to tell it—but do you know the name of this particular high State Department official who is allegedly aiding disloyal persons in the State Department? Do you know the name?

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, when we get to case No. 57 I will give you all of the names in that case. No names will be held back.

There are any number of names. I frankly cannot remember the vast number of names.

Senator TYDINGS. You know whether you know the name or not, and you can answer "Yes" or "No" and we can end this right here.

Senator LODGE. I do not think we ought to put the witness in the position of answering "Yes" or "No." I think he has a right to develop his own statement in his own way, and then be subject to questioning, which is a normal procedure here.

Senator TYDINGS. I would like to ask him now, Do you or do you not know the name of this high official in the State Department who allegedly committed the very thing that I have read?

Senator McCARTHY. Senator, I can go back to my office and dig up the name. I am not prepared to testify in case No. 57 this morning. I was sure we would not get to case No. 57. When we get to it, the Senator will have all of the information which I have. I assure him of that. And I hope that then he takes advantage of that and completes the investigation.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator McCarthy, if you will listen to me a moment, I think you and I probably can arrive at an understanding.

Senator McCARTHY. I am sure we can.

Senator TYDINGS. You have made on the floor of the Senate statements concerning 81 individuals. That is all right. The reason I am interested in this case particularly is that in no other case that I recall, and I read them all several times, is there any allegation that any high official in the State Department is covering up disloyal activities or disloyal persons. This was the only case where that happened.

Now if we have such an individual in the State Department, and we may have—I don't know whether we have or not—the most important thing this committee could do right away to clean out any subversive elements in the State Department is to find out who this man is, and we don't want you to give his name in public, but find out who he is and get him out of there. We don't want to wait until case 57 or 86 or next week. We certainly don't want somebody high up in the State Department who is shielding disloyal persons, fixing their records and asking people to withdraw their comments.

Now if this were just an ordinary matter of one individual, that would be one thing. But I cannot think of anything more important in this whole hearing. Maybe this is true or false, I don't know. But I would like to know if you know the name of this man. Then we will go on and let you testify.

Senator McCARTHY. A very good question, Mr. Chairman, and I tried to explain to you that I cannot give you information now on case No. 57.

Senator TYDINGS. I said case 14.

Senator McCARTHY. Let me answer when you ask a question, please.

Let me add this, too. If you are eager to get to that case today, when the testimony ends this morning if you will come to my office I will dig that case out and give you all the names in the file, all the information you want. I cannot give you testimony on case No. 57 because I have prepared cases which I think are more important. I hope the committee will try and take the information which I have. I have it available for you. As I say, if the chairman feels that case No. 57 is urgent, he can come right over to my office as soon as we get

through and he and the reporter can take all of the information on case No. 57, but that is all I can tell you on that now.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator McCarthy, we do not want to go to your office. We are conducting a hearing.

Senator McCARTHY. You will have to wait, then, until I get the information over here, Mr. Chairman.

Senator TYDINGS. You are in the position of being the man who occasioned this hearing, and so far as I am concerned in this committee you are going to get one of the most complete investigations ever given in the history of this Republic, so far as my abilities will permit.

Now what I am asking you now is, Do you or do you not now know the name of this man? Don't tell me. Do you now know it?

Senator McCARTHY. At this particular moment, Mr. Chairman, I could not give you the names of half of these.

Senator TYDINGS. I did not ask you if you could give me the names. I asked you if you knew this name.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, I cannot give you any information on case 57. Have I made that clear? Case No. 57 will be developed and you will get all the information, every name that is in this file, when I get to that case.

Senator LODGE. Mr. Chairman, this is the most unusual procedure I have seen in all the years I have been here. Why cannot the Senator from Wisconsin get the normal treatment and be allowed to make his statement in his own way, and not be cross questioned like this before he has had a chance to present what he has?

Senator TYDINGS. If the Senator from Massachusetts will listen to me, what I have already put in the record are the 81 cases that the Senator from Wisconsin brought to the attention of the Senate and the country on the Senate floor. Now I asked him first whether this particular individual was one of the 81 cases. He did not seem able to tell me that, although I thought it was the most important allegation of disloyalty in the whole 81 cases.

I then, in order to bring it down into focus, asked him if he could tell me the name of this man. I did not want him to tell me here in the open, but I wanted to know if he knew it, because it seemed to me to be a rather odd situation that here, out of all these cases, was a high official of the State Department who was attempting to falsify records, suppress evidence, and protect disloyal persons, and no charge of a separate case, so far as I could find, was made out against him as one of the things we should investigate. So before leaving these 81 cases which I have put in the record this thing attracted my attention, and simply before we closed the Senate part of these hearings I am asking the Senator, Is this man known to him so that he can give us his name?

If that is not a reasonable request, he can say "Yes" or "No" or "I will go get it for you and in executive session I will give it to you."

Senator LODGE. I think it is a perfectly reasonable request, Mr. Chairman, at the proper time.

I think it is the most important request that will be made on this question, but I think this is the wrong time to make it. I think the Senator from Wisconsin ought to have the courtesy that every Senator and every witness has, of making his own presentation in his own way and not to be pulled to pieces before he has had a chance to utter one single consecutive sentence.

Senator GREEN. It seems to me that it is important to proceed in this unusual manner, not only for the reason stated by the chairman but for this reason: We may be asked to call upon the State Department to produce papers or evidence. It may be this very man to whom that might be left. If there is such an individual in the State Department suppressing information, distorting facts, we ought to tend to that before we ask the State Department for any papers.

Senator LODGE. Of course we ought to know it, Senator Green.

Senator GREEN. The question is whether the witness knows the name or whether it was imaginary.

Senator LODGE. We ought to know that man's name; we ought to know the names of all these people in here. All I say is that every witness, whether he is a Senator or whether he is not a Senator, is entitled to make his statement in his own words, and not, the minute he sits down, be subjected to a whole lot of piece-meal questioning, thereby making it impossible for him to make his presentation. I think it is just common courtesy and fairness to let a man make his presentation.

Senator TYDINGS. We will give him all the chance in the world to make his statement, if he will simply say he doesn't know the name of the man or he does know the name of the man. Certainly he can tell us whether he knows the name or does not know it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, why is it so vital at this original jump-off meeting of this committee to know the name of an individual man, when the witness says in due course and in the course of his presentation he will give and disclose to this committee those names? It would seem to me that Senator McCarthy ought to be permitted to present his charges, his allegations, his information, and then this committee can look into them and evaluate which is the most important to first go into.

Senator GREEN. Mr. Chairman, if I may answer my distinguished colleague's argument, it is this, that if we are going into the files of the State Department, we ought to have confidence that they are not furnished or handled by an individual against whom such a charge is made as that he is a high officer in the State Department using his power improperly, because the testimony which we may need may come through him, and therefore we ought to clear the decks before we proceed. Not only that, but if these charges are true, that man still has access to the files in the meantime. That is my point.

Senator LODGE. If it were essential to do this so soon, why wasn't it done the minute Senator McCarthy made his speech on the Senate floor? Why did we wait until this particular moment?

Senator TYDINGS. Let me say this: I have no desire to delay Senator McCarthy. I am anxious for him to get on. My first question was, Is this individual who is accused of fraudulent conduct in the State Department to be made a case number?

Now, it seems to me that we can find out if he is, and then that's that. And the second question is, Does the Senator know the name of this man? He can say "Yes" or "No" and that would be that and we could get on with this thing.

Senator LODGE. I hope Senator McCarthy will be allowed to proceed in the normal way.

Senator TYDINGS. I still leave my two questions to be answered. I think that the most important thing before this committee is to clear out men in high places if they are guilty of fraudulent conduct, suppressing evidences of disloyalty in the State Department. There is nothing we are going to do that is more important than that.

Senator LODGE. Of course I favor doing that too. We all want to get rid of all the rotten apples in the State Department. That is the purpose of this investigation, and simply because I object to Senator McCarthy being torn apart this way does not mean I am not interested in getting these men cleared out. But this is a most extraordinary and unusual procedure, to start off in this confused way. It is not the way things are done around here.

Senator TYDINGS. All he has to do is answer two very simple questions: "I don't know the name of this man, Senator," or "I do know the name of this man, Senator. He won't be made a case subject."

Senator HICKENLOOPER. How will that help the investigation at this point, if he answers?

Senator LODGE. If he says it at 3 o'clock this afternoon, why isn't that just as good? You have waited all this time before you brought it up.

Senator TYDINGS. This is a public hearing and I do not want too much of this in star chamber.

Senator LODGE. Let's have it in public in Senator McCarthy's own time and own way. Give him the courtesy of letting him make the charges to the best advantage from his viewpoint.

Senator McMAHON. As I understand it, what you want is to know the name of this man as quickly as possible, because it is conceivable, because of what Senator McCarthy said about him, that he could frustrate this investigation. As I understand it, that is the purpose of the question. It is obvious that he hasn't got it with him at the moment. It is too bad that he hasn't, because I, too, would like to know if this rascal is in the State Department, and if that is what he is up to, and I hope that before the end of the day we can have the name of this person, because I think it is pertinent, Senator, at the beginning of this investigation, to drag out this key figure, who is apparently, if your charge is true, right down there with his hand on the throttle, and we ought to know that as quickly as possible.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, this man has been in the State Department, apparently, according to the statement of Senator McCarthy, I think, on the floor, since, let us say, 1947.

Senator TYDINGS. And is still there.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. All right. He has been in the State Department, perhaps—I do not know who he is—since Senator McCarthy made his charges on the floor of the Senate. If he is going to do any dirty work, he has had all the time since 1947, and especially since Senator McCarthy made his formal statement on the floor of the Senate; he has had all that time to do whatever dirty work he might potentially do, and I do not see that another day will add to his potential danger very much over what he may have done in the past, if he is guilty.

Therefore, I think Senator McCarthy ought to be able to proceed in his own way.

Senator TYDINGS. Just a minute. I was very hopeful that we could get answers to these two questions. You could say "I don't know the name of the man" or "I do know the name of the man," because you have said that you had photostatic copies of the files, as I recall your testimony. And if you said you knew the man, we weren't going to ask you to give us that name this morning. But we just wanted to get at that the very first thing and have that man, if he is in the State Department now, relieved of his duties pending this investigation. We don't want to be charged with having let him roam around the State Department where he can keep on with doctoring the records, if he has access to them.

The first thing I asked you—the other proposition was the second—was, Was he to be made one of the case numbers? That is, was he to be a man against whom you were going to bring charges?

Now certainly it is very hard for the chairman to believe that a charge of this kind would not be a case number and if it is to be a case number, all right; say so. We will forget it. If it is not to be a case number, then we had better look into it right away.

Senator MCCARTHY. May I have the chairman's copy of the resolution?

Senator LODGE. It seems to me that the time to try to get this particular individual was after Senator McCarthy mentioned him on the floor of the Senate, rather than to wait for two whole weeks and bring it up now this morning.

Senator TYDINGS. How could I get him when I don't know his name?

Senator LODGE. At this Roman holiday we are having here this morning it looks to me as though all of a sudden we have gotten interested in this man, when 14 days have gone by within which Senator McCarthy could have been asked the same question, if there was such a terrible urgency about it. I just don't see why we can't have proceedings go along in a normal way. If Senator McCarthy is allowed to make a statement without interruption he will probably reach this case today sometime.

Senator TYDINGS. I am not so certain. He said it was No. 57. He also said he could take up only a certain number of cases today, and we do not know when we are going to meet again. But the point is this: I have asked two simple questions; one, Is this man to be made a case number? Do you know the name of the man? If there is anything of an inquisitorial nature about getting an answer to those two questions before we proceed, I do not know what it is. The answer is very simple, and it seems to me that we could get the answers and dispose of it and go on with something else.

Senator MCCARTHY. May I answer the chairman, and that is, that I will be unable to give him detailed information on case No. 57 this morning. In order to get the complete picture of that case, he will need the files.

Senator TYDINGS. You have the files.

Senator MCCARTHY. Just a minute. I say in order to get the detailed information necessary for the committee to act it will be necessary that you subpoena the files. Let's make this clear when we speak of files. If the committee wants to be sure they have the complete files, it will be necessary to subpoena a number of things.

No. 1, you will have to subpoena the loyalty files, both categories, the part that you will normally be handed plus the sub rosa section.

No. 2, you will have to subpoena the personnel files, and by that I don't mean merely the subsection of the personnel files.

No. 3, in order to check that, it will be necessary for you gentlemen to subpoena the Civil Service Commission files. I understand that the State Department has a loose-leaf file. The Civil Service Commission has a copy of those files, a little more intricate filing system. The FBI also has a copy of that section of the files, which was compiled by the FBI.

Let me say this: Every case that I am giving you gentlemen today, every case that you will hear about, will have in the files derogatory information developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Merely the top half of the State Department's loyalty file will be meaningless. I assure you of that.

Now this case No. 57, as I have told you three times, Senator, I cannot give you information on that now. If you had called me and told me you wanted that case developed this morning, it would have been developed. The only contact that I have had with the committee was the day the chairman met me on the floor and said, "Come over to the committee at 10:30 Wednesday morning and present whatever you have to us."

I am here ready to do that, Mr. Chairman. As I say, I am not prepared this morning in case No. 57. I am not prepared because the Chair did not indicate he wanted me prepared. I am not prepared, No. 2, because I do not think that is the all-important case. I do think that is a very important case. All of the names—all of the names—will be found in those files that I have suggested you subpoena, so you can get to that very easily.

Now, if the chairman wants case No. 57, I assume he is meeting tomorrow. If he meets tomorrow, if he wants that case developed, it will be developed before the committee. If the committee wants to meet this afternoon, if he wants to come to my office I will try and get him all the information he desires on that case. But this morning I cannot give the chairman the information on case No. 57; period!

Senator TYDINGS. Now let me ask you this: If we were to take a recess for 10 minutes so the Senator could go to his office and refresh his memory on file 57, if that is the file, could he not then come back here and answer the question, to wit, (1), Is this individual against whom these grave charges are made to be the subject of a particular case for investigation, or is he left out of the matter? (2), Does the Senator know his name?

If the Senator will come back and answer those two simple questions, we can go ahead with the procedures. It would only take him 5 or 10 minutes to do it.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, let me say the Chair asks whether I will make him the subject for investigation. I didn't know that I was running this committee. I don't think I am by a long stretch. I intend to submit to the committee information bearing upon the disloyalty, the bad security risks, in the State Department. Then it is up to the committee to investigate those particular cases. The committee has been allowed, I believe, \$25,000 or \$50,000 to do that. I do not have the investigative staff, I do not have access to the files, to make any complete investigation and make any formal charges. All I intend to do, Mr. Chairman, is to submit to the committee the evi-

dence which I have gathered over painstaking months of work, and I hope that the Chair will allow me to give that tomorrow, and I assure that chairman that there will be no names, nothing kept secret from this committee. He can be sure of that.

I say, if the Chair had informed me that he was particularly interested in case No. 57, that case would have been developed this morning. As it is, it will not be developed this morning because I am not prepared to do so, and after a 10-minute recess I would not be prepared to do so. I have some facts which I hope the committee will allow me to present to them this morning.

Senator TYDINGS. If the Senator will allow me to read just one sentence from case 14, he says, "In his case a CSA"—what is a "CSA"?

Senator McCARTHY. That is the investigative agency, as I understand it.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't know.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, when you ask a question, let me finish, please.

I don't understand this lettering system too well. "CSA" I believe is—they change the names of the organizations over there so much I can't keep track of them. It is the investigative agency, or something along that line.

Senator TYDINGS (reading):

In this case a CSA report of September 22, 1947, is replete with information covering the attempt of a high State Department official to induce several individuals who had signed affidavits reflecting adversely upon the employee to repudiate their affidavits. The file shows that that high State Department employee went out and personally contacted the individuals who signed the affidavits and asked them "Won't you repudiate them?"

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, let me say this. I have quoted from the files in 81 cases. The President of the United States has answered merely by saying that McCarthy is lying; it is not true. This committee can very easily determine where the truth lies by saying "We shall get those files." When you get those files, then you will know whether or not every word I have spoken here is true.

Now, when I get to case No. 57 I will give you all of the information which I can on it. That will not be complete. You will have to get four separate files to make sure you have the complete case.

Senator LODGE. Mr. Chairman, so far as one member of this committee is concerned, speaking for myself, I do not understand what kind of a game is being played here, and I cannot do my work as a member of this committee if we are going to do this picking and choosing and jumping around all over the place. If we are going to depart from the usual procedure of having him make his charges, then he makes his charges and we investigate the charges, I want to know that. But I do not understand at all what is sought to be achieved by this business of picking first one case and then another case and asking the witness about that before he has even had a chance to make a single connected statement.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator Lodge, as I will try to tell you once more—I thought I had made it plain—I have no disposition to interfere with the witness going ahead with any statement he has before him. I put in the record all of the proceedings, and one of the proceedings put in the record was the one to which I have just drawn attention, and in that particular case I found this statement. I simply



asked the witness, to make the record complete, whether or not this was one of the 81 cases which he wanted investigated, to wit, that a high State Department official had tried to cook or alter or doctor the evidence, and if he had said "Yes" or "No," that would have been one thing.

Then I asked him if he knew the name of this man, thinking it would be very desirable for the committee to get that man out of this investigation and all contact with the papers at the earliest possible moment.

It seems to me that if those two questions had been answered, and I can see no reason why they could not be answered, either that they are going to be made a case or they are not going to be made a case, and that "I do know the name and will give it to the committee in due time" or "I don't know the name and cannot give it to the committee"—if there is anything captious or inquisitorial or bad about just asking those two questions, to me they are the simplest kind of thing, and they make the record which we have already made complete as to whether this man is one of the 81 cases or whether he is not, and that "I know his name and in due time I will give it to the committee" or "I don't know the name and I can't give it to the committee."

Senator LODGE. If there was such an awful hurry about getting this man, it seems to me the time to have done it would have been immediately after Senator McCarthy raised the point on the floor of the Senate. It is just a question here of orderly procedure.

Senator TYDINGS. You do not see things on the floor of the Senate you see when you read them over, Senator Lodge.

Senator LODGE. We can all read the Congressional Record, and, if the thing is there, it is perfectly possible to go to work on it then, instead of waiting for two whole weeks until we have this hearing. It seems to me this is a perfectly extraordinary procedure. I have never seen anything like it, and I have been here since 1937. You have been here longer than I have. But I have been here since 1937, and it is a perfectly amazing procedure to pick No. 57 and then to pick No. 14, and I suppose after you are through playing with that you will pick 23. In the meantime the witness sits here. He has a prepared statement and he isn't given the common, ordinary courtesy of telling his story in his own words. I think it is perfectly amazing. I don't know what the purpose of it is, because I haven't been told.

Senator TYDINGS. There is nobody knows what the purpose is except myself, because on my word of honor I have never discussed it with any of my Democratic colleagues or Republican Colleagues. It simply occurred to me that this was about the most serious thing I had run across and I wanted simply to know whether a special case was to be made out against this individual and whether the Senator had his name, and if he had answered those questions "Yes" or "No" he would have been probably a third through with his written statement. If there is any reason why they should not be answered I do not know why the Senator does not say it, or say "Yes, they will be a special case. They ought to be a special case, and in due time I will give the committee his name." I can see no reason why that could not be done. If there is a reason, I have not heard it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that in reading over the Congressional Record when these cases and charges were

made by Senator McCarthy that there are quite a number of charges of very serious importance in this whole set-up. I would not necessarily pick this case as the most serious, just from reading the record. I think there are others that probably will come in for just as serious consideration. Therefore I see no justification in picking out this particular case for special interrogation at the moment.

And then, another thing, it seems to me that this committee will make the cases, not necessarily Senator McCarthy. Senator McCarthy gives his evidence and gives his conclusions, and furnishes this committee with what he believes to be facts or the sources of the facts for investigation, and then it is up to this committee to differentiate and to examine and to make the cases.

I strongly urge that a perfectly normal, sound procedure is to let Senator McCarthy, who has originated these charges, go ahead and make his charges and canvass his situation, and then let's question him about the individual cases if we want to.

Senator TYDINGS. The Chair will try to comply with the requests of the two Republican members of the committee and he will simply finish this phase of the matter by asking Senator McCarthy, the next time he comes before the committee, to be in a position to answer two questions: First, is the "high State Department official" who allegedly attempted to doctor the loyalty records in the State Department to be made the subject of a special case in the information and charges that he will bring before us? Secondly, does he know the name of this individual, and will he give it to the committee in executive session?

So, with those two things in the Senator's mind, if he will furnish them at the next meeting, I will be glad to have him go ahead with his statement. I am sorry we could not get them this morning.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have a question that I would like to suggest to Senator McCarthy at this time which I may ask him later—I don't know—along this same line. I may see fit to ask Senator McCarthy if he believes, based upon what knowledge and investigation he has had, that the high State Department official which has been referred to here might well be, upon the evidence developed, the subject for investigation and further inquiry by this committee. I say I may ask the Senator that question at a later date, when he is prepared to canvass the particular case that involves this allegedly high State Department official.

Senator TYDINGS. I will ask the Senator if he will be good enough to try to bring the answers to those two questions of the committee at the next meeting of the committee. I think I have conformed to his wish to postpone and give him time. I would rather have had them this morning. I think they are very important. I think it is the most important thing in the whole investigation, and I am sorry that, it being so important, he hasn't that evidence available.

Now, Senator, we will be glad to hear your statement.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, UNITED STATES  
SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN**

Senator McCARTHY. I thank the chairman, and so there is no doubt in the committee's mind let me say this: I think this is so important that I do want to stick to the cases as I document them and develop

them so there can be no question about the absolute truth of everything presented.

Let me say this also: I hope that every witness' testimony, including mine, is gone through with a fine-tooth comb. There are some very important witnesses down here, and I am very happy the chairman swore them all. We have found, you recall, back in the case of the famous racketeers of Capone that the Government could not get them for their crimes, but they finally discovered a way of getting them. They got them for income tax evasion.

We find where Communists are concerned they are too clever. They work underground too much. It is hard to get them for their criminal activities in connection with espionage, but a way has been found. We are getting them for perjury and putting some of the worst of them away. For that reason I hope every witness who comes here is put under oath and his testimony is gone over with a fine-tooth comb, and if we cannot convict some of them for their disloyal activities, perhaps we can convict them for perjury.

Senator TYDINGS. Are you going to relate to cases in the same order before the Senate, so I can follow them here?

Senator McCARTHY. I intend to give the committee additional cases.

Senator TYDINGS. If you refer to case 1 or case 2, that will be case 1 or case 2 as you referred to it in the Senate?

Senator McCARTHY. When I refer to a case, I will also identify it by the case number if it was referred to in the Senate.

Now, the chairman made a statement that I think he would like to retract, because he said: "McCarthy will be subject to the most thorough investigation in the history of this Republic." I think he meant that the disloyal people in the State Department will be subject to such investigation.

Senator TYDINGS. I did not say "McCarthy." I said this. I said: "This, Senator McCarthy, will be one of the most thorough investigations \* \* \*." I did not make it personal.

Senator McCARTHY. Some people in the room got the impression he said that.

Senator TYDINGS. If they got that impression they got something I did not intend.

Senator McCARTHY. I did not think he did.

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to the committee for its invitation to appear here today, and make available information which has come to me from a variety of sources bearing on the security of our Nation.

Certainly we are all in accord on the premise that every possible precaution should be taken to protect the national welfare and time and experience has shown us that subversive and un-American actions cannot stand the light of day.

To that end, I shall make available to this committee the names and background of persons who are, or have been, in the service of the Government who, by virtue of their background and activities, do not deserve the confidence and trust placed in them.

The fair security risk does not exist. Every man or woman in the employ of the United States Government is a bad or good security risk.

We have had, through our courts, our governmental investigating bodies, our public press and radio, a shocking and frightening series of reports on men and women in high and low places in our Government who transferred their allegiance to a foreign and dangerous ideology.

It is obviously impossible for me, without investigative personnel, funds, and authority and without full and free access to the voluminous and comprehensive files of numerous Government agencies, to give you gentlemen an adequate picture of this distressing situation.

I hope that this distinguished committee, charged by its colleagues in the Senate with a difficult and exhaustive duty, will be able to find a solution to a hitherto insoluble problem.

After the information I have received is collated and examined, it will be turned over to this committee. I shall withhold nothing and shall make available to the committee the information which has been made available to me.

I have carefully studied the standards of loyalty, as set forth by Secretary of State Acheson.

I agree with them wholeheartedly.

I have come to the conclusion, however, that these standards of loyalty are meaningless unless they are applied to all Government employees without exception.

It is the exception that I wish to bring to the attention of the committee.

I am convinced that in a sizable number of cases these standards have not been applied properly.

Mr. Chairman, one bad risk is too many, and a very few of these bad risks might well be disastrous to our national security.

At the outset I think it is important that the committee know that the statement I shall make here today regarding various persons in the employ of the United States Government is based on documented evidence and these documents I will submit to the committee as I go along.

Senator McMAHON. Senator, is it your intention to name individuals against whom you are making charges?

Senator McCARTHY. I intend to name names of those that are thoroughly documented and important, yes. The ones that are not thoroughly documented I intend to give to the committee and have the committee, with its own investigative staff, do the documenting.

Senator McMAHON. Senator, as I understand it, this is the first of a series of cases in which you are going to name names.

Senator McCARTHY. That is right.

Senator McMAHON. And you are going to give to the public and to us the digests of the files as you have had them given to you?

Senator McCARTHY. In this first case I am going to give nothing from any files. I am going to present documents.

Senator McMAHON. What documents?

Senator McCARTHY. I am going to give them to you as I go along.

Senator McMAHON. I mean, are they abstracts of the State Department files?

Senator McCARTHY. I will give you the documents, Senator, as I go along. They are photostats, and I can't give you a preview. I have to go through them.

Senator LODGE. Mr. Chairman, I don't like to be tedious about this, but I do hope—

Senator McMATION. Senator, if you do not mind, I have not yielded.

There is a very important point involved here, Senator, whether you realize it or not, and this is the point where this committee is going to have to consider it, as to whether or not we are going to adopt a procedure whereby charges are made about citizens for all the world to see, based upon material that has been taken from files without an opportunity for the committee to have a full preview of that file.

Now, what I have in mind is the Coplon case and what took place down in the district court. I have no fixed opinion on this at the moment, Senator, but I just want the committee to understand that apparently we are going to open up the files for public inspection. Is that the Senator's idea?

Senator McCARTHY. No, no. I have no intention—even if I had the files I would have no intention—of presenting any of the State Department files. I say “even if I had them.” It is not my decision to conduct the hearing in this fashion. The committee has asked for information. I have the documents. The names appear on the documents very clearly. If the committee wants to go into executive session and take this testimony, that is entirely up to the committee. Otherwise I shall have to proceed, and it is impossible to develop this and say “Mr. X,” “Mr. Y,” “Mr. Z.” Do you follow me, Senator?

If the committee wants to go into executive session and hear these cases, let me tell you without mentioning her name that the first case will involve a person in a high State Department position getting about \$12,000 a year who belongs to 28 organizations that have been listed by the Attorney General and by various senatorial and House committees as subversive or disloyal—28 different organizations. I have the documents to show that she has belonged to those 28 subversive organizations—not organizations that I say are subversive, but organizations that the Attorney General has said are subversive, plus senatorial and House committees.

In presenting these documents, I think it is impossible to dismiss or hide this individual's name. I think this is very important. We will want to ask, for example, Mr. Acheson why he keeps in a high position, a \$12,000-a-year position, someone who belongs to 28 subversive organizations. She may, you understand, belong to 10 or 12 others. I have the documents to show the membership in 28.

I have no desire whatsoever to make this name public, but the committee has called me here. They say, “Give us information,” and I can't give this information by referring to X, Y, and Z.

Senator TYDINGS. I think, Senator McMATION, your question is a proper one, but I believe the better way to handle it would be when we get to a document to ask for a description of it, et cetera, rather than to try to make a blanket ruling here where we might have to amend it over and over again. Do you agree with that, Senator? In other words, postponing the time until the Senator gets to the document, and then we can ascertain whether or not it is a State Department matter or loyalty file or FBI file, or what the matter may be.

I don't think we want to get in the position of denying the witness any proper testimony that he might deliver.

Senator McMAHON. It is a very difficult question, and I would defer to you as chairman of this committee on this matter of procedure. The only thing that disturbs me is this: Let us assume that the Senator charges this specific person what is true and is determined to be true. Then there is certainly no reason why the public should not be advised of the fact that she is what he says she is.

Contrariwise, let us assume, hypothetically, that it turns out on an investigation that she is completely innocent of the charges that are made. Senator, you and I know that that verdict will be on page 27 or 47, if there are 47 pages, but the charges will be on page 1.

Senator McCARTHY. I must say I heartily agree with you.

Senator McMAHON. And we must be careful, it seems to me, that in our desire to do a thorough job of investigation here and bring to book—and they should be brought to book—any persons who do not belong in the Government of the United States, not, in the process of doing that, to do a great injustice to decent American citizens.

Senator McCARTHY. May I say that I heartily agree with the Senator. On the Senate floor I said that I would not divulge any names. I said I hoped any names that were divulged would be developed in executive session. Mr. Lucas, who is the leader of the majority party, demanded time after time on the Senate floor and publicly that I divulge names. I am now before the committee. In order to present the case I must give the names, otherwise I cannot intelligibly present it. If the committee desires to go into executive session, that is a decision that the committee and not I can make, but if I am to testify, I say it is impossible to do it without divulging names.

Senator LODGE. Mr. Chairman, may I get recognized now? This committee unanimously voted to hold public hearings. That was our decision. Senator McCarthy now has the opportunity to name names. That is his decision. If he wants to give this information in private, then we have to decide whether we will hear them or not. Those issues were all settled when we had our meeting last week. I do not understand why Senator McCarthy cannot have the opportunity to present his statement and not be compelled to act as though he were in some sort of a kangaroo court—"Answer 'Yes' or 'No'" and that sort of thing. It almost looks as though there was an attempt to rattle him. We ought to let him make his statement, and then, if he has facts with him, we will investigate the facts. It seems to me just as simple as that.

Senator TYDINGS. Gentlemen of the committee, so far as the Chair is concerned about this, I think we ought to leave pretty well the manner of presenting the evidence up to Senator McCarthy. Senator, at any time that you feel you want to go into executive session with part of this testimony, if you will indicate that I will call the committee right here together and we will see what the situation is. If any member of the committee at any time thinks that the matter that is being made public should be heard in executive session, he will indicate that to me. We will go into a huddle and come out with a decision on that. In the meantime, proceed.

Senator McCARTHY. Let me make my position clear. I personally do not favor presenting names, no matter how conclusive the evidence is. The committee has called me this morning, and in order to intelligibly present this information I must give the names. I think this

should be in executive session. I think it would be better. However, I am here. The committee has voted to hold open sessions, so I shall proceed.

Let us take the case of Dor——

Senator TYDINGS. I told you when I invited you to testify that you could testify in any manner you saw fit. If it is your preference to give these names in executive session we will be very glad to have your wishes acceded to. If it is your desire to give them in open session, that is your responsibility. Now, if you will indicate how you want to proceed, the committee will take it under advisement and give you an answer in 2 minutes.

Senator McCARTHY. Let me say this first case has been handed to the press already. I think we will have to proceed with this one in open session. When we get to the next case, let us consider it.

Let us take the case of Dorothy Kenyon.

Senator TYDINGS. Is that one of the cases your brought up on the Senate floor?

Senator McCARTHY. This is not.

Senator TYDINGS. I see. Go ahead.

Senator McCARTHY. This lady, according to the latest issue of the official registry of the United States Government, is on the Commission on the Status of Women, United States Member on the Commissions of the Economic and Social Council, United States Mission to the United Nations, Department of State. Her salary is \$12,000 per year.

And I now present to the chairman of the committee the documentation of that part of my testimony.

Senator TYDINGS. Will you hold that a minute until I find whether it is listed here in the Register or not.

Senator McCARTHY. This lady has been affiliated with at least 28 Communist-front organizations, all of which have been declared subversive by an official Government agency. Nine of the 28 have been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, and I might say that her record of belonging to these subversive organizations dates back 10 or 15 years. It is not something new.

On February 21, 1940, Miss Kenyon signed a protest under the auspices of the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade condemning the war hysteria "being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration."

Exhibit marked "1" I now hand the committee. This organization has been cited as subversive by the congressional House Committee on Un-American Activities, the California Un-American Activities Committee, and the Attorney General of the United States.

Senator TYDINGS. Will you let us read that a minute. Is her name marked?

Senator McCARTHY. I think you will find her name marked.

Senator TYDINGS. I have it. It isn't marked. We will mark it. Let me read, Senator, for the record, the caption:

The following outstanding Americans, writers, poets, playwrights, educators, judges, critics, and public officials signed the letter to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson protesting the attacks upon the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and condemning the war hysteria now being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, I might say that this is the only photostat that I have, and I do not like to have it out of my possession.

If the committee wants these documents, I wish they would arrange with me to have them photostated so they may have a photostatic copy of the document.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator McCarthy, we will have to file all of the exhibits in the record that you give publicly, and I will instruct the stenographer to guard these exhibits, and when the committee finishes its deliberations to return them to you. Is that all right?

Senator McCARTHY. May I ask one other thing, Mr. Chairman. This is my only copy. I wonder if the Chairman would not instruct the clerk to have photostats made so that my file may be complete.

Senator McMAHON. Could I ask a question on that?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes.

Senator McMAHON. Senator, this is a clip from the Daily Worker, February 21, 1940, and it is entitled "Signers of Protest."

Senator McCARTHY. That's right.

Senator McMAHON. Of course, the list is a very lengthy one. As to some of the people on this list, I see one or two that I know casually myself. The description of the petition that was signed is the Daily Worker's description, and it does not appear to be a copy of the petition that these people signed. Is the Senator aware of that?

Senator McCARTHY. I think the Senator has stated it correctly.

Senator McMAHON. Yes.

Well, knowing the Daily Worker and its genius, from the copies that I have seen, for misrepresentation, I am curious as to just what the petition said. You haven't got that with you, have you?

Senator McCARTHY. I am sure when the Senator sees the 28 documents he will no longer be skeptical.

Senator McMAHON. It is not a question of that. I am curious as to what they did sign. It may be that in this instance the Daily Worker is telling the truth as to what they signed, do you see? But the Senator has not got the actual petition that they signed?

Senator McCARTHY. That is correct. That is a copy of the petition run in the Daily Worker as a paid ad, and advertised as having been run by these people.

Senator TYDINGS. Does the Senator know where we could get the original, so we could see what the petition purported to advocate?

Senator McCARTHY. I think the committee must hire a competent staff to run anything down they care to run down.

Senator TYDINGS. I say, does the Senator have any idea of where we might search for this particular item, so we can save time in finding it?

Senator McCARTHY. There are many places the Senator could search. I do not know where he could find it.

Senator TYDINGS. The question that the Senator does not answer, apparently, is that the Senator has no information. I am simply trying to find out where we could get it in the quickest possible time.

Senator McCARTHY. I do not have the original petition. I do not know where it is.

Senator McMAHON. I think, Mr. Chairman, that we should, as quickly as possible, get this petition, for this reason, that there are in this list about 100 names, and some of them bear good reputations. Now, to characterize them in a record of the Senate of the United States just on the basis of a clip from the Daily Worker is something that perhaps they are not entitled to either, so I do hope that we can get what they really signed.



Senator McCARTHY. I hope I have made it clear that I also hope that the committee proceeds to develop the situation.

Senator TYDINGS. Before the Senator proceeds, without any reflection on the press, newspaper accounts are not always the best evidence. The petition itself, as the Senator, who has been an eminent judge, would know, would be the best evidence, but we have a pretty wide latitude in these committees and we can look that phase of the matter over afterward.

Senator McCARTHY. Thank you.

In signing this statement Miss Kenyon collaborated with such well-known Communists as Paul Robeson, Bernard J. Stern, Albert Maltz, Anna Louise Strong, William Gropper, Langston Hughes, and Harry F. Ward.

Miss Kenyon is presently the sponsor of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. This organization has been declared subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the California Un-American Activities Committee, and the Attorney General.

Understand, when I say "presently," some of this information may be 6 months old. It is the best information, and I have no information that it has been withdrawn.

On November 16, 1948, Miss Kenyon as a member of the board of sponsors of this officially declared subversive organization welcomed the Red Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, at a rally in Madison Square Garden in the city of New York. Only a few days ago the State Department refused to permit the Dean of Canterbury to enter the United States because of his Communist record.

For the guidance of the committee I hand you herewith exhibit 2, which fully documents Miss Kenyon's affiliation with the National Council of American Soviet Friendship.

Senator McMAHON. Senator, that National Council of American Soviet Friendship had quite a vogue when we were cobelligerents back during the war days. I may be in error, but I think that there were a couple of Senators of the United States who are still members of this body who were members of that organization at the time. Are you aware of that?

Senator McCARTHY. The Senator is talking about war days. This document is dated late 1948, November 16, 1948. And, Senator, I may say this, that I have not declared these organizations subversive. I tell you in each instance which official bodies have. In this case it was declared subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the California Un-American Activities Committee, and the Attorney General.

I assume when they declared this organization subversive they did it upon very excellent and competent proof, so when I refer to these subversive organizations I am not saying that I myself have determined whether or not they are subversive.

Senator McMAHON. I did not assert that you did. I just asked you whether or not it is not a fact that a couple of the Senators had been members of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship. I would doubt, of course, that it was as late, though, as November 16, 1948, and you do point out that she was a member of the Board on that date.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator McCarthy, going back to the first exhibit that you introduced, I see some names on here that I think it only fair ought to be associated with the evidence you have given. I see such names as Ernest Hemingway, Dr. Harold Urey, the man who was in the forefront of development of the atomic bomb for the United States, and several others I recognize by reputation, some of them holding public office. I believe here is one man, the Honorable Stanley Isaacs; my recollection is that he holds an office in New York State of some kind. So that there is rather a large mixture of names that are pretty prominent.

Senator McCARTHY. This is exhibit 2, Mr. Chairman. It is a letter on the letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and has a list of the sponsors, Kenyon's name being one of the list of sponsors. The letter reads as follows—or would the chairman rather see it before I read it?

Senator TYDINGS. This is 2?

Senator McCARTHY (reading):

On Monday evening, December 13, the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, and foremost leader in the democratic movement for world peace, speaks at Madison Square Garden. This eminent churchman, who will climax a month's tour of the United States with this rally, will present his impressions of the American peace movement as it relates to the peace forces of England and the continent. He will also report on his recent observations of conditions in eastern Europe and his personal conversations with the leaders of the new democracies.

We feel it is a rare privilege, indeed, for us to be able to present the dean in the first significant rally to follow the elections. We know you will appreciate the importance of forcefully demonstrating, particularly before the new congressional session, the people's will for peace through cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union.

The Ambassador from the Soviet Union, His Excellency Mr. Alexander S. Panyushkin, will address the meeting. The meeting will also feature Paul Robeson, other well-known speakers, and a program of entertainment.

As you may recollect, thousands were turned away from the Garden on the occasion of the dean's last visit here in 1945. Thus, to insure you proper accommodations, we are enclosing an advance ticket order blank.

Senator TYDINGS. What was the date of that?

Senator McCARTHY. This is November 16, 1948.

Won't you plan to attend this rally for peace and reserve seats for yourself and your friends?

I point out that Miss Kenyon was not merely a member of this organization but one of the sponsors, and I hand the Chair the exhibit labeled "2."

Senator TYDINGS. Will you pause a moment there, Senator, until we look at the document?

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, while the balance of the committee are looking at the document, may I inquire as to how long the committee intends to remain in session today?

Senator TYDINGS. How long would you like us to remain?

Senator McCARTHY. I frankly had hoped to develop three or four cases. However, I do want to be on the floor today, and my thought is that we should certainly develop more than we have now, but I would not like to stay away more than an hour.

Senator TYDINGS. I have conferred with the members of the committee, and most of them seem to be of the opinion that we could continue for another half hour. Their engagements are such that at that time they won't be able to remain.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I might suggest that Senator McCarthy probably can get through with his presentation and the presentation of his exhibits which he alleges support his position if we just let him go.

Senator TYDINGS. Yes; but Senator, we want to get all the evidence that is pertinent as we go along. We do not want to get it lopsided. We want to make sure that everything is weighed properly and proper connotations are put on it.

Senator McCARTHY. May I ask the Chair, so I may make preparations, is it planned that we will have daily hearings?

Senator TYDINGS. We will meet tomorrow morning at 10:30, and the only possible change I can see to that would be that the Senate would agree to some unanimous-consent agreement during the day to vote prior to 12 o'clock. We will certainly run from 10:30 to 12, and maybe longer, if we are not confronted with a vote in the Senate.

Tomorrow I hope you will have the answers to those two questions, Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCARTHY. I am sure the Chair will be satisfied with the information he gets.

Senator GREEN. With regard to this exhibit that has been put in as evidence, I would like to draw attention to some of the names on these sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., which is considered such a Communist group. Here are the Honorable Arthur Capper—

Senator TYDINGS. Senator Capper?

Senator GREEN. Yes. The Honorable Claude Pepper; the Honorable Elbert D. Thomas; the Honorable Joseph E. Davies, and a great many other similar names.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. There are a great many others that the Senator could read too, off that list.

Senator GREEN. If there are, I would like for you to read them.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I do not want to take the time. That is an exhibit the Senator has put in to substantiate the fact that the person he alleges was a sponsor of an organization, and it seems to me we are wasting time.

Senator GREEN. And the names on it are significant.

Senator TYDINGS. No exhibit can be given in part under any rules of evidence that I have ever heard of, either before a Senate committee or anything else. You have to put it all in or keep it all out.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That is what he has offered.

Senator TYDINGS. The Senator has read a letter and he has read one name. I am going to take the liberty of reading all the names:

Louis Adamic, a candidate for the Senate in Illinois; George F. Addes; Maxwell Anderson, playwright; John Taylor Arms; Max Bedecht; Mrs. Alice S. Belester; Dr. Henry Lambert Bibby; Mrs. Louis Bloch; Mrs. Anita Block; Simon Breines; Prof. E. W. Burgess; Hon. Arthur Capper. Was he a United States Senator at the time this was held? Charles Chaplin; Hon. John M. Coffee; Dr. Henry S. Coffin; Aaron Copland; Norman Corwin; Jo Davidson; Hon. Joseph E. Davies; Dr. Herbert John Davis; Hon. Hugh DeLacy, Member of Congress; Dr. Stephen Duggan; Prof. Albert Einstein; Max Epstein; Dr. Mildred Fairchild; Dr. Robert D. Feild; Lion Feuchtwanger; the Reverend Joseph F. Fletcher; Homer Folks; Dr. W.

Horsley Gantt; Dr. Caleb F. Gates, Jr.; Dean Christian Gauss; Ben Gold; Dr. Mortimer Graves; Dr. Harry Grundfest.

Also Dr. Alice Hamilton; Lillian Hellman; Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn; Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill; Prof. William Ernest Hocking; Dr. Walter M. Horton; Langston Hughes; Dr. Walter Hulihan; Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs; Dr. Millard H. Jencks; Prof. Howard Mumford Jones; Helen Keller; Rockwell Kent; Dorothy Kenyon; Dr. Serge Koussevitzky, leader of one of the great orchestras, I believe; Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont; William W. Lancaster; Dr. Emil Lengyel; John F. Lewis, Jr.; Prof. Robert S. Lynd; Clifford T. McAvoy; Judge Lois Mary McBride; Maurice Maeterlinck; Fritz Mahler; Dr. Thomas Mann; Frank X. Martel; Dr. Kirtley F. Mather; Lewis Merrill; Dr. George R. Minot; Mrs. Lucy Sprague Mitchell; Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell; Charles Michael Mitzell; Pierre Monteux; Mme. Pierre Monteux; Bishop Arthur W. Moulton; Hon. James E. Murray, United States Senator; Dr. Philip C. Nash; Dr. Robert Hastings Nichols; Eugene O'Neill; Dr. Marion Edwards Park; Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson; Bishop Malcom E. Peabody; Hon. Claude Pepper, United States Senator; Prof. Ralph Barton Perry; Dr. E. C. Peters; Dr. John P. Peters; Henry W. Pope; Michael Quill; Carl Randau.

Also Anton Refregier; Elmer Rice; Wallingford Riegger; Paul Robeson; Col. Raymond Robins; Earl Robinson; Reid Robinson; Harold J. Rome; Joseph A. Rosen; Joseph A. Salerno; Miles M. Sherover; Raymond P. Sloan; Dr. P. A. Sorokin; Maxwell S. Stewart; Leopold Stokowski, leader of an orchestra; Raymond Swing, radio commentator; Genevieve Tabouis; Hon. Elbert D. Thomas; R. J. Thomas; Dr. Max Thorek; S. A. Trone; Philip H. Van Gelder; R. E. Van Horn; Professor George Vernadsky; Bishop W. J. Walls; Dr. Harry F. Ward; Leroy Waterman; Max Weber; Dr. Henry N. Wieman; Dr. C. C. Williams; Hon. James H. Wolfe; Dr. Max Yergan; Dean Mary Yost; Dr. J. J. Zmrhal; Leane Zugsmith.

I think that they all ought to be in there, so that we can judge from the association the full purport of the letter and the inference.

Senator LODGE. Before you go on, Mr. Chairman, I want to say once again that I am for having questions and I am for having the statements with the proper connotations and proper evaluation, but I think to interrupt the witness every single time and break up his continuity and destroy the flow of his argument, the way we are doing, is not the right procedure.

Senator TYDINGS. Just let me say something here in answer to that, Senator Lodge. I have never in my life been connected with any senatorial, legal, or other inquiry where an exhibit could be placed in evidence and only parts of it read. It is not only fair, it is incumbent upon this committee that the whole exhibit be placed before the press of the country if this is an open hearing, and not just the parts of it that may serve some ulterior motive.

Senator LODGE. Of course if we read the list on every single letter-head of every single thing that is put in here, we will be here until Christmas. I am not objecting to putting in the complete documents in the record; of course I am not objecting to that. I am objecting to this constant interruption of the witness so that he never gets a fair shake, that's all.

Senator GREEN. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me it is the only proper thing for us to do to interrupt. Here the witness has introduced a document, and he ended up his introduction by introducing the document as evidence of the Communist affiliations of Miss Kenyon. He ends up by saying, "other well-known Communists sponsoring the event were Howard Fast, Saul Mills, Ella Winter, John Howard Lawson, and Langston Hughes," and I wanted to ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether he thinks it is fair to pick out those names and omit the other names that were read.

Senator LODGE. I think the time to do that is after Senator McCarthy has made his statement. Then we can each one go at him. That is the way it has been done here ever since I have been here. I think the immemorial practice is to let the witness make a statement and then the chairman asks the senior man to ask questions, and then the senior man on the other side, and then he finally comes down to the low man on the totem pole and everybody has his chance to ask questions. That is the way it has always been done. For some reason that has not been made clear to me, whether it is to rattle or whether it is to confuse or something, I do not know, we have an entirely different procedure today.

Senator GREEN. What the witness is attempting to do is to give the impression of a certain instrument—I do not mean to say it is intentional, but the result of the names that he has selected gives a very false impression of the instrument.

Senator LODGE. And the Senator from Rhode Island is perfectly capable of clearing that point up. He is a very eloquent man. He is not a Philadelphia lawyer, he is a Providence lawyer, and when his time comes to question he can clear all those points up, and that is the orderly way to do it from the standpoint of the committee, from the standpoint of the presentation in the press, and from the standpoint of fairness to the witness.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator Lodge, if I may say this, if this were a hearing in executive session, that would be one thing, but these charges are going out all over the country in the press and they ought to go out with all of the evidence available, and not just selected parts of it. If it does not go out in that status before the people of the country, then the people cannot draw the full conclusion that the evidence presented warrants, and I think it has to go that way or it should not go at all, if we are going to have open hearings.

Senator GREEN. We are not attempting to introduce other evidence to contradict the witness or to supplement it. All we want is the full statement, and not extracts.

Senator LODGE. All the evidence is not available. I quite agree with the chairman and with Senator Green that it would be most unfortunate if reputations of innocent persons were in any way besmirched, but we cannot in any possible way clear up the wrong that has been done on the spur of the moment. The time to do that is after the Senator has made his charges. Then we investigate the charges. That is the way to proceed.

Senator GREEN. Mr. Chairman, as was brought out in the introductory discussion of this matter, this is a public meeting and charges go out and are spread all over the country in the newspapers, and if at the time a mistaken summary of a document is given, the correct summary won't catch up with it at all. The matter will be ancient

history and newspapers won't print it. The eloquent Senator from Massachusetts knows as a newspaperman that that is the fact, so it is important to have that false impression removed at the time the list of these people is given out to the press.

Senator LODGE. I also know that there are none of us here in this committee who have the information at hand to correct any misstatements that the witness may make.

Senator GREEN. The witness has given it to us to be given to the public.

Senator TYDINGS. Now that the Chair is overruled, all documents that are submitted will be read in full hereafter so that the people of the country may get all the evidence at the time.

Senator LODGE. That is perfectly all right with me. I have no objection to the documents that the witness puts in being read in full. What I object to is this constant interruption and hacking away at him all the time so he does not get a chance to make his argument.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Just to clear up a statement of the chairman, the Senator from Wisconsin just submitted the Official Register of the United States, 1949, containing on page 490 the name of Dorothy Kenyon, Commission on the Status of Women, New York; salary and compensation, \$12,000 a year. Does the chairman intend to read the entire Official Register of the United States every time the Senator from Wisconsin wants to produce a name or something to prove a specific point?

Senator TYDINGS. I will read into the record the names of all the people on this Commission. I do not see any need to go and put all the consuls from Shanghai to Singapore on the one hand, and Iceland to some other place, in the record.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. But, Mr. Chairman, the witness only introduced that to indicate a position of employment of a particular individual.

Senator TYDINGS. That's right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The other names are not involved one way or another, other than the allegation that she was employed by the State Department.

Senator TYDINGS. And there is no allegation here that this is a Communist-front organization, but there was an allegation in the other case that that was a Communist-front organization, and therefore we ought to see who is in it, which is an entirely different matter.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I just want to know whether the chairman is going to read the entire Register.

Senator TYDINGS. I would also draw the observation that the gentlemen on the right of me are now consuming more time than are the gentlemen on the left.

Senator LODGE. I deny that. I would like to have my comments drawn up against those of the chairman, and we will find out.

Senator TYDINGS. You should not complain and then adopt the very thing you are complaining about.

Senator LODGE. I am not doing that. No, I am not doing that.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, I think as I give the documents showing the Communist-front organizations that this individual has belonged to, you will find in almost rather a sizable number the names of some fine individuals. I think that it is possible that you yourself may be duped into joining, or having your name used on some Com-

unist-front organization. The reason I submit the vast number is that it is impossible for any normal individual, of normal intelligence, to be so deceived that they can act as sponsors for 28 different Communist-front organizations. I might say that I personally would not be caught dead belonging to any one of the 28.

Senator TYDINGS. That is opinion, Senator. We would like to have the evidence and the facts, and we can judge more from them than we can from opinions. We will have to form the opinions.

Senator LODGE. Surely the Senator can express opinions.

Senator TYDINGS. If we are going to condemn people on opinion evidence, there won't be many people left in the end.

Senator LODGE. If we are going to prevent the Senator from expressing opinions, the character of this whole body is going to change.

Senator McCARTHY. I thank the Senator.

I might say that one of the grounds for dismissal of an employee who has top-secret clearance is his associations. As the Senator knows, if he is a banker and he is looking for a cashier and he finds that Mr. Smith chums with safecrackers, bookies, gamblers, cheats, and rogues, he won't hire Mr. Smith as a cashier, and that is the theory that I assume our State Department goes upon. If they find these individuals with unusual connections, a long trend, they can assume that they are unsafe risks. The Secretary has so stated, I believe.

In sponsoring the Red Dean of Canterbury's appearance in the United States a year and a half ago Miss Kenyon collaborated with such pro-Communists as Ben Gold, the avowed Communist leader of the Fur Workers Union, and Paul Robeson.

Here we have the singular situation of the Department of State refusing to admit one of the world's most prominent radical Communist churchmen and on the other hand one of the Department's prominent officials welcoming and sponsoring him to this country.

It would seem, Mr. Chairman, as though perhaps the State Department's left hand does not know what the other hand is doing; or perhaps put it the other way around. The right hand does not know what the left hand is doing.

I should now like to hand the committee exhibit 3. This is a cordial invitation to attend a dinner and presentation of the first annual award of the American Russian Institute to President Franklin Roosevelt for "Furthering American-Soviet Relations."

The event occurred on May 7, 1946, at 6:30 o'clock in the evening in the grand ball room of the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York City. The dinner cost \$7.50 a plate.

The American Russian Institute has been cited as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, California Un-American Activities Committee, and the Attorney General.

Senator McMAHON. On what date, Senator?

Senator McCARTHY. What date were they cited?

Senator McMAHON. Yes.

Senator McCARTHY. I do not have the dates of the citation. I think the Senator will recall as well as I do the date the Attorney General put out his list.

Senator TYDINGS. Was this before or after the Attorney General put out his list?

Senator McMAHON. That is quite material. You see Senator Lodge, this is a perfect illustration of the value of a question at the proper time to clear up a statement of fact. Here is a dinner which is held under date of May 7, 1946, in New York City. The Senator proceeds to say that the organization that sponsored it was cited as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the California Un-American Activities Committee, and the Attorney General. Now, it is quite conceivable that a person would have been a sponsor on May 7, 1946, and have refused to have been a sponsor a year or a year and a half later, after the American Russian Institute had been denominated as being subversive. There is a perfect illustration of the value of questioning any witness, whether he be a Senator or anybody else, in order to try to convey what the truth of the matter is.

I think it is regrettable, Senator, that you have not that information with you at the present time. I shall secure it and put it in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I am sure the Senator from Wisconsin sees the wisdom of what the Senator from Connecticut has so pertinently brought out—the great difference that there might be in a case like this, of an innocent person joining what he thought was a worth-while organization or movement or occasion or ceremony on the one hand, thinking there was nothing subversive about it, and who learns later that it is denominated as a subversive organization.

Now, certainly, don't we owe it to these people whose names we are throwing about the country, on the radio and in the press and in magazines and in the newspapers, to at least give them, those who have acted in good faith and with purely patriotic motives, the right to have the testimony surrounded by facts before it is given, so that we do not do infinite harm to people who, I am sure the Senator himself in some cases would say, are not Communists?

Senator LODGE. Before the witness answer that, my able friend from Connecticut addressed me. I do not agree with him at all that this is an example of why it is a good thing to interrupt the witness. It is perfectly possible to make a note of the fact that he did not mention the date and later on bring it out. In fact, I think that is a more effective way to do it. These questions of dates, I noted that myself and I made a note of it to ask the Senator from Wisconsin later, when my turn came to ask questions.

All I want to do is not to break the continuity of the argument. Then let him make the argument, and those who want to try to tear the argument down will have a chance to do it.

Senator TYDINGS. Let me say I thought I was speaking for every member of the committee when I said that I hoped we could conduct this investigation so that it would not be labeled either a witch hunt or a whitewash. In order to do that, if we are going to live up to that formula, it seems to me, if we allow a lot of statements to go in the record that are subject to instantaneous false impressions and conclusions, that we may not have intended to conduct a witch hunt but we are getting pretty close over on the other barrier.

I have no desire to shut off any testimony that the Senator from Wisconsin has, but I would caution him that when he makes a statement he ought to be able to supply the dates so that false impressions and false conclusions cannot be drawn from his testimony, which, even though we corrected it later, might not reach the press and the



radio, and I simply say that that is just justice, nothing more than simple justice.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, I can say right now that the proceedings as far as they have gone this morning, if the proceedings as patterned this morning are to continue throughout this investigation, it is heading for a label of some kind, and I may have to name it.

Senator TYDINGS. I agree with you thoroughly, and I could name it too.

Senator McCARTHY. The Chair just stated that he thought these names should not be all bandied about the country. I have pointed out to the Chair, and I believe this was pointed out by the Attorney General, that in almost any one of these organizations labeled subversive you will find from time to time competent people's names listed. You will not find one individual belonging to 25 or 30.

Senator TYDINGS. That is drawing a conclusion, Senator.

Senator McCARTHY. When the Senator says we shall not put all these names out to the country, it is the Senator who is reading them. I am merely reading the name of this individual who belongs to 28 organizations that have been listed as subversive by the Attorney General, by the House committee, and other official bodies. Let us make it clear that you are referring to all of these names going out. I am not putting those names out; that is the chairman.

Along with the lady sponsoring this dinner appeared Lee Pressman, who has been named as a member of the Communist underground cell in the Government by Whitaker Chambers. Other well-known Communists sponsoring the event were Howard Fast, Saul Mills, Ella Winter, John Howard Lawson, and Langston Hughes.

Senator GREEN. There, I think that is a selected list that you have made up, is it not?

Senator McCARTHY. The present executive director of this subversive organization is Henry H. Collins, late of the State Department, who has been named by Whitaker Chambers as a member of the Communist spy ring operating in the Federal Government.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Didn't you skip a paragraph?

Senator McCARTHY. No.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have another paragraph, following the list of names the Senator read in. I don't know whether the Senator intended to leave the paragraph out or not, or whether I have an accurate copy.

Senator McCARTHY. I beg your pardon. The Senator from Rhode Island interrupted, and I lost my place.

Other well-known Communists sponsoring the event were Howard Fast, Saul Mills, Ella Winter, John Howard Lawson, and Langston Hughes.

Although I shall discuss the unusual affinity of Mr. Phillip C. Jessup, of the State Department, for Communist causes later in this inquiry, I think it pertinent to note that this gentleman now formulating top-flight policy in the Far East affecting half the civilized world was also a sponsor of the American Russian Institute.

The present executive director of this subversive organization is Henry H. Collins, late of the State Department, who has been named by Whitaker Chambers as a member of the Communist spy ring operating in the Federal Government. It was in the home of Mr. Collins,

according to Chambers, that some of the microfilms of secret State Department documents were made. Collins was also one of those who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee as to whether or not he was a Communist Party member.

The Conference on Pan American Democracy has been declared to be a subversive Communist organization by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the California Un-American Activities Committee.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator McCarthy, would you put in the dates there, if you have them?

Senator McCARTHY. I think much of the material the Chair wants will have to be developed by the committee. I just cannot afford to hire the investigators to present a court case to the committee.

Senator TYDINGS. I thought you might have it and it would save us work; that is all.

Senator McCARTHY. I would rather the committee saved me some work.

Senator TYDINGS. You are making charges—

Senator McCARTHY. I am not making charges. I am giving the committee information of individuals who appear to all the rules of common sense as being very bad security risks. I am giving the committee information which I think they are bound to follow under the Senate mandate.

Senator TYDINGS. Let me follow you there.

Senator McCARTHY. Let me finish, Mr. Chairman. Let's have an agreement. When you ask a question, let me finish my answer, will you?

The Senate unanimously gave this committee a mandate. I think that mandate is to develop any information which on its face makes it appear that the individual concerned is a bad security risk. And I frankly do not—let's make this clear—have the staff to take each of the cases and develop it to the point of making a court case. You understand that.

Senator TYDINGS. You have left the committee in a rather embarrassing position, because the resolution which brings us here and which brings you here reads as follows:

In the conduct of this study and investigation, the committee is directed to procure by subpoena and examine the complete loyalty and employment files and records of all Government employees in the Department of State and other such agencies against whom charges have been heard.

Without somebody makes a charge, or you call it a charge, what do we do then? How do we get the records? We are only authorized to get them, by the Senate language, if you or somebody makes a charge. You say you are not making any charge. We are in a pretty small position to issue a subpoena.

Senator McCARTHY. Senator, let me say this. If there is anything you want me to do to make it possible for you to get those subpoenas, I will do it. I am not in a position to file any formal charges. What you mean by a charge I do not know. If you want me to charge that from the evidence it appears that this woman is an extremely bad security risk, that she should not be in the State Department 1 hour, I will be glad to say that. If you tell me what you mean by a charge, what you want me to do so that you will under this

mandate be entitled to say to the President, "We want those files, all of them," you may be sure I will do that.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator, let me say to you that I think all that you have said up to now are charges, and you have given information that you have to support those charges as you see it. I would call them charges. Certainly we are not going to have an investigation without some charges being made, and the Senate itself put the language in. Fortunately I was not there the night the resolution was adopted. I only inherited it, and I have read it over six or eight times. I think that we are perfectly at liberty to get these files by any proper method that we can devise, because of what you are testifying. But I would label them charges, because I am sure you are charging these people with being either Communists or allied with Communists. You called it a Communist spy ring in the State Department, and I think all those things are charges, and I think it is our duty to investigate it. I think they are charges.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, I take it the witness is actually charging that the people to whom he refers in these outlines of information are bad security risks. I take it the Senator is making that charge.

Senator McCARTHY. I am convinced of that. I think any normal man would be convinced of that. If I must do something in addition to that to make it possible for you to get the files, you can be sure I will do it.

Senator TYDINGS. I will consider that what you said are charges.

Senator McCARTHY. I will say before handing you this next document that it is difficult for me to understand the apparent perplexity of my Democratic colleagues on the committee with reference to the names that appear on these documents. I know the Senators are all aware of the fact that if the Communists did not enlist well-meaning and prominent persons in every phase of American life it would not be a front organization. When the FBI turned over the results of its probe of these front organizations to the Attorney General, it was well known that the names of prominent and reputable citizens were intermingled with the Communists and pro-Communists. Despite this knowledge he proceeded to declare without equivocation these organizations that I have specified as Communist front and as subversive and therefore dangerous to our national security; and I might say that the significance of these documents, Mr. Chairman, is not that this woman belongs to one organization that the Attorney General has said is subversive, but her long chain of activity starting from, I believe the first document is 1935, right up to date.

Senator TYDINGS. To reassure you, I do not know of anything you have said so far that we should not investigate.

Senator McCARTHY. Thank you.

Senator McMAHON. I gather, then, from what you have just said, that just because a person's name is on the list of sponsors of an organization which has been declared as—what is the language, "subversive"?

Senator McCARTHY. The Attorney General declares them subversive. Different committees have given them a different label.

Senator McMAHON. That that per se does not make a citizen suspect.

Senator McCARTHY. No. I think this, though, Senator. If you find someone in the State Department who is a member of a Commu-

nist front organization, then you should check the amount of activity he has had in that organization, his association with people who are known Communists. No, definitely not. There are some fine people who have been tricked into having their names placed on these. For example, I would not be surprised, Senator, if some of the members sitting at the table, who are certainly all loyal Americans, might have at some time or another received a letter from an organization, "Will you sponsor a dinner we are throwing for So-and-so?", and you might write back and say "All right."

I do think, however, when you get to people who are on loyalty boards, who are getting top secret clearance, then if you find they even belong to one Communist front organization we should go further. I think when you find that you have a long chain such as we have here, of 28, you have an extremely bad situation.

Senator McMAHON. The point you are making is that it is cumulative. One case might well be just casual and accidental, but your opinion is that it is cumulative, and if there are—how many has she been a member of?

Senator McCARTHY. Twenty-eight I have now. Most likely that is not the entire list.

Senator McMAHON. That is a great number and it is something to be looked into, and it would be very helpful, Senator, and of course I understand that you say you can't do it, but it would be very helpful to me in evaluating it to find how many she joined after the Attorney General went into them, and how many before.

This is said with no reference to this Kenyon woman, whom I never heard of before in my life, but there are some naive people in the country, too, that will join any old thing that comes along.

Senator McCARTHY. Someone so naive is a bad security risk, so naive that they would sponsor 28.

Senator McMAHON. I am not arguing that. I am just pointing out that it would be interesting to find out the dates this woman joined the organizations and when they were declared subversive.

Senator McCARTHY. That is one of the reasons I hope very quickly the committee hires a staff so that these matters can be checked into. I give the committee exhibit 4, a letterhead of this organization dated November 16, 1938, going back 12 years. The members will note that over 11 years ago Dorothy Kenyon was a sponsor of this organization which held a conference in Washington on December 10 of the same year.

Her Communist associates in this enterprise included Langston Hughes, Rockwell Kent, Lewis Merrill, Mervyn Rathborne, and Dirk J. Struick.

Senator TYDINGS. Put in all the names, Mr. Recorder, in addition to those the Senator has named.

(NOTE.—Other names on the letterhead marked exhibit 4 are as follows:)

Prof. Donald McConnell	Algernon Black
Dr. David Efron	Bruce Bliven
Louis Adamic	Dr. Franz Boas
Dr. Wallace W. Atwood	Heywood Broun
Eleanor Copenhaver Anderson	Erskine Caldwell
Prof. Hugo Fernandez Artucio	Charlotte Carr
Eunice Fuller Barhard	Bennett A. Cerf
Alfred M. Bingham	Evans A. Clark

Gifford A. Cochran	Max Lerner
Dr. Gilberto Concepcion De Gracia	Márine Lopes
Prof. George Counts	Jean Lyons
Malcolm Cowley	George Marshall
Prof. Horace Davis	Lewis Merrill
Prof. Jerome Davis	Dr. Clyde R. Miller
R. E. Diffendorfer	Prof. Gardner Murphy
Bailey W. Duffie	William Pickens
Dr. William K. Dodo	A. Phillip Randolph
Prof. Paul H. Douglas	David Saposs
Dr. Henry Grattan Doyle	Prof. Margaret Schlauch
John L. Elliott	Adelaide Schulkind
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild	Guy Emery Shipler
Prof. Irving Fisher	James T. Shotwell
Prof. Eugene Forsey	Upton Sinclair
Margaret Forsythe	George Soule
Frances R. Grant	Isobel Walker Soule
Alberto Grieve	Maxwell Stewart
Sidney Hillman	Isidore F. Stone
Prof. Arthur H. Holcombe	William Wachs
John Haynes Holmes	Prof. Goodwin Watson
Quincy Howe	Roy Wilkins
Rev. William Lloyd Imes	Dr. Max Winkler
Stanley M. Isaacs	Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Gardner Jackson	Max Yergan
Prof. Chester L. Jones	

Senator McCARTHY. The Senator will note this, that you have the names of the same men who have been publicly labeled as Communists on practically each one of these Communist-front organizations as a sponsor or one of the top officers. You will note also that the respectable names that you will find on one or two of these do not permeate the whole file.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, Senator. Conclude that page, and then we will try to quit; before you get to the next exhibit.

Senator McCARTHY. It might be of interest to the committee to know that Mervyn Rathborne, a consponsor with Miss Kenyon, has just testified for the Government at the trial of Harry Bridges, stating under oath that he was a member of the Communist Party at the time of this conference and that he was frequently a visitor at the White House.

I think it is important that the committee know that the Communist activities of Miss Kenyon are not only deep-rooted but extend back through the years. Her sponsorship of the doctrines and philosophy of this ruthless and Godless organization is not new.

It is inconceivable that this woman could collaborate with a score of organizations dedicated to the overthrow of our form of government by force and violence, participate in their activities, lend her name to their nefarious purposes and be ignorant of the whole sordid and un-American aspect of their work.

Senator TYDINGS. That finishes exhibit 4. The committee will stand in recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning, in this place.

Senator McCARTHY. May I ask the Chair before you adjourn how long you plan on proceeding tomorrow?

Senator TYDINGS. I would imagine we would go for probably an hour and a half for certain, and maybe 2 hours.

Senator McCARTHY. In other words, to 12:30 or 1 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p. m., the hearing was adjourned, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m. of the following day, Thursday, March 9, 1950.)

He was affiliated with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, which was denounced as a subversive organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This is the organization under whose auspices was held the Cultural and Science Conference for World Peace at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York from March 25 to 29, 1949, and which, incidentally, was denounced by the Secretary—

Senator TYDINGS. Which Secretary?

Senator McCARTHY. Secretary of State Acheson. If I can quote his exact words, I think he said it was "a sounding board for Russian propaganda."

This organization was denounced as an instrument of Soviet propaganda by the State Department.

Dr. Schuman's affiliations with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions are not casual. He was a member of its policy and program committee in 1948. To those who say many of these Communist-front connections have been at a time when we were friends with Russia, I call attention to the fact that there has been no break from even during the days of the Hitler-Stalin Pact right up until 1948 and 1949. You don't find any change whatsoever in their sponsorship of these Communist front organizations, and I might say that some individuals can come down and say "I didn't know about this organization; I didn't know anything about its aims," but not Dr. Schuman. When he belongs to the organizations I am going to give you, you can be sure he knows what he is doing. This is the man who lectures in the State Department.

He was a signer of a press release of the same organization on March 1, 1949. He was a member of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions for Wallace, according to the Daily Worker, August 18, 1948, page 7, and he again appeared as a sponsor, according to the Daily Worker on October 19, 1948, page 2.

Professor Schuman was a sponsor of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which was cited as subversive by the Attorney General, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

He was prominent in the affairs of the American Council on Soviet Relations, which has been cited by subversive by the Attorney General, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. He was a sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which has been cited by the same three official bodies as a communistic and subversive organization.

The American Russian Institute, which has also been the recipient of Professor Schuman's aid, has been cited as communistic and subversive by the Attorney General, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

The same adherence applies to the American Slav Congress, which the same three organizations have cited as subversive.

He sponsored the Civil Rights Congress, an organization termed subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities; and he was also affiliated with the Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, named communistic and subversive by the Attorney

General, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

Professor Schuman lent his name and prestige to the activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union, which was cited by all three of the above as officially a communistic and subversive organization. The African Aid Committee was named subversive and communistic by the Attorney General, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the California Un-American Activities Committee; and here again we have Professor Schuman as a sponsor. The same three agencies have declared subversive and communistic the National Conference of American Policy in China and the Far East. This is one he has been really active in. They called a conference under the auspices of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Here again we have Professor Schuman lending aid and comfort to a subversive organization.

We could perhaps continue for hours in elaborating on the pro-Communist affiliations of this consultant to the small group of "untouchables" who determine, force through, and carry out the foreign policy of this country.

I have chosen at random some of the organizations, all pro-Communist in nature, with which this man has been affiliated.

Incidentally, when I talked about this man's activities as a lecturer, I hope I made it clear that that was one of his activities in the State Department. He is also a consultant, one of the authorities on far-eastern affairs, naturally. A most casual survey of these organizations will indicate that, if he is not a card-holding member of the Communist Party, the difference is so slight that it is unimportant.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have before me the photostats of documents showing his connection with these organizations. In view of the fact that the Senate is in session, I am not going to take the Senators' time to read them.

Senator TYDINGS. They will be put in the record at this place as the Senator has marked them.

EXHIBIT 36

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN,  
New York 10, N. Y., February 8, 1949.

TESTIMONIAL TO ELLIS ISLAND HUNGER STRIKERS

CHARLES DOYLE—GERHART EISLER—IRVING POTASH—FERDINAND C. SMITH—JOHN WILLIAMSON

Hotel McAlpin, New York City, March 3, 1949

DEAR FRIEND: We invite you to join with us in a testimonial dinner to be held at the McAlpin Hotel, New York City, on Thursday evening, March 3, 1949, for the five men who participated in a hunger strike on Ellis Island, during March 1948.

These five men—Charles Doyle, Gerhart Eisler, Irving Potash, Ferdinand Smith, and John Williamson—united in a hunger strike in order that the constitutional right to bail should not be lost to the American people.

As you will remember, people all over the country joined in demonstrations for them and the principle for which they so heroically were ready to give their lives. As a result, bail was granted by the courts.

We are holding this testimonial on the first anniversary of their great fight which is not yet won. Bail has been granted to Irving Potash, Ferdinand Smith, and John Williamson by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. But it is still being denied to Charles Doyle and Gerhart Eisler, although they are at this moment free on the original bail granted by the courts.

Therefore, the fight for bail must go on. This testimonial must demonstrate our determination to continue the defense of Doyle and Eisler and to carry on an effective campaign to defeat the Justice Department's deportation drive.

We hope that you will participate with us in this testimonial. Reservations are \$6 per plate. Reservations for tables of 10 are \$60.

Sincerely yours,

REV. JOHN W. DARR, Jr.,  
Chairman, Board of Directors.

EXHIBIT 37

CHINA AID COUNCIL,  
AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY,  
Champaign-Urbana Branch, June 11, 1938.

Miss JANE SWANHAUSER,  
Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MISS SWANHAUSER: Since you give us the choice of day for Dr. Su, I will ask for Friday, June 24, or Saturday, June 25. I still leave it to you to decide which of these two days, since I feel it is possible some other branch may have spoken already for one of these two dates I named. Kindly write at once which date I may count upon and send me, first of all, any particulars about Dr. Su that I may use in publicity; also tell me if this trip is to raise money for I must pay \$15 flat if I use a university hall and make any sort of collection. We have little hope of raising much here, as the bowl of rice drive is now on, but we feel that if Dr. Su can speak to the 3,000 students of the summer school who come, many of them from country regions, that they will carry the idea of boycott, etc., back to their homes and spread the idea. I am sure you will consider even this worth while. I shall not be able to do any advertising until I hear from you, so please write as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

ANNA H. RUBIO.

EXHIBIT 38

AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE,  
New York 10, N. Y., January 20, 1950.

DEAR FRIEND: "We have but one appeal to make to you, our brothers abroad—your moral and financial support will highly be appreciated"—that is the message from leaders of the Nigerian workers recently shot down while striking for 80 cents a day pay.

A token contribution of \$200 has already been sent to these workers by our committee. We must send more. With your help, we can do so.

Even if you have already contributed to the African Aid Committee, we urge you to give again in this emergency.

And please help us in reaching others with this appeal by signing and returning the blank below.

Very truly yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois, *Chairman.*

To Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,  
*African Aid Committee:*

I'll be glad to get others to help, too.

Send me materials for soliciting contributions among my friends and organizations in response to the appeal from the workers of Nigeria.

Name -----

Address -----

(Please sign and return if you can assist in this way.)



## AFRICAN AID COMMITTEE SPONSORS

Elisha Bailey, Panama  
 Louise R. Berman, New York City  
 Dr. Phillips Brooks, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Peter B. Brown, Chicago, Ill.  
 Louis E. Burnham, Birmingham, Ala.  
 Hugh Bryson, San Francisco, Calif.  
 Charles A. Collins, New York City  
 Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, New York City  
 Evelyn Cooper, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Dr. Oliver C. Cox, Tuskegee Institute  
 Bindley C. Cyrus, Chicago, Ill.  
 Wendell P. Dabney, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Councilman Benj. J. Davis, Jr., New York City  
 E. A. Davis, Toronto, Canada  
 Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago, Ill.  
 Dean Dixon, New York City  
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 Shirley Graham, St. Albans, N. Y.  
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 Ada B. Jackson, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College  
 David Jenkins, California Labor School  
 Rev. C. Asapansa Johnson, Staten Island, N. Y.  
 Dr. R. O. Johnson, Atlanta, Ga.  
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 Ray Lev, New York City  
 Dorothy C. Lymas, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Albert Maltz, Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Dr. Cecil Marquez, New York City  
 George Marshall, New York City  
 Larkin Marshall, Macon, Ga.  
 Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College  
 Rev. Jack R. McMichael, New York City  
 John T. McManus, New York City  
 Rev. Wm. Howard Melish, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Herbert T. Miller, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Willard Motley, Chicago, Ill.  
 Rev. Chas. C. Moulton, Panama  
 Capt. Hugh Mulzac, Jamaica, N. Y.  
 George B. Murphy, Jr., New York City  
 Estelle Massey Osborne, New York City  
 Rev. George L. Paine, Boston, Mass.  
 Father Clarence Parker, Chicago, Ill.  
 William L. Patterson, New York City  
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 Dr. Charles A. Petroni, New York City  
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 O. John Rogge, New York City  
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 Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williamstown, Mass.  
 Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Columbia, S. C.  
 Ferdinand C. Smith, New York City  
 Rev. Stephen G. Spottswood, Washington, D. C.  
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 Deems Taylor, New York City  
 Rebecca Stiles Taylor, Chicago, Ill.  
 Alma Vessells, New York City  
 Henry A. Wallace, South Salem, N. Y.  
 Bishop Wm. J. Walls, Chicago, Ill.  
 Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Texas College  
 Dr. Gene Weltfish, New York City  
 Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Wilberforce, Ohio  
 Lindsay White, New York City  
 Dr. J. Finley Wilson, Washington, D. C.

## EXHIBIT 39

## CALL TO A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN POLICY IN CHINA AND THE FAR EAST

Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, January 23-25, 1948, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City

National Chairmen: T. A. Bisson, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs;  
Organizing Secretary Stephen H. Fritchman

"It is my considered opinion that future generations will regard the betrayal of the Chinese people by the American Government in the Truman administration as one of the greatest errors ever made in American diplomacy."—Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson, United States Marine Corps.

The three undersigned national chairmen call upon all interested organizations to send delegates and observers to a national conference on American policy in China and the Far East to be held in New York City, January 23, 24, and 25, 1948.

The purposes of the conference are to discuss and plan action on—

1. The halting of United States intervention in China and other friendly far eastern countries.
2. The carrying out of the democratic decisions of the Potsdam agreement and the Moscow conference regarding policies in Japan and Korea.
3. The relationship between far eastern policy and domestic well-being.
4. A program to achieve a genuinely democratic far eastern policy which alone can give any hope of peace.
5. Rallying all democratic Americans to support of such a program.

We Americans have always felt a pride and strength in our heritage as a democratic people. Our Government's present far eastern policy violates our most cherished American political beliefs and threatens our own democracy.

In China, the largest nation in earth, United States policy, through military, financial, and political intervention, is aiding in the imposition of a backward, corrupt and violently antidemocratic regime which the vast majority of the Chinese people themselves repudiate. The most reactionary elements in the United States are now scheming for further intervention on a scale which will subject the Chinese people to an autocracy dependent upon outside financial and military help—that is the United States—for its continued existence. This American intervention also violates the Charter of the United Nations.

In Japan, many observers, Americans and others, are deeply disturbed over the practically unilateral American occupation which seems less concerned about eradicating the reactionary elements responsible for Pearl Harbor than is now harnessing these elements to the dangerous ambitions of an antidemocratic American group.

In the Philippines, the American Government is giving energetic support to Filipino collaborationists and other betrayers of their country's independence; and by imposing upon the Philippines economic conditions inimical to their development as a free nation, is making a mockery of Philippine independence.

In Indonesia, the people struggling against their Dutch oppressors have been forsaken by an American policy evidently geared to safeguarding the status quo rather than to giving encouragement to those seeking freedom and a rising standard of living.

In southern Korea, where American occupation forces now rule over people who were our allies in the war, economic chaos and political fascism are the fruits of American policy.

The American democratic heritage and destiny is now suffering what may prove irrevocable damage from the present far-eastern policy of our Government. This policy is costing us taxpayers billions of futile dollars; it is postponing the healthy trans-Pacific trade we should be enjoying; it is creating conditions that contribute toward an economic depression here at home; it is fast making enemies of the millions of Asia who are our natural allies in the desire for a peaceful and democratic world; it is engendering international frictions which can easily lead us into another war.

It is time for democratic American citizens to act. In addition to organizational delegates and observers we invite individuals to attend as visitors.

This conference will bring together citizens who wish to secure the facts and understand the issues related to far eastern policy, and to discuss the means of

effective citizenship action on that policy. The conference will assist the delegates and individuals to carry back to their organizations and communities the facts, insights, convictions, and suggested methods of action necessary at this time. All decisions of the conference will come out of floor discussion and, we hope, will be implemented in whole or in part, by each organization in its own way.

T. A. BISSON,  
W. E. B. DuBois,  
STANLEY M. ISAACS,  
*National Chairmen.*

## PROGRAM

Friday, January 23

8 p. m.----- Conference mass meeting, City Center Casino, 135 West Fifty-fifth Street;  
Speakers: Anna Louise Strong, first hand report on the Far East, just returned from 1½ years in China and northern Korea; Dr. James G. Endicott, Toronto, recently returned China-born missionary for the United Church of Canada; Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell.

Saturday, January 24

9-10 a. m.----- Registration of delegates and observers, and meeting of sponsors.  
10-12 m.----- Election of conference committee.  
Delegates' hour: Opportunity to present questions to experts on the Far East.  
Keynote address: Hugh Bryson, San Francisco.  
2-5 p. m.----- What is the United States doing in China?<sup>1</sup>  
8-10:30 p. m.----- What is the United States doing in colonial areas?<sup>1</sup>  
Dramatic presentation by Theater Workshop.

Sunday, January 25

9:30-10:15 a. m.----- Memorial service for Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson, United States Marine Corps; address by Michael Straight, publisher, New Republic.  
10:15-12 m.----- What is the United States doing in Japan and Korea?<sup>1</sup>  
2-4:30 p. m.----- Report of conference committee; adoption of action program.  
Closing address: Paul Robeson.

## Adjournment.

Additional conference speakers include: Hugh DeLacy, Israel Epstein, Mark Gayn, and the three cochairmen, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, T. A. Bisson, and Stanley M. Isaacs. Further speakers will be announced.

## SPONSORS

(Partial listing)

Organizations are listed for the purpose of identification only. Such listing does not indicate sponsorship of the conference by these organizations

Louis Adamic, writer	Dr. Derk Bodde, University of Pennsylvania
Charlotte Adams, editor, Look magazine	Dr. Dwight Bradley, consulting psychologist
Dr. Thomas Addis, Leland Stanford University.	Joseph Brainen, chairman, American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists
Emily G. Balch, Nobel Peace Prize, 1946	Harry Bridges, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union
C. B. Baldwin, executive vice-chairman, Progressive Citizens of America	Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president, Palmer Memorial Institute
S. L. M. Barlow, composer	Hugh Bryson, president, National Union Marine Cooks and Stewards
John W. Bicknell, writer on the Far East	Henrietta Buckmaster, writer
Charles Bid'ien, executive secretary, American Committee for Free Indonesia	Angus Cameron, editor-in-chief, Little Brown & Co.
Dr. Algernon Black, executive leader, Ethical Culture Society	

<sup>1</sup> The major portion of these sessions will be devoted to delegates' discussions of positive action on far eastern policy.

Chu Tong, editor, China Daily News  
 Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University  
 Rev. Donald B. Cloward, executive secretary, Council on Christian Social Progress  
 Dr. Clark Walker Cummings, executive secretary, Metropolitan Church Federation, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Dr. H. W. L. Dana, educator  
 Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., executive secretary, United Christian Council for Democracy  
 Frank Marshall Davis, assistant editor, Chicago Star  
 Hugh DeLacy, former United States Congressman  
 Mrs. Elliott Dexter, Encino, Calif.  
 John T. Doles, Jr., lawyer  
 Dorothy Doyle, nurse, recently with UNRRA in China  
 Muriel Draper, executive vice president, Congress of American Women  
 Barrows Dunham, writer  
 James Durkin, president, United Office and Professional Workers of America  
 Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University  
 Frederick V. Field, writer  
 Olga Field, writer on the Far East  
 Dorothy Canfield Fisher, writer  
 Dr. Albert L. Franzke, University of Washington  
 Ben Gold, president, International Fur and Leather Workers Union  
 Ira Gollobin, chairman, American Veterans of the Philippine Campaign  
 Carlton B. Goodlett, president, San Francisco National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
 Kumar Goshal, writer on India  
 Edmonia Grant, Associate Administrator, Southern Conference for Human Welfare  
 Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach, University of Washington  
 Uta Hagen, actress  
 Dr. Calvin S. Hall, Western Reserve University  
 Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, Smith College  
 William Harrison, associate editor, Boston Chronicle  
 Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, University of Chicago, Divinity School  
 Charlotte Honig, businesswoman  
 Leo Huberman, writer  
 Harold Ingalls, executive secretary, Student Division, National YMCA  
 Philip Jaffe, publisher, Amerasia Associates  
 Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Haverford College  
 Philip O. Keeney, libraries officer, Supreme Command Allied Powers in Japan  
 Dr. J. Spencer Kennard, educator, former Baptist missionary to Japan and China  
 Dr. Raymond Kennedy, Yale University  
 Morris E. Kriensky, artist  
 Dr. John H. Lathrop, Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn  
 Richard E. Lauterbach, editor, the Magazine '47  
 Harold Leventhal, chairman, American Friends of India  
 Dr. Alain Locke, Howard University  
 Rev. Jack R. McMichael, executive secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Action  
 Albert Maltz, writer  
 Dr. William Mandel, writer  
 George Marshall, chairman, board of directors, Civil Rights Congress  
 Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard University  
 Dr. H. T. Medford, secretary, Foreign Missions, A. M. E. Zion Church  
 Dr. Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College, Columbia University  
 Kate L. Mitchell, writer on the Far East  
 Bernard J. Mooney, upstate New York, regional director, United Office and Professional Workers of America  
 Rev. Richard Morford, executive director, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship  
 Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Church  
 Grant W. Oakes, president, Farm Equipment Workers Union  
 Patrick H. O'Brien, judge of probate, Wayne County, Mich.  
 Mrs. Jessie L. O'Connor, Fort Worth, Tex.  
 Dr. Ernest Osborne, Columbia University  
 Bishop Edward Parsons, Protestant Episcopal Church  
 Robert Payne, writer on the Far East  
 Dr. Arthur Upham Pope, chancellor, Asia Institute  
 Martin Popper, board of directors, National Lawyer's Guild  
 Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, president, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School  
 Phelps Putman, poet.  
 Dr. Walter Rautenstrauch, educator  
 Dr. Raymond Robins, social economist  
 Holland Roberts, director, California Labor School  
 Paul Robeson, concert singer  
 Nathaniel L. Rock, lawyer  
 Sidney Roger, radio commentator, CIO  
 Edward Rohrbough, writer on the Far East  
 Walter Roseblum, president, Photo League

Maud Russell, executive director, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy  
 Rose Russell, legislative director, Teachers Union  
 Dr. W. Carson Ryan, University of North Carolina  
 Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College  
 Arthur Schutzer, New York City  
 Dr. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley College  
 Bernard Seeman, writer on the Far East  
 Joseph P. Selly, president, American Communications Association  
 Rev. Guy Emery Shipler, editor, The Churchman  
 Elie Siegmeister, composer  
 Harold G. Slingerland, chairman, Cheung County American Labor Party  
 Dr. Maud Slye, University of Chicago  
 Agnes Smedley, writer on the Far East  
 Christine B. Smith, president, National Association of Colored Women  
 Ferdinand C. Smith, secretary, national Maritime Union  
 Mrs. Edgar Snow, writer on the Far East  
 Johannes Steel, publisher, Johannes Steel Newsletter  
 Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz, San Diego State College  
 Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University  
 Martha Dodd Stern, writer  
 Annalee Stewart, president, U. S. Section, Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom  
 Paul Strand, artist  
 Frank E. Taylor, editor, Random House  
 Dr. Donald G. Tewksbury, Columbia University  
 Dr. Rexford G. Tugwell, University of Chicago  
 Jeanette Turner, executive secretary, New York City Consumer Council  
 Olive Van Horn, secretary for administrative affairs, National YWCA  
 Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg, formerly with UNRRA in China  
 Dr. Harry F. Ward, writer  
 Charles Weidman, dancer  
 Dr. Gene Weltfish, Columbia University  
 Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president, Wilberforce State College  
 Howard Willard, artist  
 Dr. James M. Williams, Hobart College  
 Ella Winter, writer  
 Justice James H. Wolfe, Supreme Court, State of Utah  
 Richard Yaffe, writer  
 Victor A. Yakhontoff, writer  
 William Zorach, sculptor

We urge immediate registration.

CONFERENCE APPLICATION

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 I am an individual visitor \_\_\_\_\_ Organizational delegate \_\_\_\_\_ Appointed  
 observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 Organization represented \_\_\_\_\_  
 Indicate whether: National \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Local \_\_\_\_\_  
 Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for registration fee (\$3 per delegate)

Admission to single sessions (morning, afternoon, or evening) \$1  
 Address requests for housing accommodations to organizing secretary  
 Contributions in support of the conference are invited

Address all communications to: The Organizing Secretary, Far Eastern Conference, 111 West Forty-second Street, New York 18, N. Y., Longacre 4-3943.

EXHIBIT 40

URGENT SUMMONS TO A CONGRESS ON CIVIL RIGHTS IN DETROIT, APRIL 27 AND 28, 1946, TO ORGANIZE AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE RISING FASCIST AGGRESSION IN THE UNITED STATES

Today's drive to subvert our democratic liberties is well-organized, well-heeled, insidious. It presents an emergency that emergency measures alone can meet. The great war against fascism is won, but the victory is far from secure. Only a coalition of all the forces of the people, through united action, can prevent its destruction.

Here's what is happening in the United States:

PROGRAM

*Congress on civil rights, Detroit, Mich., April 27 and 28, 1946*

Saturday morning, First Congregational Church (Woodward Avenue at Forest):  
 11 a. m., registration.  
 12 noon, opening luncheon.

Saturday afternoon, 2 p. m. to 6 p. m., Maccabees Auditorium (Woodward Avenue at Putnam):

Defense Against the Enemy Within—Presentation of key issues.  
 Protect Minorities for America's Defense—The fight against police terror in Columbia, Tenn., the Freeport killings, and other widespread violation of civil rights; results of campaigns on these cases.  
 Labor's Rights—First Line of Defense—The fight against the Case bill, police violence, the injunction menace.  
 Crush America's Fifth Column—The fight against the Rankin committee, Gerald L. K. Smith, the KKK, Bilbo and all domestic fascists.  
 The Menace of anti-Semitism and Jim Crow—The fight against terrorism, and discrimination in employment, housing, and education.  
 Initial report of resolutions committee; report of credentials committee; election of campaigns coordination committee.

Saturday evening, 8:30 p. m., reception for delegates by Michigan Civil Rights Federation.

Sunday, 9:30 a. m. to 3:30 p. m.:

Report of campaigns coordination committee. Discussion of proposals.  
 Luncheon recess.  
 Continued discussion and action on committee report.  
 Final report of resolutions committee.  
 Proposals for carrying out conference decisions.

Conference Headquarters: 600 Hammond Building, Fort and Woodward Avenues, Detroit. Telephone: Cadillac 6278.

Registration: At First Congregational Church from 11 a. m. to 2 p. m. on Saturday. After 2 p. m., at Maccabees auditorium. Registration fee: \$2 for each organization delegate, or individual.

Representation: Two representatives from each organization; interested individuals.

Conference luncheon: Saturday noon, at First Congressional Church. Reservations may be made at \$1.50 per plate. Please make reservations in advance. Luncheon speakers to be announced.

Accommodations: Reservations for hotel accommodations must be made in advance because of housing difficulties. Address all requests for reservations to New York headquarters of Congress on Civil Rights. For further details, additional copies of this call and general inquiry, send all communications to:

Congress on Civil Rights, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Reactionary forces, based on war-rich monopolies, the die-hard union breakers, red-baiters, and race haters, command the largest surviving fifth column in the world. They are turning the weapons and methods of fascism against the American people. They are prepared to destroy our democracy, even to the establishment of outright fascism.

Their program consists of smashing unions through strike provocation, injunctions, and legislation like the Case bill that would wipe out labor gains of a quarter of a century; spreading discrimination and hatred against minorities through violence against Negro civilians and veterans, particularly in the South, anti-Semitism and destruction of FEPC; maintaining the poll-tax system to disfranchise 10,000,000 Negro and white Americans; sapping the strength of labor and other organizations by using Hitler's prime weapon of red baiting, especially through revival of the Dies committee under Rankin.

This reactionary program has met the growing organized resistance of the labor movement and other groups and individuals who believe firmly in democratic liberties.

The popular response to such campaigns as FEPC and poll-tax repeal shows that the people will organize. Veterans are fighting discrimination and challenging the pro-Fascist press. Committees everywhere have sprung up to defend victims of police and lynch violence; the renewed activity of such Fascist spokesmen as Gerald L. K. Smith has brought widespread, fighting protests.

Labor has sharply stiffened the defense of its civil rights, and people in all walks of life are rallying with enthusiasm to labor's defense.

Now more than ever the united action of the democratic forces is needed to enable each organization and individual to exert maximum effectiveness in the realization of a common program. The elaboration of a campaign or series of

campaigns, coordinated in detail and Nation-wide in scope, is therefore essential to meet the challenges that today confront us all:

To safeguard and extend all democratic rights, especially the rights of labor, and of racial, political, religious and national minorities;

To combat all forms of discrimination against these groups;

To defend and aid victims of the fight for these rights;

To fight against domestic fascism and all its forms—Jim Crow, anti-Semitism, red-baiting, discrimination against the foreign born.

To these ends, we call upon civil rights, labor, religious, interracial, and other organizations and individuals to attend a congress on civil rights in Detroit on April 27 and 28, 1946, to formulate and agree upon a national program to defeat the offensive of reactionary and Fascist forces, and to consider all steps required to assure the maximum unification of effort to advance that program.

#### INITIATING COMMITTEE

Zlatko Balokovic, vice president, American Slav Congress	International Labor Defense
Elmer A. Benson, chairman, executive council, National Citizens PAC	George Marshall, chairman, National Federation Constitutional Liberties
Mary McLeod Bethune	Dr. Kirtley F. Mather
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president, Palmer Institute.	Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College
Col. Evans Carlson	Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Edward Chodorov	James G. Patton, president, National Farmers Union
Norman Corwin	Dr. Edwin McNeill Potent, president, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School
Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer, United Electric, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO	Paul Robeson
Jess Fletcher, vice president, Building Service Employees International Union, AFL	Edward G. Robinson
Clark Foreman, president, Southern Conference for Human Welfare	Wesley E. Sharer, co-chairman, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee
Carey McWilliams	Prof. John F. Shepard, president, Michigan Civil Rights Federation
Rep. Vito Marcantonio, president, In-	Johannes Steel
	Donald Ogden Stewart
	Milton Kaufman, executive secretary

#### SPONSORS

(Partial list)

Louis Adamic	Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, New York City
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James Egert Allen, president, New York State Conference NAACP Branches	Rev. W. Russel Bowie
Rep. Charles W. Anderson, Kentucky State Legislature	Louis E. Burnham, organizing secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress.
Judge William A. Anderson, Minneapolis	D. A. Cameron, editor, Little, Brown & Co.
Susan B. Anthony II, secretary, Congress of American Women	Councilman Charles N. Carr, Cleveland Del. Castle, Ship Scalers Union, local 589
Elmer J. F. Arndt, chairman, Commission Christian Social Action, Evangelical and Reformed Church	Rose Mae Catchings, president, Southern Negro Youth Congress
Bishop James C. Baker, Los Angeles	Prof. Emmanuel Chapman, chairman, Commission of Catholics for Human Rights
C. B. Baldwin, executive vice president, National Citizens PAC	Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University
Howard Bay, president, United Scenic Artists Local 829	Dean Nick Comfort, Oklahoma School of Religion
W. A. Bell, president, Miles College	Philip M. Connelly, secretary, Los Angeles CIO Council
Lewis Alan Berne, president, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians	
Warren K. Billings	

Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, New York City  
 A. A. Couch, president, Iowa Federation of Labor  
 Julius Crane, vice president, United Shoe Workers  
 George W. Crockett, Jr., executive director, Fair Practices Committee, UAW-CIO  
 Joseph Curran, president, National Maritime Union  
 Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York City  
 Adolph Dehn  
 Rep. Hugh De Lacy, Washington  
 Hon. Earl B. Dickerson, president, National Bar Association  
 Catherine Dunham  
 Roscoe Dunjee  
 N. H. Eagle, director of organization, United Rubber Workers  
 Prof. R. D. Feild, Tulane University  
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 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn  
 Eleanor Fowler, secretary, Congress of Women's Auxiliaries  
 Stephen H. Fritchman, editor, Christian Register  
 Leo Gallagher, Los Angeles  
 John Garfield  
 Sander Genis, manager, Twin City Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers  
 Elinor S. Gimbel, New York City  
 Leonard Golditch, secretary, National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism  
 Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago  
 L. A. Gossett, secretary, Georgia State CIO Council  
 Bishop J. A. Gregg, Kansas City, Kans.  
 Abner Green, secretary, American Commission for Protection of Foreign Born  
 Mel J. Heinritz, secretary, Wisconsin State CIO Council  
 Donald Henderson, president, Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers  
 Rev. Charles A. Hill, president, Detroit NAACP  
 James A. Hinton, president, State Conference of NAACP for South Carolina  
 Langston Hughes  
 Rev. Kenneth deP. Hughes, president, Boston NAACP  
 Hosea Hudson, local president, United Steel Workers, Birmingham  
 Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, chairman, Justice and Peace Committee, Central Conference of American Rabbis  
 Dr. D. V. Jemison, president, National Baptist Convention  
 Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Haverford, Pa.  
 J. F. Jurich, president, International Fishermen and Allied Workers  
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 Kenneth Leslie, editor, The Protestant  
 A. A. Liveright, executive director, American Council on Race Relations  
 Arthur Le Sueur, Duluth, Minn.  
 Bishop Francis J. McConnell  
 Prof. Edward W. McFarland, president, Metropolitan Council FEP, Detroit  
 O. E. McKaine, secretary, Progressive Democratic Party, South Carolina  
 Rev. Jack R. McMichael, secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Service  
 Herbert March, district director, United Packinghouse Workers, Chicago  
 Prof. F. O. Matthieson, Harvard University  
 Samuel D. Menin, Denver, Colo.  
 Lewis Merrill, president, United Office and Professional Workers  
 Saul Mills, secretary, New York CIO Council  
 Dr. George S. Mitchell, director, Veterans Service, Southern Regional Council  
 J. P. Mooney, organizer, Textile Workers Union, Bessemer, Ala.  
 Morris Muster, president, United Furniture Workers  
 Tom Neill, executive secretary, Servicemen's and Veterans' Welfare Committee, UERWMA  
 Josephine Nordstrand, secretary, Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation  
 Grant W. Oakes, president, United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers  
 Rep. Ellis E. Patterson, California  
 Boyd E. Payton, president, Virginia State CIO Council  
 Dr. Charles A. Petioni, chairman, West Indies National Council  
 Terry Pettus, president, Washington State CIO-PAC  
 Irving Potash, manager, Furriers Joint Council, New York  
 Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., New York City  
 Lee Pressman, general counsel, Congressman of Industrial Organizations  
 Councilman Michael J. Quill, president, Transport Workers Union  
 Thomas C. Rabbitt, Washington State senator  
 Mervyn Rathborne, secretary, California State CIO Council  
 Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia University  
 Earl Robinson  
 Reid Robinson, president, International Union, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers  
 Dorothy K. Roosevelt, executive secretary, Michigan Citizens Committee  
 Rep. William A. Rowan, Illinois  
 Rep. Charles R. Savage, Washington



William Jay Schieffelin	Senator Glen H. Taylor, Idaho
Prof. A. M. Schlesinger, Harvard University	Rep. Donald C. Teigland, Illinois State Legislature
Artur Schnabel	W. E. Tucker, president, Local 157, International Union of Brewery Workers, Dallas, Tex.
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College	Prof. Ralph E. Wager, Emory University
Joseph P. Selly, president, American Communications Association	Dr. Harry F. Ward
Henry R. Silberman, executive director, New England Division, American Jewish Congress	Courtney D. Ward, secretary, Painters District Council, Cleveland
Charles N. Smolikoff, director, Florida State CIO Council	Max Weber
Herbert K. Sorrell, president, Conference of Studio Unions, AFL	Lulu B. White, secretary, Houston, Tex., NAACP
Christina Stead	Rev. Claude C. Williams, director, People's Institute of Applied Religion
Max Sein, secretary, Cincinnati CIO Council	James H. Wolfe, Justice, State Supreme Court, Utah
A. E. Stevenson, secretary, Cleveland CIO Council	Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., secretary, Fraternal Council of Negro Churches
Prof. Dirk J. Struik, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Dr. Max Yergan, president, National Negro Congress
Glenn J. Talhott, president, North Dakota Farmers Union	Jack Zeller, educational director, UAW-CIO

NOTE.—Organizations listed for identification only.

EXHIBIT 41

APRIL 7, 1948.

*Schuman signs this.*

A STATEMENT OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS

As American educators, we are much disturbed by one of the byproducts of the Presidential "loyalty order"—the listing of a number of schools as "subversive" organizations by the Attorney General of the United States. The charge that these schools "appear" to be "adjuncts of the Communist Party" could be made against any institution that teaches Marxism, and could thus always be used as a device for labeling Marxist teaching subversive.

We may or may not believe in Marxist schools, Catholic schools, single-tax schools, or any other schools with particular social outlooks. We are alarmed that any official of the American Government assumes the power officially to proclaim the teaching and study of an economic philosophy to be subversive.

We believe that every group—including Marxists—has the right, under the American Constitution, to teach and propagate its ideas, and that students, whether they are Marxists or not, have the right to study Marxism and to judge for themselves the validity of its teachings. If this right can be denied by arbitrary government fiat—in the sense that teaching at or attending a school where such ideas are taught is declared "subversive"—then similarly any other ideas not approved by those in power can as readily be stifled.

We recognize, for example, that the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York is, in its teaching of the social sciences, avowedly Marxist. It operates as an independent institution under its board of trustees, and clearly defines its educational objectives and organization in its bulletins. Whatever one might think of Marxism as a method or a body of doctrine, it is clear that the action of the Attorney General in stigmatizing such institutions as "subversive," especially without hearing or trial, represents an extremely dangerous step in the direction of thought control and the institution of thought police. If Marxist schools can be declared subversive, then social science teachers who assign Marxist materials or express Marxist views may quickly be subjected to the same label. Freedom of inquiry will be gravely imperiled.

The President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy (December 15, 1947) has ably stated: "The social role of education in a democratic society is at once to insure equal liberty and equal opportunity to differing individuals and groups, and to enable the citizens to understand, appraise, and redirect forces, men, and events as these tend to strengthen or to weaken their liberties."

In this spirit, we ask that the President of the United States and the Attorney General withdraw the blacklist of Marxist and labor educational institutions, as repugnant to our national ideal of freedom of thought.

## SIGNERS OF STATEMENT OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS

Professor	Institution (for identification only)
Thomas Addis	Stanford University.
Edward S. Allan	Iowa State College.
Russell Ames	Queens College.
Earl Maynard Aris	Albion College.
Francis M. Barbour	Southern Illinois University.
Fred Asa Barnes	Cornell (retired).
Ralph Beals	University of California at Los Angeles.
Edward Biberman	
Leonard Bloomfield	Yale University.
Cornellus Bol	Stanford (retired).
Earl C. Bowman	De Pauw University
Lyman R. Bradley	New York University.
Theodore Brameld	Do.
Joseph Bressler	Brooklyn College.
Dorothy Brewster	Columbia University.
John Bridge	City College of New York.
Arthur G. Brodeur	University of California.
Charles N. Brooks	Harvard University.
William B. Bryan	Macalester College, Minnesota.
Edwin Berry Burgum	New York University.
John L. Buys	St. Lawrence University.
Robert Chambers	New York University (retired).
Charles M. Child	Stanford University.
Edith F. Clafin	Columbia University.
Edwin L. Clarke	Rollins College.
Willson L. Coates	Sarah Lawrence College.
M. Robert Cobbledick	Connecticut College.
Joseph W. Cohen	University of Colorado.
Philip W. L. Cox	New York University.
Oliver C. Cox	Tuskegee Institute.
Grace L. Coyle	Western Reserve University.
Abraham Cronbach	Hebrew Union College.
Dean W. C. Curtis	University of Missouri (emeritus).
John J. De Boer	University of Illinois.
Harl Douglass	Director, School of Education, University of Colorado.
H. M. Doult	University of Akron.
Arnold Dresden	Swarthmore College.
W. E. B. DuBois	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
Lyford P. Edwards	Bard College.
Franklin Edgerton	Yale Law School.
Thomas D. Elliot	Northwestern University.
Albert I. Elkus	University of California.
Thomas I. Emerson	Yale University.
Bergen Evans	Northwestern University.
Frederic Ewen	Brooklyn College.
Henry Pratt Fairchild	New York University.
Phillip S. Foner	Jefferson School.
Abraham Edel	City College of New York.
Frances A. Foster	Vassar College.
Royal W. France	Rollins College.
Harold A. Freeman	Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Reginald F. French	Amherst College.
Henrietta V. Friedman	Hunter College.
Wendell H. Furry	Harvard University.
David R. Goodard	University of Pennsylvania.
Erwin R. Goodenough	Yale University.
Ralph H. Gundlach	University of Washington.
Calvin S. Hall	Western Reserve University.

## SIGNERS OF STATEMENT OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS—continued

Professor	Institution (for identification only)
Victor E. Hall	Stanford University.
R. Travis Hardaway	Queens College.
Harrison Harley	Simmons College.
Virginia Harlow	De Pauw University.
Robert J. Havighurst	University of Chicago.
Harold Haydon	Do.
G. A. Hedger	University of Cincinnati (retired).
Virgil B. Heltzel	Northwestern University.
J. Allen Hickerson	New Haven State Teachers College.
Phillip M. Hicks	Swarthmore.
Ernest R. Hilgard	Stanford University.
Stefan Hirsch	Bard College.
Harry Hoijer	University of California at Los Angeles.
Hamilton Holt	President, Rollins College.
Harold Hotelling	University of North Carolina.
Abbott G. Houk	St. Lawrence University.
Abbott Kaplan	University of California at Los Angeles
Forrest M. Keen	Heidelberg College.
Raymond Kennedy	Yale.
Walter B. Keighton	Swarthmore.
C. Wendell King	Rollins College.
Paul Kirkpatrick	Stanford University.
Samuel Kliger	Duke University.
John I. Kolehmainen	Heidelberg College.
Luther P. Jackson	Virginia State College.
William Jaffe	Northwestern University.
Harold N. Lee	Tulane University.
Paul L. Lehmann	Princeton Theological Seminary.
Norman Levinson	Mass. Institute of Technology.
Alton A. Lindsey	
Gerhard Loose	University of Colorado.
Chaplain Sidney Lovett	Yale.
Robert S. Lynd	Columbia.
Curtiss MacDougall	Northwestern University.
New MacMinn	Do.
Wilfred H. Mainwaring	Stanford University (emeritus).
Luther B. Marchant	Mills College.
John M. Marsalka	Yale.
F. O. Matthiessen	Harvard University.
Wesley H. Maurer	University of Michigan.
Kenneth O. May	
Henry L. McClintock	University of Minnesota Law School.
V. J. McGill	
J. F. Mack	Oberlin College.
Kirtley F. Mather	Harvard.
Clyde Miller	Columbia.
Ermina Mills	De Pauw University.
Julia Neely	Southern Illinois University.
Arthur H. Nethercot	Northwestern University.
Robert Hastings Nichols	Union Theological Seminary (emeritus).
F. S. C. Northrop	Yale.
Michael Pargment	University of Michigan.
Ralph Barton Perry	Harvard (emeritus).
John P. Peters	New Haven, Conn.
Edith Phillips	Swarthmore.
Herbert J. Phillips	University of Washington.
Frank W. Pitman	Pomona College (emeritus).
Walter Rautenstrauch	Columbia (emeritus).
Ira De A. Reid	Atlanta University.
George F. Reynolds	University of Colorado (emeritus).
Sarah R. Riedman	Brooklyn College.
Bernard F. Riess	Hunter College.
Holland Roberts	California Labor School.
Theodore Rosebury	Columbia University.

## SIGNERS OF STATEMENT OF AMERICAN EDUCATORS—continued

Professor	Institution (for identification only)
Alexander Sandow.....	New York University.
Margaret Schlauch.....	Do.
Frederick L. Schuman.....	Williams College.
Agner H. Schroeder.....	Western Reserve University.
Walter Sliz.....	Swarthmore.
Harry Slochower.....	Brooklyn College.
William C. Smith.....	Linfield College.
Willard Smith.....	Mills College.
James D. Sorber.....	Swarthmore.
Bertha K. Stavrianos.....	Roosevelt College of Chicago.
Bernard J. Stern.....	Columbia.
Dirk J. Struik.....	Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Ernest L. Talbert.....	University of Cincinnati.
Williametta C. Thomson.....	Syracuse University.
Miriam D. Thompkins.....	Columbia.
Charles Trinkaus.....	Sarah Lawrence College.
William Lewis Troyer.....	Albion College.
Rexford Guy Tugwell.....	University of Chicago.
Colston E. Warne.....	Amherst College.
Edward K. Weaver.....	Alabama State Teachers College.
David L. Webster.....	Stanford University.
Charles H. Wesley.....	President, Wilberforce University.
Louis Weisner.....	Hunter College.
F. W. Weymouth.....	Stanford University.
George F. Whicher.....	Amherst College.
Samuel K. Workman.....	Northwestern University.
Henry N. Wieman.....	University of Chicago.
Edward H. Zabriskie.....	Rutgers University.
Thomas Woody.....	University of Pennsylvania.
Eugene C. Holmes.....	Howard University.
Stuart Mudd.....	University of Pennsylvania Medical School.

## EXHIBIT 42

TO HONOR A GREAT AMERICAN ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF HIS COURAGEOUS  
LAUNCHING OF THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

You are cordially invited to join us in honoring Henry A. Wallace, a great leader and a wonderful human being at a dinner, at the Hotel Astor, New York City, Monday evening, September 12, 1949, at 7 o'clock.

Couvert: \$10—dress optional.

R. S. V. P.

TED O. THACKREY, *Dinner Chairman.*

Three years ago, a man of courage and principle and great concern for his fellow man raised his voice against what he regarded as a betrayal of the people.

His conscience aflame, he spoke up, at Madison Square Garden, on September 12, 1946, against the drift away from the Roosevelt path of peace and cooperation.

He did this at great personal sacrifice. Just as 2 years earlier when his denunciation of Jim Crow at the Democratic National Convention cost him the Presidency, so now his Jeremiah-like warning led inevitably to his resignation from the Cabinet a few days later.

On that September 12, Henry A. Wallace launched, and has since led with magnificent integrity, the resistance movement that has given organized expression to the peace forces of America. Some day this movement will be judged in true perspective and all who have participated in it will have reason to be proud.

Funds from this dinner will be used to further Mr. Wallace's great work as the leader of the Progressive Party.

## DINNER SPONSORS

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Oliver S. Allen	Thomas Fitzpatrick	Hannah Kirtz
Irving Andors	Russell H. Fluent	Harry G. Kriegel
Robenia Anthony	Clark Foreman	Leo Krzycki
I. Duke Avnet	Clemens J. France	Corliss Lamont
Homer Ayres	Lew Frank, Jr.	Millard Lampell
C. B. Baldwin	Patricia Murphy Frank	Marjorie Lansing
Verda Barnes	Prof. Mitchell Franklin	Karly Larsen
Prof. Cyrus P. Barnum, Jr.	Dr. Richard A. Freedman	John La Touche
Mrs. Moses Barron	Dr. Asa B. Friedman	Arthur Laurents
Dr. Edward K. Barsky	Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman	James D. Le Cron
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Dr. Vincent Bellaflore	Mrs. William S. Gallmor	Ray Lev
David Beloff	Zalmon Garfield	Grace K. Liebman
Elmer A. Benson	A. J. Gelb	Irina Lindheim
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Rev. Dudley H. Burr	Jack Greenbaum	Vito Marcantonio
Dr. Allan M. Butler	William Gropper	James Martin
Angus Cameron	Ewart G. Guinier	John Martin
Dr. Ulysses Campbell	Uta Hagen	Winfred L. Martin-
Dr. John E. T. Camper	Vincent Hallinan	dale
Herman Cherry	Mrs. Vincent Hallinan	Mary Bacon Mason
Jerome Chodorov	Dashiel Hammett	Prof. F. O. Matthiessen
John M. Coe	E. Y. Harburg	Dr. Leo Mayer
Louis Cohen	Mrs. E. Y. Harburg	Mrs. Leo Mayer
Charles A. Collins	Dr. Fowler Harper	Rev. William Howard
Fannie Cook	Dr. Marion Hathway	Melish
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Prof. Henry W. Longfellow	Lillian Hellman	Clyde R. Miller
Dana	Donald Henderson	William H. Miller
Francis Danowski	Erma L. Henderson	Dimitri Mitro-
Zoltan Deak	Edith Weil Hertz	poulos
John J. DeBoer	Rev. Charles A. Hill	Mrs. Albert Mizzy
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Freda Diamond	Leo Huberman	Jacob Moscovitz
Harry L. Diehl	Rev. Kenneth deP. Hughes	Stanley Moss
Martha Dodd	James Imbrie	Rev. Arthur W.
Dr. Barnet Dorwitt	Jeremiah C. Ingersoll	Moulton
Olin Downes	Minneola P. Ingersoll	Russell Nixon
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Dr. Lionel Ovesey	Norman Rosten	Elsie H. Tyndale
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Robert Patterson	Lee Sabinson	Mary Van Kleeck
Dr. Linus Pauling	Dr. Artur Schnabel	Katherine Van Orden
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A. L. Pomerantz	Theodore Shapiro	Dr. Harry F. Ward
Martin Popper	Agnes Smedley	Alice H. Ware
Prof. Edward A. Post	Dr. Randolph B. Smith	Goldie Watson
George Provost	Raphael Soyer	Dr. William H. Watts
Harry Ragozin	Mrs. Lawrence D. Steefel	Max Weber
Mrs. Harry Ragozin	Johannes Steel	Dr. Gene Weltfish
Willard B. Ransom	Boris R. Steinberg	Mrs. Louis Wender
Bernard Reswick	Alfred K. Stern	Prof. Frank W. Wey-
Libby Holman Reynolds	I. F. Stone	mouth
Dr. John G. Rideout	Fred W. Stover	Rev. Elliot White
Paul Robeson	Frieda Strassler	Mrs. Elliot White
Eslanda Goode Robeson	Dr. Dirk J. Struik	Henry Willcox
Col. Raymond Robins	Paul M. Sweezy	Mrs. Henry Willcox
Earl Robinson	Helen Tamiris	James Waterman Wise
Reid Robinson	Dr. I. M. Tarlov	Bert Witt
Sidney Roger	Dr. Alva W. Taylor	Alexander Wright
O. John Rogge	Mandel A. Terman	Herman Wright
Harold J. Rome	P. Frankel Thau	George Wuchnich
Dr. Samuel Rosen	Jacob Turner	Coleman Young
Mrs. Samuel Rosen	Mrs. Jacob Turner	Joseph Zwilling
Paul L. Ross	Jerry Tyler	Mrs. Joseph Zwilling

## EXHIBIT 43

[Bureau of Academic Freedom, National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions,  
49 West Forty-fourth Street, New York 18 (Johanna Grant)]

For release Tuesday, March 1, 1949.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY LEADING EDUCATORS CALL FOR REINSTATEMENT OF  
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PROFESSORS

LETTERS TO DR. ALLEN CALLS FIRINGS THREAT TO ENTIRE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

One hundred and fifty educational leaders from more than 50 colleges and universities throughout the country have urged Dr. Raymond Allen, president of the University of Washington, to reinstate with full rights of tenure the 3 professors recently discharged from the university for membership in or "ambiguous relationship to" the Communist Party in a letter released today (Tuesday) by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Dr. Christian Gauss, dean emeritus of Princeton University; Prof. L. C. Dunn of Columbia University; Dr. L. B. Arguimbau, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Dr. Howard Mumford Jones, of Harvard University; and Prof. Robert Chambers, of New York University, are among the signers of the letter which characterizes the firings as a "shocking repudiation" of the principles of democracy and academic freedom.

Other signatures to the letter, which has also been sent to the board of regents of the University of Washington, include: Dr. David Haber, Yale Law School; Prof. Colston Warne, Amherst College; Dr. Harl R. Douglass, director of the College of Education, University of Colorado; Dr. Frank W. Weymouth, Stanford University; Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge; Dr. W. C. H. Prentice of Swarthmore College; Dr. I. M. Kolthoff, University of Minnesota; and Dr. T. W. Reese, Mount Holyoke College.

Following is the complete text of the letter, released by Dr. Clyde R. Miller, director of the NCASP Bureau on Academic Freedom:

"The principle that every citizen has a right to his personal beliefs and associations and to voluntary participation in the affairs of the community is fundamental to the traditional American concepts of democracy and academic freedom.

"The recent decision of the University of Washington to dismiss three faculty members on the basis of membership in the Communist Party, or on the premise of "guilt by association," is a shocking repudiation of this principle. If these dismissed professors are not reinstated, the result will be irreparable damage to all educational institutions and particularly to the University of Washington.

"The university's action, if it is not swiftly reversed, will set a precedent for the dismissal of any instructor for any personal beliefs and associations.

"As educators, deeply concerned for our own civil rights and those of our fellow citizens, and cognizant of the further implications of this action as a threat to our entire educational system, we urge the immediate reinstatement, with full rights of tenure, of the dismissed professors, Phillips, Butterworth, and Gundlach."

List of other professors whose names appear on the statement are attached.

**SIGNERS OF STATEMENT TO PRESIDENT ALLEN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON**

(Universities and colleges listed for identification purposes only)

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(Partial list as of February 21, 1949.)

EXHIBIT 44

CULTURE AND THE CRISIS

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE WRITERS, ARTISTS, TEACHERS, PHYSICIANS, ENGINEERS, SCIENTISTS, AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford

In October this group was organized as the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford. An editorial committee was appointed and instructed to expand the original statement into a 10,000-word open letter, and publish it as an election pamphlet. This pamphlet is now issued under the title of "Culture and the Crisis."

Leonie Adams	H. W. L. Dana	Matthew Josephson
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Five cents per copy; \$1 for 25; \$3.50 for 100.

Send orders to League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

EXHIBIT 45

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, AS SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE LAST WEEK OF AUGUST 1944. AN INCOMPLETE LIST WAS PUBLISHED IN THE DAILY WORKER OF JULY 15, 1944

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 Alexander, Dr. Will W., vice president, Julius Rosenwald Fund, North Carolina  
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 Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, New York City  
 Baldwin, C. B., assistant chairman, CIO Political Action Committee, New York  
 Balokovic, Zlatko, president, United Committee of South Slavic Americans, New York  
 Barnes, Verda White, director, women's division, CIO Political Action Committee, New York  
 Bauer, Catherine, author, California  
 Benet, William Rose, poet, New York  
 Benson, Elmer A., ex-Governor, Minnesota  
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 Blaine, Emmons (Mrs.), Chicago, Ill.  
 Bliven, Bruce, editor, New Republic, New York  
 Boas, Dr. Ernst P., New York City  
 Bowie, Dr. W. Russell, professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York  
 Bremer, Otto, banker, St. Paul, Minn.  
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 Burke, J. Frank, Pasadena, Calif.  
 Butkovich, John D., president, Croatian Fraternal Union, Pennsylvania  
 Carey, James B., secretary-treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.  
 Clyde, Ethel (Mrs.), Huntington, Long Island  
 Connelly, Marc, Los Angeles, Calif.  
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 Coolidge, Albert Sprague, professor, Harvard University, Massachusetts  
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 Dalrymple, Sherman H., president, United Rubber Workers of America, Ohio  
 Davis, Dr. Michael M., editor, Medical Care, New York  
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 DuPont, Zara, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Durr, Clifford (Mrs.), vice chairman, National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, Virginia  
 Elliot, Thomas H., attorney, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Embree, Edwin R., president, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Illinois  
 Epstein, Henry, attorney, New York City  
 Fitzgerald, Albert J., president, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, New York.  
 Foreman, Clark, president, Southern Conference for Human Welfare.  
 Frazier, Dr. E. Franklin, professor of sociology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.  
 Galbraith, John Kenneth, editorial department, Fortune Magazine.  
 Gimbel, Elinor, Committee for the Care of Young Children in Wartime, New York City.  
 Green, John, president, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, New Jersey.  
 Gutknecht, John, judge, municipal court, Chicago, Ill.  
 Harburg, E. Y., motion picture director, Hollywood, Calif.  
 Hastie, William, judge, dean, Howard Law School, Washington, D. C.  
 Hays, Mortimer, attorney, New York City.

Haywood, Allan S., administrator, Federal Workers of America, Washington, D. C.

Hecht, Ben, writer, California.

Hewes, L. I., Jr., Palo Alto, Calif., National Council on Race Relations.

Hillman, Sidney, president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Hollander, Sidney, manufacturer, Maryland.

Hughes, Langston, poet, New York.

Imbrie, James, banker, Trenton, N. J.

Kenyon, Dorothy, judge, New York City.

Kingdon, Dr. Frank, author, New York.

Kirchwey, Freda, publisher, the Nation, New York.

Krzycki, Leo, president, American Slav Congress, New York.

Kullkowsky, Adam, publisher, Opportunity, Virginia.

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Lapp, John, independent labor conciliator, Chicago, Ill.

LeCron, James, assistant to Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture, Berkeley, Calif.

Lee, Canada, actor, New York City.

Lerner, Max, author, editor, PM, New York.

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Lewis, John Frederick, president, Art Alliance, Philadelphia, Pa.

Lewis, William Draper, Philadelphia, Pa.

Lochard, Dr. Meitz T., editor, Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Loeb, James, secretary, Union for Democratic Action, New York.

Luyten, Dr. W. J., professor of astronomy, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Mason, Lucy Randolph, Atlanta, Ga.

Maurer, Dr. Wesley, School of Journalism, University of Michigan.

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McGill, James H., McGill Manufacturing Co., Valparaiso, Ind.

McMahon, Francis, professor, University of Chicago, Ill.

McWilliams, Cary, attorney, writer, Los Angeles, Calif.

Motherwell, Hiram, author, New York.

Murray, Phillip, president, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

Mulzac, Capt. Hugh, United States merchant marine, Jamaica, Long Island.

Neilson, William A., educator, Falls Village, Conn.

Niebuhr, Dr. Reinhold, professor, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Norris, Hon. George W., Nebraska.

Osowski, Dr. W. T., president, American Slav Congress, Michigan.

Patton, James G., president, National Farmers Union, Colorado.

Perry, Jennings, editor, Nashville Tennessean, Tennessee.

Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce, Washington, D. C.

Pinchot, Gifford, Milford, Pa.

Platek, V. X., president, National Slovak Society, Pennsylvania.

Pope, Dr. Liston, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

Popper, Martin, executive secretary, National Lawyers Guild.

Porter, Katherine Anne, writer, New York.

Poynter, Nelson, publisher, St. Petersburg Times, Florida.

Quillet, Judge George L., municipal court, Chicago, Ill.

Ratica, Peter, president, United Russian Orthodox Brotherhood of America, Pennsylvania.

Reid, Dr. Ira., associate director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

Reynolds, J. Louis, Reynolds Metals Co., Virginia.

Ricker, A. W., editor, Farm Union Herald, St. Paul, Minn.

Rieve, Emil, president, Textile Workers Union of America, New York.

Robeson, Paul, actor, New York.

Robinson, Edward G., Hollywood, Calif.

Robinson, Mrs. Edward G., Hollywood, Calif.

Robinson, Reid, president, United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America, Colorado.

Rosenblum, Frank, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York.  
 Rosenthal, Morris S., Stein, Hall & Co., Inc., New York.  
 Ross, Mrs. J. D., Seattle, Wash.  
 Ryan, H. Frank, managing editor, Courier-Post, Camden, N. J.  
 Sackett, Sheldon F., editor, Coos Bay Times, Marshfield, Oreg.  
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., professor of history, Harvard University.  
 Schuman, Frederick L., professor of international relations, Williams College, Massachusetts.  
 Schwartz, C. K., attorney, Chicago, Ill.  
 Seiferheld, David F., president, N. Erlanger Blumgart & Co., New York City.  
 Smathers, Hon. William H., New Jersey.  
 Smith, Lillian, editor, South Today, and author, "Strange Fruit", Georgia.  
 Smith, S. Stephenson, Eugene, Oreg.  
 Soule, George, associate editor, New Republic, New York City.  
 Speir, Mercedes Powell, president, Richmond Consumers Cooperative, Richmond, Va.  
 Steele, Julian D., president, Boston Branch, NAACP, Boston, Mass.  
 Sweezey, Alan, professor of economics, Williams College, Massachusetts.  
 Stone, Maurice L., business executive, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York.  
 Thomas, R. J., president, United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Detroit, Mich.  
 Tilly, Mrs. M. E., jurisdictional secretary of Christian social relations of the southeastern jurisdiction of the Women's Society for Christian Service, Methodist Church, Georgia.  
 Tobias, Dr. Channing H., member of Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation and Mayor's Committee on Unity, New York City.  
 Townsend, Willard, president, United Transport Service Employees of America, Chicago, Ill.  
 Van Kleeck, Mary, Russell-Sage Foundation, New York City.  
 Walsh, J. Raymond, director of research, CIO Political Action Committee, New York.  
 Waring, P. Alston, farmer-author, New Hope, Pa.  
 Weaver, Dr. Robert C., Mayor's Committee on Racial Relations, Chicago, Ill.  
 Welles, Orson, Hollywood, Calif.  
 Wesley, Carter, publisher, Houston Informer, Tex.  
 Wheelwright, Mrs. Ellen DuPont, Wilmington, Del.  
 Whitney, A. F., president, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Ohio.  
 Williams, Aubrey, National Farmers Union, Washington, D. C.  
 Wilson, Mrs. Luke I., Bethesda, Md.  
 Wise, James Waterman, author, radio commentator, New York.  
 Wright, Jr., Bishop R. R., executive secretary, Negro Fraternal Council of Churches in America, Ohio.  
 Young, P. B., publisher, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Virginia.  
 Zeman, Jr., Stephen, president, Slovak Evangelical Union, Pennsylvania.  
 Zmrhal, Prof. Jaroslav J., president, Czechoslovak National Council, Illinois.

## EXHIBIT 46

[From Daily Worker, New York, Wednesday, April 16, 1947]

## NOTABLES DEFEND COMMUNIST RIGHTS

More than 100 prominent individuals yesterday called upon Congress to defeat the various "exceptional and punitive measures directed against the Communist Party," now in the hands of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Signers of the letter include Thomas Mann, Franklin P. Adams, Vincent Sheean, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College, Mr. and Mrs. Sherwood Eddy, Mrs. Margaret Sanger Slee, Jo Davidson, Garson Kanin, Libby Holman, and Dean Walter G. Mudder of Boston University School of Theology.

"Legislation such as that proposed by Congressmen Rankin, Sheppard, Hartley, Parnell Thomas, and McDonough follows the Hitler pattern," the signers declared in a letter to House Speaker Joseph Martin, released by the Civil Rights Congress.

"The Communist Party is a legal American political party. We see nothing in its program, record or activities, either in war or peace to justify the enactment of the repressive legislation now being urged upon the Congress in an atmosphere of an organized hysteria."

Among the other signers of the letter are Samuel L. M. Barlow, Sholem Asch, Elmer A. Benson, former Governor of Minnesota; Prof. S. P. Breckenridge, University of Chicago; Zlatko Balokovic, Professors Archibald Cox, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana and F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard University; Prof. J. Frank Dobie, University of Texas, Adolf Dehn.

Also, Mayor Cornelius D. Scully, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles Houston, attorney Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City; Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Howard Fast, Dr. Harry F. Ward, John Howard Lawson, Agnes Smedley, Rev. Charles F. McClenan, Cleveland, Ohio; Arthur Miller, Artur Schnabel, Dashiell Hammett, and Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president, Palmer Memorial Institute.

Also, Max Weber, William Jay Schieffelin, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Bishop W. Y. Bell, Cordele, Ga.; Matthew Josephson, historian; Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan, Miami, Fla.; Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia attorney; Prof. Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago Law School; George Marshall and Milton Kaufman, Civil Rights Congress.

(Titles and institutions for identification only.)

EXHIBIT 47

NATIONAL WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE,  
39 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

*For A. M. Release, Friday, March 26, 1948*

Formation of a 700-member National Wallace for President Committee was announced yesterday (Thursday) by Elmer A. Benson, former Minnesota Governor and chairman of the Wallace group.

The committee will hold its first meeting in Chicago April 9, 10, and 11, to make plans for the formation of a new national political party and to plan the program for the Wallace campaign.

Programs for the various divisions of the Wallace committee will be drafted on the opening day of the meeting. The divisions include those for labor, women, professional groups, nationality groups, youth, and farm.

On April 10 and through part of April 11, State directors from approximately 40 States will report on their organizational progress and their drive to put Wallace's name on the ballot. The press will be admitted to this session of the meeting.

On the night of April 10 the committee members will attend a mass rally at the Chicago Stadium, where both Mr. Wallace and Senator Glen Taylor will speak.

The Chicago meeting will also issue the call for the new party convention and set the date and place.

Eleven new State parties have already been formed by Wallace groups. Plans are already under way for forming new parties shortly in 24 other States.

Among the 700 members of the committee are:

Zlatko Balokovic, violinist and president of the American Slav Congress, New York; Charlotta Bass, California publisher; Leonard Bernstein, musician, New York; Bart J. Bok, assistant director of Harvard University Observatory, Massachusetts; Harry Bridges, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, California; Charlotte Hawkins Brown, educator, North Carolina; Scott Buchanan, educator, Massachusetts; Quentin Burdick, education director of North Dakota Farmers Union; Dr. Allan N. Butler, Harvard Medical School, Massachusetts; Hugh Bryson, president, Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, CIO; Mrs. Evans Carlson, Oregon; John Clark, president, Mine, Mill, and Smelters Union, CIO, Illinois; Robert Coates, New Yorker Magazine; John Coe, State senator, Florida; Fannie Cook, novelist, Missouri; Dr. Leo Davidoff, neurosurgeon, Montefiore Hospital, New York; Prof. Frank Dobie, University of Texas; Olin Downes, music critic, New York; W. E. B. DuBois, research director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York; Roscoe Dunjee, publisher, Oklahoma; James Durkin, president, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, New York; Mrs. Clifford Durr, Virginia; Prof. Thomas Emerson, Yale Law School; Jose Ferrer, actor, New York; Prof. Robin Field, Tulane University, Louisiana; Albert J. Fitzgerald, president, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO, New York; Dr. Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Georgia; Mrs. Elinor Gimbel, New York; Josiah Gitt, publisher, York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily; Ben Gold, president, Fur Workers International Union, CIO, New York; Uta Hagen, actress, New York; Roy Harris, composer,

Colorado; Lillian Hellman, playwright, New York; Donald Henderson, president, Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers of America, CIO; Ira A. Hirschmann, former inspector general for UNRRA, New York; Henry T. Hunt, former mayor of Cincinnati; N. Floyd Hunter, director, Community Planning Council, Atlanta, Ga.; John Huston, film director, California; Congressman Leo Isacson, New York; Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia; Howard Koch, Hollywood screen writer; Leo Krzycki, retired vice president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Wisconsin; Canada Lee, actor, New York; Curtis McDougall, Northwestern University, Illinois; James McGill, Indiana manufacturer; Howard McKenzie, vice president, National Maritime Union, CIO; Aline McMahon, actress, Los Angeles; Congressman Vito Marcantonio, New York; Prof. F. O. Matthiessen, Harvard University, Massachusetts; Daniel Mebane, publisher, New Republic, New York; Frederic G. Melcher, editor of Publishers Weekly, New Jersey; Dmitri Mitropoulos, conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra; Capt. Hugh Mulzac, captain of the *Booker T. Washington*; Stanley Nowak, State senator, Michigan; Grant W. Oakes, president, Farm Equipment Workers Union, CIO, Illinois; Sono Osato, actress, California; Dr. Linus Pauling, physicist, California Institute of Technology; Morris Pizer, president, United Furniture Workers of America, CIO; Abraham Pomerantz, former United States prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, New York; Lee Pressman, former CIO general counsel; Michael J. Quill, president, Transport Workers of America, CIO; Magistrate Joseph Rainey, Philadelphia; O. John Rogge, former Assistant United States Attorney General, New York; Prof. John G. Rideout, Durham, N. H.; Prof. Frederick L. Schumann, Williams College, Massachusetts; Joseph P. Selly, president, American Communications Association, CIO; Artie Shaw, bandleader, Norwalk, Conn.; Dr. Michael A. Shadid, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Dr. Maud Slye, director of the University of Chicago Cancer Research; Mrs. Edgar Snow (Nym Wales) Madison, Conn.; Robert St. John, author, New York; Kenneth Spencer, singer, New York; Fred Stover, president, Iowa Farmers Union; Mark Van Doren, poet, New York; Mary Van Kleeck, Russell Sage Foundation, Chicago; Smeale Voydanoff, president, Macedonian American Peoples League, Michigan; Addie L. Weber, president, New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, AFL; Don West, poet, Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Ga.; Nelson Willis, president, Cook County Bar Association, Chicago; James Waterman Wise, New York; Ed Yeomans, director of the Eastern Division, National Farmers Union; Chester Young, vice president, National Maritime Union, CIO.

Assistant M. Benson as cochairman of the committee are Jo Davidson, sculptor; Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the CIO United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America; Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine, of Chicago; Paul Robeson, singer, and Dr. Rexford G. Tugwell of the University of Illinois faculty.

Committee treasurer is Angus Cameron, editor in chief of Little, Brown & Co., publishers. Campaign manager is C. B. Baldwin.

#### EXHIBIT 48

THE TEXT OF AN OPEN CALLING FOR GREATER UNITY OF THE ANTI-FASCIST FORCES AND STRENGTHENING OF THE FRONT AGAINST AGGRESSION THROUGH CLOSER COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION RELEASED ON AUGUST 14 BY 400 LEADING AMERICANS

#### *To All Active Supporters of Democracy and Peace*

One of the greatest problems confronting all those engaged in the struggle for democracy and peace, whether they be liberals, progressives, trade-unionists, or others, is how to unite their various forces so as to achieve victory for their common goals. The Fascists and their allies are well aware that democracy will win if its supporters are united. Accordingly, they are intent on destroying such unity at all costs.

On the international scene the Fascists and their friends have tried to prevent a united antiaggression front by sowing suspicion between the Soviet Union and other nations interested in maintaining peace.

On the domestic scene the reactionaries are attempting to split the democratic front by similar tactics. Realizing that here in America they cannot get far with a definitely pro-Fascist appeal, they strive to pervert American anti-Fascist sentiment to their own ends. With the aim of turning anti-Fascist feeling against the Soviet Union they have encouraged the fantastic falsehood that the U. S. S. R. and the totalitarian states are basically alike. By this strategy they hope to

create dissension among the progressive forces whose united strength is a first necessity for the defeat of fascism.

Some sincere American liberals have fallen into this trap and unwittingly aided a cause to which they are essentially opposed. Thus, a number of them have carelessly lent their signatures to the recent manifesto issued by the so-called Committee for Cultural Freedom. This manifesto denounces in vague, undefined terms all forms of "Dictatorship" and asserts that the Fascist states and Soviet Russia equally menace American institutions and the democratic way of life.

While we prefer to dwell on facts rather than personalities, we feel it is necessary to point out that among the signers of this manifesto are individuals who have for years had as their chief political objective the maligning of the Soviet people and their government, and it is precisely these people who are the initiators and controllers of the committee.

A number of other committees have been formed which give lip service to democracy and peace while actually attacking the Soviet Union and aiding reaction. Honest persons approached by such committees should scrutinize their aims very carefully and support only those groups genuinely interested in preserving culture and freedom and refusing to serve as instruments for attacking the Soviet Union or aiding fascism in any other way.

The undersigned do not represent any committee or organization, nor do they propose to form one. Our object is to point out the real purpose behind all these attempts to bracket the Soviet Union with the Fascist states, and to make it clear that Soviet and Fascist policies are diametrically opposed. To this end we should like to stress ten basic points in which Soviet socialism differs fundamentally from totalitarian fascism.

1. The Soviet Union continues as always to be a consistent bulwark against war and aggression, and works unceasingly for the goal of a peaceful international order.

2. It has eliminated racial and national prejudice within its borders, freed the minority peoples enslaved under the Tzars, stimulated the development of the culture and economic welfare of these peoples, and made the expression of anti-semitism or any racial animosity a criminal offense.

3. It has socialized the means of production and distribution through the public ownership of industry and the collectivization of agriculture.

4. It has established nation-wide socialist planning, resulting in increasingly higher living standards and the abolition of unemployment and depression.

5. It has built the trade unions, in which almost 24,000,000 workers are organized, into the very fabric of its society.

6. The Soviet Union has emancipated woman and the family, and has developed an advanced system of child care.

7. From the viewpoint of cultural freedom, the difference between the Soviet Union and the Fascist countries is most striking. The Soviet Union has effected one of the most far-reaching cultural and educational advances in all history and among a population which at the start was almost three-fourths illiterate. Those writers and thinkers whose books have been burned by the Nazis are published in the Soviet Union. The best literature from Homer to Thomas Mann, the best thought from Aristotle to Lenin, is available to the masses of the Soviet people, who themselves actively participate in the creation of culture.

8. It has replaced the myths and superstitions of old Russia with the truths and techniques of experimental science, extending scientific procedures to every field, from economics to public health. And it has made science and scientific study available to the mass of the people.

9. The Soviet Union considers political dictatorship a transitional form and has shown a steadily expanding democracy in every sphere. Its epoch-making new constitution guarantees Soviet citizens universal suffrage, civil liberties, the right to employment, to leisure, to free education, to free medical care, to material security in sickness and old age, to equality of the sexes in all fields of activity, and to equality of all races and nationalities.

10. In relation to Russia's past, the country has been advancing rapidly along the road of material and cultural progress in ways that the American people can understand and appreciate.

The Soviet Union has an economic system different from our own. But Soviet aims and achievements make it clear that there exists a sound and permanent basis in mutual ideals for cooperation between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. on behalf of world peace and the security and freedom of all nations.

Accordingly, the signers of this letter urge Americans of whatever political persuasion to stand firmly for close cooperation in this sphere between the United States and Soviet Russia, and to be on guard against any and all attempts to prevent such cooperation in this critical period in the affairs of mankind.

Among the 400 signers of the open letter are:

Dr. Thomas Addes, professor of medicine, Leland Stanford University  
 Helen Alfred, executive director National Public Housing Conference  
 Prof. Newton Arvin, professor of English, Smith College  
 Dr. Charles S. Bacon, honorary president, American Russian Institute, Chicago, Ill.  
 Frank C. Bancroft, editor, Social Work Today  
 Maurice Becker, artist  
 Louis P. Birk, editor, Modern Age Books, Inc.  
 T. A. Bisson, research associate, Foreign Policy Association  
 Alice Stone Blackwell, suffragist, writer  
 Marc Blitzstein, composer  
 Anita Block, Theater Guild playreader  
 Stirling Bowen, poet  
 Richard Boyer, staff writer, The New Yorker  
 Millen Brand, writer  
 Simon Breines, architect  
 Robert Briffault, writer  
 Prof. Dorothy Brewster, assistant professor of English, Columbia University  
 Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum, associate professor of English, New York University  
 Fielding Burke, writer  
 Katherine Devereaux Blake, teacher  
 Meta Berger, writer, widow of the first Socialist Congressman  
 Prof. Robert A. Brady, professor of economics, University of California  
 J. E. Bromberg, actor  
 Bessie Beatty, writer  
 Vera Caspary, scenario writer  
 Maria Cristina Chambers, of the Authors' League  
 Prof. Robert Chambers, research professor of biology, New York University  
 Harold Clurman, producer  
 Robert M. Coates, writer  
 Lester Cohen, writer  
 Kyle Crichton, editorial staff of Collier's Weekly  
 Miriam Allen De Ford, writer  
 Paul de Kruif, writer  
 Pietro di Donato, writer  
 William Dodd, Jr., chairman Anti-Nazi Literature Committee  
 Stanley D. Dodge, University of Michigan  
 Prof. Dorothy Douglas, department of economics, Smith College  
 Muriel Draper, writer  
 Prof. L. C. Dunn, professor of zoology, Columbia University  
 Prof. Haakon Chevalier, professor of French, University of California  
 Prof. George B. Cressey, chairman of the department of geology and geography, Syracuse University  
 Harriet G. Eddy, library specialist  
 Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor of sociology, New York University  
 Kenneth Fearing, poet  
 Prof. Mildred Fairchild, professor of economics, Bryn Mawr College  
 Alice Withrow Field, writer  
 Sara Bard Field, writer  
 William O. Field, Jr., chairman of the board, American Russian Institute  
 Irving Fineman, writer  
 Marjorie Fischer, writer  
 Angel Flores, writer, critic  
 Waldo Frank, writer  
 Wanda Gao, artist  
 Hugo Gellert, artist  
 Robert Gessner, department of English, New York University  
 Prof. Willystine Goodsell, associate professor of education (retired), Columbia University  
 Mortimer Graves, of the American Council of Learned Societies  
 Dr. John H. Gray, economist, former president of the American Economics Association  
 William Gropper, artist  
 Maurice Halperin, associate editor, Books Abroad  
 Earl P. Hanson, explorer, writer  
 Prof. Samuel N. Harper, professor of Russian language and institutions, Chicago University  
 Rev. Thomas L. Harris, national executive secretary, American League for Peace and Democracy  
 Dashiell Hammett, writer  
 Ernest Hemingway  
 Granville Hicks, writer  
 Prof. Norman E. Himes, department of sociology, Colgate University  
 Charles J. Hendley, President Teachers' Union of the City of New York  
 Leo Huberman, writer  
 Langston Hughes, poet  
 Agatha Hles, writer  
 Rev. Otis G. Jackson, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Flint, Mich.  
 Sam Jaffe, actor  
 Orrick Johns, poet  
 Matthew Josephson, writer



George Kauffman, playwright  
 Prof. Alexander Kaun, associate professor of Slavic languages, University of California  
 Fred C. Kelly, writer  
 Rockwell Kent, artist  
 Dr. John A. Kingsbury, social worker, administrative consultant, WPA  
 Beatrice Kinkaid, writer  
 Lincoln E. Kirstein, ballet producer  
 Arthur Kober, playwright  
 Alfred Kreymborg, poet  
 Edward Lamb, lawyer  
 Dr. Corliss Lamont, writer, lecturer  
 Margaret I. Lamont, sociologist, writer  
 J. J. Lankes, artist  
 Jay Leyda, cinema critic  
 John Howard Lawson, playwright  
 Emil Lengyel, writer, critic  
 Prof. Max Lerner, professor of government, Williams College  
 Meridel LeSueur, writer  
 Meyer Levin, writer  
 Prof. Charles W. Lighthody, department of government and history, St. Lawrence University  
 Robert Morss Lovett, Governor of the Virgin Islands, and editor of The New Republic  
 Prof. Halford E. Luccock, Yale University Divinity School  
 Katherine DuPre Lumpkin, writer  
 Klaus Mann, lecturer, writer, son of Thomas Mann  
 Prof. F. O. Matthiessen, associate professor of history of literature, Harvard University  
 Dr. Anita Marburg, department of English, Sarah Lawrence College  
 Dr. George Marshall, economist  
 Aline MacMahon, actress  
 Clifford T. McAvoy, instructor, department of romance languages, College of the City of New York  
 Prof. V. J. McGill, professor of philosophy, Hunter College  
 Prof. Robert McGregor, Reed College  
 Ruth McKenney, writer  
 Darwin J. Mesrole, lawyer  
 Prof. Herbert A. Miller, professor of economics, Bryn Mawr College  
 Harvey O'Connor, writer  
 Clifford Odets, playwright  
 Shaemus O'Sheel, writer, critic  
 Mary White Ovington, social worker  
 S. J. Perelman, writer  
 Dr. John P. Peters, department of internal medicine, Yale University Medical School  
 Dr. Emily M. Pierson, physician  
 Walter N. Polakov, engineer  
 Prof. Alan Porter, professor of German, Vassar College  
 George D. Pratt, Jr., agriculturist  
 John Hyde Preston, writer  
 Samuel Putnam, writer  
 Prof. Paul Radin, professor of anthropology, University of California  
 Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, professor of industrial engineering, Columbus University  
 Bernard J. Reis, accountant  
 Bertha C. Reynolds, social worker  
 Lynn Riggs, playwright  
 Col. Raymond Robins, former head of American Red Cross in Russia  
 William Rollins, Jr., writer  
 Harold J. Rome, composer  
 Ralph Roeder, writer  
 Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, former head, Jewish Joint Distribution Board  
 Eugene Schoen, architect  
 Prof. Margaret Schlauch, associate professor of English, New York University  
 Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, professor of government, Williams College  
 Prof. Vida D. Scudder, professor emeritus of English, Wellesley College  
 George Seldes, writer  
 Vincent Sheean, writer  
 Viola Brothers Shore, scenario writer  
 Herman Shumlin, producer  
 Prof. Ernest J. Simmons, assistant professor of English literature, Harvard University  
 Irina Skariatina, writer  
 Dr. F. Tredwell Smith, educator  
 Dr. Stephenson Smith, president, Oregon Commonwealth Federation  
 Hester Sondergaard, actress  
 Isobel Walker Soule, writer, editor  
 Lionel Stander, actor  
 Christina Stead, writer  
 A. F. Steig, artist  
 Alfred K. Stern, housing specialist

Senator McCARTHY. I would like to call one to the committee's attention, something I did not suspect before I saw this document.

It seems that on September 12, 1949, one of these Communist-front organizations sponsored a dinner for Henry A. Wallace and, believe it or not, the covert charge was \$10.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I understand that you have hired a staff to obtain the complete information on anyone in the State Department or closely related agencies who is suspected of being a bad security risk.

I am, therefore, submitting to the chairman for the attention of the staff a list of 25 names which requires further investigation. All of these individuals to the best of my knowledge are either in the State Department, or in closely related agencies. At least they were very recently.

Senator TYDINGS. We will look them up.

Senator McCARTHY. I understand all of them have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that such FBI investigations have developed information which is now in the files—information which, according to Acheson's own "yardstick of loyalty" would stamp many, if not all of them, as being bad security risks.

With the very limited staff which I have available (and, as the Chair knows, I have been allocated no funds for this investigation; I have been conducting it completely on my own), it would take me a considerable period of time to develop all of the information on all of these individuals and submit individual cases on each of them to the committee.

I intend, of course, to continue my investigation and assemble all available information which comes to my attention on any of these individuals, which information shall be available to the staff of this committee.

In the meantime, in order to get things started, I believe the staff might well start checking on these individuals. Obviously, the staff could do a much speedier job in that the files, which are not easily available to me, will be available to the committee.

None of the names which I now hand the Chair covers the cases which I covered on the Senate floor.

Let me make that clear. These are additional names, some I had not had time to develop when I made the speech on the Senate floor.

Senator TYDINGS. We are glad to have them. We will look into them, examine the files, and make a report.

Senator McCARTHY. I thank the chairman.

I shall continue to develop as much information on those cases as possible and will, of course, submit to the committee all such information as soon as I have it properly documented.

I have remaining a considerable amount of information on the balance of these cases covered on the Senate floor, which information is being assembled as rapidly as possible and put into shape to be presented to the committee. This task will be completed as soon as possible.

I now give the Chair, if I may, these names.

Senator TYDINGS. These are the keys?

Senator McCARTHY. Those are the 25 names that have bad information in their files, information which indicates they should not be there.

Senator TYDINGS. I am very hopeful that we can get our staff under way some time during the week, and I would like to consult the Senator as to his convenience when he will give us in executive session, as he said he would, the names of the 81 people, some of whom he has since given us in public, but all of the 81 cases that he delineated on the Senate floor, so that we may key the names to the information which the Senator has given us, and when we request the files, make sure that we are requesting them for all the people that he has mentioned in his testimony.

I would like to say to the Senator that it would be very helpful to the committee if we could get all of the names at one time, for this reason: I would like to make the request in writing, confidentially of course, to the proper authorities for all of these files at one time, and provide a safe place, arranged as they come from different departments, where they can all be assembled in one room, so that if the Civil Service files or State Department or any other files are needed, we will have them all in one place, where we can make a thorough and complete investigation of a case without having to go from one department to another, and I am sure the Senator will want it done that way.

Senator McCARTHY. I think it is an excellent idea.

Senator TYDINGS. But unless we have all of the files in one room at the start, it will take us much longer than we need to do it. So I will ask the Senator, as I said, at his convenience, in executive session, today if he would like to, or tomorrow, if he will not give us the keys so that we can turn them over to counsel and our staff and begin the operation of assembling these files.

Senator McCARTHY. Let me say to the Chair that as soon as I have all the information assembled which I have—I think I have considerable information of benefit to your staff.

Senator TYDINGS. We would like to have it.

Senator McCARTHY. It will all be turned over with the names. I have given you the names of 25 that I consider very important, 25 that I have not been able to develop beyond the point of knowing that the files are valuable. The files show that the FBI has given information which, so far as I know, makes them bad security risks under Acheson's own yardstick. The staff will have plenty to do on those 25 and will have no difficulty at all, I am sure, in transmitting to the staff information which I have. I am sure we will get along on that very well.

I might say that before I turn over the Senate floor cases I want to check all of the information, document it, and give it to you. There seems to be a great deal of interest, and rightly so, on the part of people as to just the extent of the information we have on those particular cases.

Senator TYDINGS. I would say to the Senator that during the course of this proceeding if he will come to me with any additional matter that he has not given to us at the start, we will be glad to have it.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about it, I would appreciate it if the Senator would hand it personally to me until such time as I can designate somebody else to hand it to in the event that I am not available at the moment.

As I understand it, the Senator has now placed his case before us, and he wants us to go ahead and investigate these loyalty files and so on.

Senator McCARTHY. You understand that I have a sizable number of additional cases to lay before the Senator, work that will take, I assume, 2 or 3 or 4 days. Whether the Chair will want it in executive session or in public I frankly do not care.

Senator TYDINGS. How does the Senator want to do it?

Senator McCARTHY. I think, Mr. Chairman, when we refer to men like John Service, Owen Lattimore, individuals of top importance, I believe any facts which we have with regard to them definitely

should be made public. I think those morals cases, which also are extremely bad security risks, obviously should be made in executive session. Then there is an area in-between which I frankly don't care whether they are made in public or executive session.

I might say this, outside of the top men, like Hanson, who is taking over this point 4 program, Lattimore, and several other names that I think should be given in public, I think the names better be given in executive session, now that you have a staff to check on them. That is merely my suggestion.

I might say to the Chair I would like to see the Chair follow through his suggestion this afternoon. I can give him information which I think——

Senator TYDINGS. I am going to ask the Senator if he won't hold that information until tomorrow, because I have no place to keep it. I prefer to have the Senator keep it until tomorrow, until I can make some definite arrangements for quarters and one or two other things, protecting the information we get and so on.

What I would like to know is, does the Senator want us to go ahead now, or does he want us to sit to hear more things?

Senator McCARTHY. I will have considerable more, Mr. Chairman, but I would like some time to develop the cases so I can present them in chronological order, with all the information I have. That will take me time.

Senator TYDINGS. I am not questioning it. I am just trying to find out to accommodate the Senator. When does he think he will want to have this stuff available, and how does he want to deliver it to us? Does he want to do it in a session such as we are in now, or does he want to hand it to the committee for investigation? There are five of us on the committee. Whatever way the Senator wants to do it, we will try to accommodate him. We will leave that up to his judgment.

Senator McCARTHY. I thank the Chair, and as I get the other cases in shape I will contact the Chair, and I am sure we can work out something completely satisfactory to both the committee and myself as to how the further facts will be presented.

Senator TYDINGS. In order to make the record straight, I put in the record the first day, cut out, the case numbers from 1 to 81, I think it was, and put those in the record so that we would have that already as a part of the testimony, and I take it for granted the Senator wants that made a part of his sworn testimony.

Senator McCARTHY. I do not mind having it made part of the record. If the chairman wants me to repeat any of it under oath, I will be glad to do so.

Senator TYDINGS. I do not want you to repeat it. I want to know what category it is in. I want to know whether you desire it to be part of your sworn testimony. We can put it in as a part of the Congressional Record, or we can put it in as part of his sworn testimony. Which would he prefer?

Senator McCARTHY. I do not follow the chairman. The chairman has put the evidence in the record. That is the committee's testimony. If I see fit to put any testimony in, I will put it in. Do you follow me?

Senator TYDINGS. What I meant was, the Senator gave us 81 cases on the floor of the Senate. I am not trying to take any advantage of the Senator.

Senator McCARTHY. The Senator would have difficulty doing that.

Senator TYDINGS. I believe I would, and I would not do it if I could. I would like the Senator to believe that. I want him to have a fair chance here in every sense of the word.

Senator McCARTHY. I am sure the Chair does.

Senator TYDINGS. He delineated 81 cases on the floor of the Senate, which I have put in the record. I see no reason why they should not be a part of the Senator's sworn testimony, that he is bringing those cases before the committee.

Senator McCARTHY. The only way you can make those part of the sworn testimony, Mr. Chairman, is to ask me to repeat them. You cannot make an oath retroactive. I do not follow the Chair at all, and I assume the Chair is not a lawyer. There is no way of making an oath retroactive. If the Chair wants me to repeat what I said on the Senate floor, under oath, I will be glad to come in and do that. There is no possible way the Chair can put things in the record and say "Now will you consider that as part of your testimony under oath?"

Let's make this clear. If the Chair wants me to come back here at any time and repeat any part or all of what I said on the Senate floor, and do it under oath, I will be glad to do it. I am not going to try to indulge in some completely impossible and ridiculous procedure of trying to make an oath retroactive.

Senator TYDINGS. I have no disposition to make it retroactive. What I thought was, the Senator has testified under oath. He has also delineated certain cases on the Senate floor. I simply wanted to ask him if the remarks he made on the Senate floor, and which are now a part of the record, he wishes included in his sworn testimony, or whether he wishes them not included in the sworn testimony. That is all I asked the Senator.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, regardless of what my wishes are, the only way I can make them part of the sworn testimony is to swear to them, either in affidavit form or repeat them. If the Chair desires them put in affidavit form, if he wants me to repeat them, I will be glad to take that up with him. Otherwise, the Chair has introduced them.

Senator TYDINGS. All right, if the Senator does not want to make them part of his sworn testimony.

Senator McCARTHY. I will make it part of my sworn testimony if the Chair wants me to come in and repeat it. There is no way of making an oath retroactive.

Senator TYDINGS. Certainly there is. All he needs to say is "All the things I gave in these cases on the Senate floor I would like considered a part of my sworn testimony." It is just as simple as that. There is no trick about that.

Senator McCARTHY. I am telling the Chair it can't be done, but if he wants me to come in and read that part of the Congressional Record under oath, I will be glad to do that at any time, this afternoon.

Senator TYDINGS. I was asked by some committee members to ask that question of the Senator, and I have discharged my obligation to them.

Whenever the Senator wants to return to the stand, all he has to do is to tell the chairman.

Senator McCARTHY. I thank the chairman very much.

Senator TYDINGS. I would like to ask if Judge Dorothy Kenyon is in the room? I don't know her. She may have some friends in the room. We are counting on hearing her at 2:30 this afternoon unless when I get to my office I find she has requested a postponement to another day. So far I have received no such message, so unless that is received, we will proceed, as scheduled yesterday, at 2:30, to hear Judge Kenyon.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Senator TYDINGS. The committee will come to order.

For the record, the day that Senator McCarthy testified, bringing in the name of Miss, or Judge Dorothy Kenyon, I received a telegram, either that day or the following morning, I think that night, in which Miss Kenyon asked me to accord her the privilege of a hearing.

I immediately replied and told her that I would be glad to set Tuesday, today, as the time when she might come before this committee and answer any remarks or charges which Senator McCarthy had made, and asked her was that satisfactory.

I immediately received another telegram from Judge Kenyon in which she said Tuesday would be satisfactory, and she is here in response to those telegrams.

So that Judge Kenyon may know what the powers of this committee are, and what its duty is, and I think we owe it to her, she may not have seen the formal resolution which brought us into being, I would like to read it before she testifies.

This is Senate Resolution 231. It was agreed to on February 22, 1950. The resolution reads as follows:

That the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete study and investigation as to whether persons who are disloyal to the United States are or have been employed by the Department of State. The committee shall report to the Senate at the earliest practicable date the results of its investigation, together with such recommendations as it may deem desirable, and if said recommendations are to include formal charges of disloyalty against any individual, then the committee, before making said recommendations, shall give said individual open hearings for the purpose of taking evidence or testimony on said charges. In the conduct of this study and investigation, the committee is directed to procure, by subpoena, and examine the complete loyalty and employment files and records of all the Government employees in the Department of State and such other agencies against whom charges have been heard.

Senator McCarthy, on the first day he appeared before our committee in open hearing, made certain statements, Judge Kenyon, in which your name was drawn.

You are now at liberty to proceed to answer them in such manner as you deem fit.

Before you testify, will you stand and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly promise that the testimony you shall give in this matter pending before the committee, in accordance with Senate Resolution 231, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss KENYON. I do.

Senator TYDINGS. Take a seat, Judge. You may proceed.

**TESTIMONY OF MISS DOROTHY KENYON, ACCOMPANIED BY  
THEODORE KIENDL, COUNSEL**

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to appear.

My name is Dorothy Kenyon. I live at No. 433 West Twenty-first Street, New York City. I am a practicing lawyer with offices located at No. 50 Broadway, New York City.

When I was informed of the accusations that were made against me before this subcommittee last week, I did explode. Doubtless my indignation led me to make some impulsive remarks in unparliamentary language. Reflection, and a recollection refreshed by such investigation as I could make in the interim, now permits a more dispassionate approach. However, nothing can diminish the deep resentment I feel that such outrageous charges should be publicized before this subcommittee and broadcast over the entire Nation without any notice or warning to me.

My answer to these charges is short, simple, and direct. I am not, and never have been disloyal. I am not and never have been, a Communist. I am not, and never have been a fellow traveler. I am not, and never have been, a supporter of, a member of, or a sympathizer with any organization known to me to be, or suspected by me of being, controlled or dominated by Communists. As emphatically and unreservedly as possible, I deny any connection of any kind or character with communism or its adherents. If this leaves anything unsaid to indicate my total and complete detestation of that political philosophy, it is only because it is impossible for me to express my sentiments. I mean my denial to be all-inclusive.

So absolute a negation of the charges should be supplemented with an equally positive, but brief, affirmation of what I am and have been.

I received my A. B. degree from Smith College and my law degree—doctor juris—from New York University Law School. I am a member of Phi Beta Kappa and have been for several years a senator of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

I come of a family of lawyers, my father having been a patent lawyer in New York City where my brothers and a cousin now practice under the firm name of Kenyon & Kenyon. My father's cousin, William S. Kenyon, was for many years a member of the United States Senate and later a Federal judge in Iowa.

I was admitted to the bar in 1917 and have practiced law continually ever since, except during certain periods when I held public office. Mine is a general practice. I am a member of the Bar Association of the City of New York, the New York County Lawyers' Association, the New York State Bar Association, the American Bar Association, the National Women Lawyers' Association, the American Society of International Law, the American Branch of the International Law Association and several others.

I have held public office three times, first from June 1, 1936, to December 31, 1937, 2 years, as deputy commissioner of licenses by appointment of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia; second from January 1,

1939, to December 31, 1939, 1 year, as municipal court judge in New York City, also by appointment of Mayor LaGuardia; and third, from January 1, 1947, to December 31, 1949, as United States delegate to the Commission on the Status of Women of the United Nations, by appointment of President Truman, ratified and confirmed by the Senate. I was also appointed in January 1938 by the League of Nations as one of a Commission of seven jurists—of whom I was the only American—to study the legal status of women throughout the world. This Commission continued to operate until the war made further communication between its members impossible. I have also served on a number of governmentally appointed commissions and committees dealing with such varied subjects as the regulation of employment agencies, minimum-wage legislation, consumer-cooperative corporations, problems growing out of the wartime employment of women, et cetera. I have also done a small amount of labor arbitration.

My interest in good government led me early into the ranks of the League of Women Voters, of which I have been a member for almost 30 years and which I have served in many capacities and offices. It also led me into the Citizens Union of New York, of whose executive committee I have been a member for almost 20 years. When the American Labor Party was formed in New York I was one of its earliest members, but I left it after our efforts to save it from Communist domination finally failed.

I have here, Mr. Chairman, an exhibit, copies of which I am giving to all the members of the subcommittee; it is dated, the Daily News, Wednesday, February 14, 1940. It is announcing the setting up of a committee to fight the Communist attempt to capture the Labor Party, and I was one of the vice presidents of that organization.

Senator TYDINGS. Would you pause until we can look at the exhibit?

Miss KENYON. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want to read it in, yourself?

Miss KENYON. No, no, I have read everything, Mr. Chairman, that is of importance; and I am leaving the whole statement with the exhibits attached. I have a number of other exhibits.

Senator TYDINGS. Just a moment.

Miss KENYON. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. Miss Kenyon, would you be kind enough to identify for us, this document again, and to tell us in a brief way, for the information of the press, who may not have copies of it, and who want to know—briefly what is it all about?

Miss KENYON. Yes. It is a statement that appeared in the Daily News, a New York newspaper, on Wednesday, February 14, 1940, announcing the setting up of a liberal and labor committee to safeguard the American Labor Party and to fight the Communists' attempt to capture that labor party, and my name is there listed as one of the vice chairmen.

I am simply offering that as documentary evidence.

Senator TYDINGS. I think that identification is sufficient. It will be accepted as exhibit 49.

I will say to the press: I will leave a copy here on the table, as we have some extra ones, and should you gentlemen wish to familiarize yourselves with this to a greater extent, go ahead.

All right, Judge Kenyon, proceed.



Miss KENYON. I am now an enrolled Democrat. I am also a member of Americans for Democratic Action.

My interest in civil liberties led me equally early into the ranks of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which I have been a member of the board for almost 20 years. In that connection I have fought on many civil liberties issues and have participated in many briefs amicus in defense of the bill of rights.

My interest in education, in labor problems, and in the problems of women made me an early member of the American Association of University Women, of which I am now second vice president. I am also a member of the national board of the Young Women's Catholic Association, a director of the Women's City Club of New York, the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, and the Committee of Women in World Affairs. I was also for many years on the board of the Consumers' League of New York and was for a time its president. I am also a member of numerous other women's organizations.

I am, and always have been, an independent, liberal Rooseveltian Democrat, devoted to and actively working for such causes as the improvement of the living and working conditions of labor and the preservation of civil liberties. To the latter cause especially I have given much time and attention and have made speeches on that subject for many years in various parts of the country. At times I have espoused unpopular causes in that connection and have probably made some enemies of those who disagreed with my views.

I am, and always have been, an ardent, outspoken American citizen, yielding to no one in my admiration of the great privileges this country offers to all its sons and daughters, and determined to do all I can to maintain those privileges inviolate forever. I am, and always have been, unalterably opposed to anyone who advocates the overthrow of our Government by force or violence, or who otherwise engages in subversive activities or entertains subversive ideas.

I am not content to rely on these general denials and observations, however, and I therefore proceed to deal more specifically with the charges against me. In substance, as I understand it, it is claimed that it can be established by documentary proof that I have been at some time a member of 28 or more Communist-front organizations and therefore stand convicted under the doctrine of guilt by association.

Thus far I have not been confronted with this documentary proof and as I am totally unaware of the contents of most of the documents, I am in no position to make any categorical denials or assertions regarding such statements as they may contain. Here and now, however, I can and do state, with the absolute confidence borne of my personal and positive knowledge, that there does not exist and never has existed any genuine document that proves, or even tends to prove, that I have ever knowingly joined or sponsored or participated in the activities of any organization known to me to be even slightly subversive.

Frankness and caution admonish me to avoid creating false impressions or otherwise putting myself in the position of the lady who protested too much. I cannot and do not deny that my name may have been used, even at times with my consent, in connection with organizations that later proved to be subversive but which, at the time, seemed to be engaged in activities or dedicated to objectives

which I could and did approve. Nevertheless I challenge and defy anyone to prove that I ever joined, or sponsored, or continued to identify myself with any organizations or individuals I knew, or had reason to believe, were subversive.

I do not even know the names of all the 28 or more Communist-front organizations I am supposed to have joined. I have taken the list of organizations from the published reports in the press. The names may not be quite accurate, and the list is apparently incomplete, or else my arithmetic is wrong. It is impossible for me to identify some of the names and events described in those charges. I have done the best I could, however, in the brief time since hearing of them and have searched my files, and my own memory in respect to each one. If any further organizations are alluded to today I shall ask the committee's indulgence for time to investigate and make my replies thereon at a later date.

Senator TYDINGS. That will be granted.

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much.

First, let me deny acquaintance with practically every one of the persons mentioned in the charges as being "familiar company" to me, "collaborator," or "fellow red." I do not know and have never to my knowledge laid eyes on Bernard J. Stern, Albert Maltz, Anna Louise Strong, William Gropper, Langston Hughes, Hewlett Johnson, Ben Gold, Lee Pressmen, Whittaker Chambers, Howard Fast, Saul Mills, Ella Winter, John Howard Lawson, Henry H. Collins, Rockwell Kent, Lewis Merrill, Mervyn Rathborne, Dirk J. Struick, Harry Bridges, Paul P. Crosbie, Benjamin J. Davis, Charles Krumbein, Morris V. Schappes, Simon W. Gerson, Louis Weinstock, Irving Potash, Helen Selden, or Josephine Herbst.

I once heard Paul Robeson sing at a concert. Harry F. Ward was, in the thirties—before its Communist purge—chairman of the board of the American Civil Liberties Union and I of course knew him there. Corliss Lamont is still on its board. I met Carol King years ago, before she went "left," but I have seen hardly anything of her in many years. Arthur Kallet's name I vaguely remember, as I vaguely remember Consumer's Union, but he and it date back in my memory at least 15 years and, if he were a Communist then, I did not know it.

I may be pardoned for putting the other names mentioned in a different category. They are Mrs. Dean Acheson, Stanley Isaacs, Philip Jessup, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I am proud to say I have had a slight acquaintance with them all.

To repeat, the rest are unknown to me, except as above mentioned, and the innuendoes as to my relationship with them absolutely false.

Now for the organizations themselves.

I begin with the League of Women Shoppers because my connection with that organization, which was set up to investigate labor disputes, is ancient history and it was also very short lived. Evelyn Preston Baldwin, wife of Roger Baldwin, and a close friend of mine, became its president at its founding in 1935 or thereabouts. I was a sponsor. We both withdrew a year or so later. I remember that I did so because I did not approve the way the investigations were being handled. If it was Communist then, neither of us knew about it.

The Political Prisoners' Bail Fund Committee is also ancient history.

I have no documentation on this organization in my files but I remember that I served as sponsor for a short time at the request of Roger Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin, who was a trustee of the fund, tells me that he and others set it up about 1925, to write bail in a great variety of worthy cases, some may possibly have involved Communists but most of them definitely did not. It was liquidated, he tells me, about 1934. He regarded it as wholly nonpartisan and non-Communist. It is significant that it is apparently not on any subversive list. It is described in the charges merely as subsidiary to the International Labor Defense, which is on the subversive list. The connection between them is not stated.

The Consumer's Union is also ancient history. I have never represented Consumer's Union. I had acted as attorney for Consumer's Research in its incorporation and for several years thereafter, prior to 1935, but I never acted for Consumer's Union. Consumer's Union came into existence, as I recall it, following a strike and split-up of the business into two organizations. They both test merchandise and give advice as to good buys. This is where I had my short acquaintance with Arthur Kallet. He was with Consumer's Research and, later, with Consumer's Union.

The Conference on Pan-American Democracy comes next. I find a letterhead in my file listing me as a sponsor of this organization, dated March 4, 1939, along with now Senator Paul A. Douglas, John Haynes Holmes, Quincy Howe, Stanley Isaacs, and Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, all friends of mine. I remember almost nothing about this organization except that I think I may have spoken before it in 1938 or thereabouts. I have never heard of it since. I certainly had no idea at that time that it was Communist, and I am sure my other sponsor friends had no such idea either.

Now for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. I was never a member of this organization, but I became a sponsor of it—along with many distinguished people—at the height of the war effort—in 1943, I think it was—when the Russians were making their stand before Stalingrad and many of us believed that friendship with the people of Russia was both possible and good. I withdrew my sponsorship some 3 years later, when I had become convinced that the organization was no longer being used for the purposes stated in its title. Not long ago a friend told me that my name had not been removed from the sponsor's list as I had requested, and I wrote demanding its removal. I quote that letter:

GENTLEMEN: I am advised that you are still carrying my name on your letterhead as a sponsor of your organization.

I became a sponsor in 1943 or 1944 when the Germans were at the gates of Stalingrad and the United States was deep in admiration of the great courage of the Russian people. Anything which looked toward genuine friendship between the peoples of our two countries was highly desirable. Since then, however, your policy, as I have had occasion to observe it in the press, has had less and less to do with development of genuine friendship between the peoples of our two countries and more and more to do with mere apologetics for the Russian Government, which you have supported no less consistently than you have attacked the United States. This is no way to build friendship and it makes a mockery of your name and alleged purposes. My sponsorship of the council as a genuine organ of friendship between the peoples has therefore long since lapsed.

I have previously requested you to remove my name from your list of sponsors and I must now insist that you do so.

Sincerely yours.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, I wonder what the date of this letter is.

Miss KENYON. I have it here.

Senator TYDINGS. June 15, 1949.

Miss KENYON. I assume that my name has been removed by now, although I have no way of being sure. I have no apologies whatever for sponsoring this organization at the time I did and under those circumstances.

As indicative of the standing it had, it is significant that President Roosevelt himself sent a message of greeting to the council at its meeting on November 16, 1944, reading as follows:

I am grateful to you and all those who are celebrating American-Soviet Friendship Day for the words of support and confidence I have received. There is no better tribute we can hold out to our Allies than to continue working in ever-growing accord to establish a peace that will endure. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference was a step in this direction. Other steps will be taken. In line with this objective such meetings as you are holding in Madison Square Garden and in other great centers throughout the United States are of tremendous assistance and value.

It is also significant that President Truman followed it up by another greeting on November 14, 1945, reading as follows:

The President has asked me to extend to you every good wish for the success of the meeting and to assure you of his interest in all efforts to continue the good relations between this country and the Soviet Union.

As for the Red Dean of Canterbury, I certainly never welcomed him at Madison Square Garden or anywhere else.

I never met him. I surmise that the fact that my name remained on the sponsor list longer than it should have is the explanation of this incident.

I have no recollection of sponsoring the dinner in question but, since it was given in honor of President Roosevelt, it would not seem inappropriate had I done so.

American Lawyers' Committee on American Relations with Spain: Now for the group connected with Spain. This committee was apparently working early in 1939 to lift the embargo on Spain, which was defeated by the combined efforts of revolutionary forces within that country plus Hitler and Mussolini. This organization is not on any subversive list that I can find, and I was on it.

Washington Committee To Lift the Spanish Embargo: As for the Washington committee I can find nothing on this in my files and I have no recollection whatsoever.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade probably belongs in here too. I have no recollection or documentation for this whatever. Furthermore, if the petition which they say I signed really contained a charge that war hysteria was being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration, it is inconceivable that I could have signed it, since I myself was then passionately pro-ally and in process of trying to force our Government into greater and greater activity in their behalf rather than less. I refer to that matter later.

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom: I have no recollection or documentation in respect to signing a petition in my files. I do have correspondence, however, showing that in 1940 I accepted membership on a citizens' committee to promote free public education. The letterhead lists many distinguished col-

lege presidents and professors, including Miss Park, the former president of Bryn Mawr, and Prof. Harold Urey. This organization is not on the Attorney General's list.

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights: I can find nothing on this in my files, and I have no recollection of it, but I find a press clipping reporting a meeting held in New York February 15, 1940, at which Newbold Morris and Mary Woolley, former president of Mount Holyoke College, were listed as speakers.

Advisory Board of Film Audiences for Democracy, and Advisory Board of Films for Democracy: I can find nothing on either of these organizations in my files, and there is nothing in my memory. I may possibly have made a speech before them. Neither of them are on any subversive list that I can find.

Schappes Defense Committee; Daily Worker Letter on Simon W. Gerson; American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature; Advisory Committee of the Citizens' Committee To Aid Striking Seamen; and Milk Consumers' Protective Committee: I can find nothing on any of these matters in my files and have no memory of them except a vague recollection of the Gerson and Schappes controversies. If I participated in either of them in any way I have completely forgotten it and I am certain that I never approved or endorsed Communist activities in those or any other matters.

Congress of American Women: This is one organization I know something about. It is the American affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation, a wholly Moscow controlled body over which I have been battling with Mme. Popova of the USSR at the United Nations for all the years since the creation of the Commission on the Status of Women. To charge me with membership in this organization is nothing short of fantastic.

This completes the roster of specific charges.

One general charge remains, my "constant adherence to the \* \* \* party line," as evidenced by this alleged multiplicity of associations, actually boiled down to a handful and most of them before 1940. Well, how about it? Is this all I have done? Is this the whole of my life? Emphatically, no. I have done many other things, some of them strangely inconsistent with the party line, some of them in flat contradiction to it. Let's look at the record in the round and not just a distorted fragment.

In the early years of my life I knew very little and cared less about Communists. They were an utterly negligible factor in my life. During the thirties, however, as world tension increased, they began showing their hand, and by the end of that period, I, like others, had come to know and loathe their philosophy. The signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in October 1939 suddenly made the issues startlingly clear. I voiced those issues in a letter I wrote to Alex Rose, secretary of the American Labor Party, under date of October 10, 1939, as a statement for him to use in conjunction with my candidacy as judge of the municipal court:

Senator TYDINGS. One minute, Judge Kenyon, please.

Miss KENYON. May I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Senator TYDINGS. Just a second, please.

Miss KENYON. There are three particularly important paragraphs.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want to put the whole thing in the record?

Miss KENYON. Yes; but I would like to read now the significant paragraphs.

Senator TYDINGS. Go right ahead. This will be exhibit 50.

Miss KENYON (reading):

First, I regard with horror and loathing the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Second, I agree with you that any fusing of the brown and red dictatorships is a treacherous blow to world civilization.

Third, I also agree, insofar as I understand them, with the President's proposed changes in our present neutrality law. But frankly I have been far too busy lately trying to be as good a judge as possible to have given such legislation the careful study it requires.

Fourth, it is not easy for me to be neutral when I think of either Hitler or Stalin but I try not to lose my head and I continue to believe in the traditional American civil liberties. Above all I hope that we may keep at peace and still preserve American democracy.

Fifth, it goes without saying (or I should have thought it did) that I am not a Communist or anything even remotely resembling one. I am just an old-fashioned believer in democracy who gets awfully weary sometimes of all its ructions but would never, never give it up.

Senator TYDINGS. That is dated October 10, 1939?

Miss KENYON. Yes; that is right.

Events moved so quickly after that, by February 1940, we had been forced to form a liberal and labor committee, of which I was a member, vice president, to safeguard the American Labor Party and to fight the Communist attempt to capture it.

I have already presented you with that document, Mr. Chairman.

At the same time the American Civil Liberties Union found it necessary to purge from its own board all nonbelievers in civil liberties. This action barred from its governing councils anyone "who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations indicates his support of such a principle." Within this category we include organizations in the United States supporting the totalitarian governments of the Soviet Union and of the Fascist and Nazi countries—such as the Communist Party and the German-American Bund and others; as well as native organizations with obvious antidemocratic objectives and practises. Needless to say, I was not one of those purged, and I am still a member of that board.

The Communist party line in 1940-41 was antiwar, anti-French and anti-British. But that was not my line. Being, on the contrary, passionately pro-French and pro-British I became increasingly anxious to aid them as the months passed by, first by all means short of war and later by war itself if need be.

I was one of the original members of the so-called William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. William Allen White in a telegram invited me to join, saying:

Here is a life and death struggle for every principle we cherish in America, for freedom of speech, of religion, of the ballot, and of every freedom that upholds the dignity of the human spirit. Here all the rights that the common man has fought for during a thousand years are menaced. Terrible as it may seem, the people of our country cannot avoid the consequences of Hitler's victory or of those who are or may be allied with him. A totalitarian victory would wipe out hope for a just and lasting peace.

I submit a copy of the complete telegram of William Allen White.

Senator TYDINGS. And the date of that is June 19, 1940?

Miss KENYON. June 19, 1940.

I think the telegram was sent a bit before that, but that was after the committee was organized.

I favored giving Great Britain overage destroyers, I favored lend-lease, selective service, et cetera, et cetera. I made many speeches during that period extolling freedom, urging aid to the Allies and criticizing the isolationists and the Communists alike for their opposition.

On May 26, 1941—a month before Hitler attacked Russia—I joined with other members of that committee in an open letter to the President of the United States, in effect inviting him to declare war on the dictators. It read in part:

We cannot close our eyes to the wholesale murder of liberty \* \* \* The dictators have extended their world war and world revolution from continent to continent \* \* \* The challenge is inescapable. We know that strong action, even armed action, will be required of us.

This was signed, among many others, by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman and Ambassador Lewis W. Douglas.

I am attaching a photostat of that letter.

Shall I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Senator TYDINGS. You may proceed. That will be exhibit 51.

Miss KENYON. All right, thank you.

This history of my efforts during the crucial years 1940-41 hardly needs any gloss but it should give pause to those who dare to call me a Communist.

After Russia had been attacked we all changed our viewpoint slightly and many of us made earnest efforts to be friends with our new allies. I do not apologize for that impulse or effort. I think it was right and good.

However, we failed. When the war ended the cold war began and it is intensifying. I have been in the thick of it. Confronted with Madame Popova of the U. S. S. R. at the United Nations I have had a fight on my hands from the outset. At the first meeting of our Commission on the Status of Women held in February 1947, she sought preferential treatment for her particular pet organization, the Women's International Democratic Federation—of which the Congress of American Women is the United States affiliate. I battled her on eight different occasions during that first meeting on that one issue alone, practically single-handed since most of the other delegates did not yet know what it was all about. They know now, however. The reports and summary records of the Commission's proceedings tell the tale.

The struggle went on at subsequent commission meetings. It reached its peak at Beirut, Lebanon, last spring—see New York Times clipping of March 26, 1949, which I have here to present to you.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want to put that in the record at this point?

Miss KENYON. We only have the one copy.

Senator TYDINGS. Put that in the record at this point, if you have the original copy.

Miss KENYON. Yes.

Senator McMAHON. Are you mentioned in that clipping?

Miss KENYON. Certainly. Madame Popova and I are it.

Senator TYDINGS. Just hold up for a moment, please.

Senator GREEN. I request that it be put in.

Senator TYDINGS. It has been requested, Judge Kenyon, if you do not mind, if you identify the article by the paper in which it appeared, and the date under which it appeared, and read the article into the record.

Miss KENYON. You want me to read it now?

Senator TYDINGS. If you please.

Miss KENYON. There are two of them.

Senator TYDINGS. Two?

Miss KENYON. One is dated March 26, 1949, and the other is dated December 16, 1948.

Shall I read the first one first?

Senator TYDINGS. I think it would be wiser if you were to read the first one first.

Do you have a copy of the first one?

Miss KENYON. I have, but not of the second one.

This, Mr. Chairman, appeared in the New York Times under date of Thursday, December 16, 1948, and this is a speech I made in New York City.

The headline says: "Dorothy Kenyon says women's equality with men in Russia is one of slavery."

"Women in Russia undoubtedly have more equality in a greater variety of jobs than do American women, but it is an equality of slavery," Dorothy Kenyon, United States delegate to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, declared here yesterday.

At a luncheon of the Women's City Club of New York at the New Weston Hotel, Miss Kenyon charged that statements by Prof. A. P. Pavlov and other Soviet Union delegates at recent United Nations sessions that women in the United States and Great Britain were living in slavery were for political consumption abroad. She said non-Russian delegates were placed on the defensive, and she intended to take the offensive at the next commission meeting.

"The Russians have made a lot of noise about equality, but I wonder whether women there are any more in the driver's seat than they are in this country," she said. "I have never been able to discover any Soviet woman, except for Alexandra Kollontay, for many years their Minister to Sweden, in a position of real power."

Pointing out there never had been a woman member of the Politburo and that there was now none either on the central committee of the Communist Party, she said the Russians made much propaganda of the fact that 21 percent of the Supreme Soviet is made up of women. But she contended that this was of no significance, as the body sits only a few days a year for unanimous approval of Government proposals. In newspaper pictures of Moscow celebrations, she declared, "there are not even women used as window-dressing."

Although she said the United States should place more women in the Cabinet and have more Representatives in Congress, Miss Kenyon pointed out that at least here they were not prevented from running for office. But in Russia, she declared, "not one of our Russian sisters has run for election as we know it," but are merely handpicked if the Communist Party chooses them to run.

"If women are to achieve recognition as equal citizens the world over, we had better admit our difficulties and team up to help each other meet them," she declared. "Paper participation in government is too flimsy a foundation to advance the principles of democracy or of women's rights."

Shall I read the next one now, Mr. Chairman?

Senator TYDINGS. What is the committee's pleasure?

Senator McMAHON. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. Yes, read the next one.

Miss KENYON. This is a little long.

It was before I went to Lebanon.

Senator TYDINGS. Identify the article, please.

Miss KENYON. This appeared in the New York Times under date of Saturday, March 26, 1949.



The headlines are "United States, Soviet women clash on rights of wives of foreigners under Russian restrictions."

Then, it says:

BEIRUT, LEBANON, March 25.—A long and bitter attack on the United States by Soviet delegate Elizavieta A. Popova was strongly opposed here today by other delegates of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. These delegates included Judge Dorothy Kenyon of the United States who pleaded that the commission be permitted to get on with its work.

The Soviet representative's criticism of alleged racial discrimination and other faults of United States society followed Judge Kenyon's presentation of a proposal for the convention to guarantee women's freedom to choose their nationality. The aim of the proposal is to adjust the tangle of legislation that endangers women's status through international marriage, she said.

Judge Kenyon again brought into the foreground the reason for the Soviet opposition, which had caused a crisis previously in the commission's transactions—the Russian refusal to permit Soviet citizens married to foreigners to reside abroad with their husbands.

Describing this policy as an outrageous limitation on the rights of women, Judge Kenyon said that in addition to the Russian wives of British subjects there were now 350 Russian wives of United States citizens who could not leave Russia with their husbands and 65 Russian husbands of American girls who were equally restricted.

The principal business of the present meeting has been to lay the groundwork for a convention and the implementation of treaties to disentangle the maze of conflicting regulations of various countries on the subject of a woman's nationality after marriage to a man of another nationality.

The United Nations Secretariat has prepared elaborate studies of the law and treaties. However, the Soviet delegate rejected the whole project before discussion of any data had begun. She said:

"This is not a matter for the Commission on the Status of Women to study. Our problem is discrimination against women. Why was this problem brought to our attention at all?"

She then charged discrimination in the United States and gave no further attention to the nationality issue. She said that 15 States of the United States prohibited mixed marriages between Negroes and whites, that 5 prohibited marriages with Malays and 5 with Indians, and demanded to know where the principle of women's freedom of choice existed in the United States.

She added that in some States officials were punished for issuing licenses for mixed marriages and that in Mississippi any propaganda for mixed marriages or even equality was prohibited.

Judge Kenyon indicated that only recognition of a woman's right to choose her own nationality as freely as man would be the solution. This view was opposed later by a spokesman for the Catholic Feminine League who pleaded for the principle of unity of the family. She said that a man and a woman were not equal in all things, though equal in dignity, and that they had different functions in society.

The commission adopted a resolution calling for investigation by the United Nations of the application to women throughout the world of penal and police procedure. This is expected to be opposed by Russia since it would involve an investigation of penal labor camps.

That is the conclusion of that, Mr. Chairman.

May I proceed?

Senator TYDINGS. You may proceed.

Miss KENYON. The culmination of it was when, after bitter debate over many things, including equal pay for equal work, I finally demanded of Mme. Popova whether women received equal pay for equal work in the Soviet slave labor camps.

The issue was always slavery versus freedom. I raised the point over and over again in writing, speeches, at meetings, even over the Voice of America.

Eventually Moscow answered back. Maria Sharikova, assistant chairman of the Moscow Soviet on the rights of women is reported on January 5, 1949, to have said:

Dorothy Kenyon, in endeavoring to conceal her reactionary stand has engaged in slandering the Soviet people, in particular Soviet women. In a radio broadcast over the Voice of America, she talks a lot of irresponsible drivel attempting to deny the political, economic, and social equality enjoyed by the women of the U. S. S. R., at the same time painting a glowing picture of the position of women in Britain and the United States, when she knows full well what their position really is. "I am shocked at this shameful downright lie, completely unsupported by the tiniest fact." As it happens, Dorothy Kenyon could not quote facts for that would at once disprove her assertions.

Dorothy Kenyon had engaged in slandering the "freest women on earth, the women of the U. S. S. R." However, as any of the thousands of visitors to the U. S. S. R. can witness, "the slander indulged in by Dorothy Kenyon can hoodwink no one."

Mr. Chariman, I offer that entire gem in evidence as exhibit 52. That is a State Department release quoting that release from Moscow in toto.

This is my defense. What does it add up to? With all the mistakes and errors of judgment which the best of us can and do commit only too frequently, I submit that the record proves without question that I am a lover of democracy, of individual freedom and of human rights for everybody, a battler, perhaps a little bit too much of a battler sometimes, for the rights of the little fellow, the under dog, the fellow who gets forgotten or frightened or shunned because of unpopular views; but who is a human being just the same and entitled to be treated like one. The converse of these things; dictatorship, cruelty, oppression, and slavery are to me intolerable. I cannot live in their air, I must fight back. This is not perhaps a very wise or prudent way to live but it is my way. It has got me into hot water before and probably will again. But my faith in people and my impulse to fight for them is my religion and it is the light by which I live. I also believe that it is America. There is not a Communist bone in my body.

This is a matter of grave consequence to me. Literally overnight, whatever personal and professional reputation and standing I may have acquired after many years in private practice and some in public office, they have been seriously jeopardized, if not destroyed by the widespread dissemination of charges of Communistic leanings or proclivities that are utterly false. The truth may never catch up with the lie, but insofar as I can, I desire to regain as much of what I have lost as possible and I have faith that this subcommittee will see that justice is done. Of course, I am more than willing to attempt to answer any questions the members of this subcommittee, or anyone permitted by the subcommittee, may care to ask. I conclude with an expression of my appreciation of the opportunity and privilege afforded me so promptly, to answer these charges at this public hearing.

Senator TYRINGS. I will ask our guests, no matter what the testimony may be, whether it pleases them or displeases them, to kindly refrain from any applause or any other demonstration, because if we permit it in one case, we will have to permit it in another, and we are trying to conduct a very careful investigation and we would appreciate if those who come, no matter what your impulses may be, would not give us any demonstration.

Senator Hickenlooper, would you like to ask the witness any questions?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I would like to canvass the situation a little bit with Judge Kenyon.

I want to say, at the outset, Mr. Chairman, that I told the committee that while I thought it was perfectly proper to have Judge Kenyon come here and make such a statement as she cared to make, that I felt that no adequate or satisfactory canvass of the situation surrounding the accusations of Judge Kenyon's membership in these organizations which have been declared subversive by various public bodies, could be had without full and complete access, prior access to the investigative files in connection with Judge Kenyon.

The committee has not seen fit to produce those investigating files for my perusal at this point, so that I feel that any examination at this time, while perhaps eventually adequate, I cannot be certain that it has a sufficient background of all the facts upon which to base questions, but I do have some questions I would like to ask Judge Kenyon if I may.

In the first place, I would like to canvass some of these organizations, and I may say, Mr. Chairman, that my questions are based entirely upon my understanding that Senator McCarthy did not charge Judge Kenyon with being personally subversive or with being a Communist. I believe the charges went to the point of charging her with membership in a substantial number of organizations which have been declared subversive by various public bodies.

Senator TYDINGS. May I interrupt?

Senator GREEN. May I reply to that?

Senator TYDINGS. Let me read the resolution.

Senator GREEN. May I reply to that point?

Senator TYDINGS. All right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. May you reply? I am stating my understanding.

Senator GREEN. I think you have misunderstood the purpose of the resolution, which was read at the beginning of this hearing.

The purpose of the resolution is to authorize and direct us to investigate charges of disloyalty, so the charges that were made against Miss Kenyon were charges of disloyalty. That is what she directed her answers to, and it seems to me that further questions ought to be directed to that point.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do I understand that the Senator—

Senator TYDINGS. Just a minute. There is evidently a dispute here. Let the chairman read the resolution himself, and he will take no further part in it:

That the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete study and investigation as to whether persons who are disloyal to the United States are or have been employed by the Department of State.

Proceed.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. If the subcommittee is to be limited to the very artful interpretation that is now apparently put on the resolution, then I certainly should be handicapped and completely limited in the questions I think should be asked in the general public interest of examining this matter.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead with your question.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Judge, I believe that you were alleged to have been a member of the Consumers National Federation Conference Committee, or the Consumers National Federation, which was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, and in 1943, by the California Committee on Un-American Activities; and by the New York City Council Committee on Investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission.

I have a photostat, alleging that it is copied—

Miss KENYON. Give me the name again, Senator, because I have not heard that name before.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Consumers National Federation. I have a photostat of your name among the list of individual sponsors of that organization.

Miss KENYON. And the date?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. December 11 and 12, 1937, apparently this document was published. You may see it if you like.

Miss KENYON. I would be very happy to, yes.

This, Mr. Chairman, is not one of the organizations which was in the public print that I had, that was released last week. I remember nothing about it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The list of names is on the second page.

Miss KENYON. Yes.

I will tell you, Senator, what I remember, if I have got the name correct, because there are an awful lot of names that are very confusing, and it is difficult to tell.

I have a recollection of a group concerned with consumers' problems that was formed around the middle of the thirties, about this date, probably, and that I went and made a speech at one of their meetings, and that I was probably perhaps connected with for a little while and later I decided that I did not like the tone or complexion or company that I was keeping, and I got out very early and washed my hands of it and never had anything to do with it for many, many years.

I do not know what my files may show, but that is my recollection.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you have any recollection of that particular organization, or your sponsorship?

Miss KENYON. That is what I say I think I am talking about—that organization. That is my recollection—of one where I did not like the company. I went and made a speech and did not like the company I was keeping and after a very few months, I got out and had nothing further to do with it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you recall whether you got out by writing a letter of resignation, or just not going?

Miss KENYON. I cannot recall anything about that. I only know, Senator, my recollection is I washed my hands of it long ago, because I suspected the people. I will be very glad to look it up in my files and see if I can find anything further.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. As far as you recall, you attended just one meeting of the organization?

Miss KENYON. That is right. That is what I remember—making a speech on consumers' problems, a very good speech and they liked it, and I think they asked me to be a sponsor. That was my misfortune.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you recall the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, in New York City?

Miss KENYON. I think I made a speech there. That was not one of the names given by Senator McCarthy last week, this is a new one on me.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have a photostat, alleged to be a copy of the list of sponsoring people, and you are listed as Dorothy Kenyon, former justice, New York City. This organization was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1942 and 1944; by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, in their report in 1948; cited as subversive and un-American by the special committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, April 21, 1943.

Miss KENYON. What is that? I beg your pardon, I do not want to interrupt.

What did you say; what was the date allegedly of my participation?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You understand, I have no first-hand knowledge, and these are alleged to be photostatic copies of the documents.

Miss KENYON. I understand.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. This is dated, according to the photostat, January 17, 1940. Your name appears on the second page of the photostat, if you care to see it—you may.

Miss KENYON. Wait a minute. I am afraid I am confused about this. What is the name of that organization?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Miss KENYON. Oh, I beg your pardon. It is one of the ones I mentioned, Senator, and I have a statement in my file. I just read my statement in respect to that. I said that what I did, according to my record, was to accept membership on a citizens' committee to promote free public education. The letterhead lists many distinguished college presidents, including Miss Park, former president of Bryn Mawr, and Professor Urey.

I also believe I am correct in saying that the organization is not on the Attorney General's list. It had an astounding number of presidents of colleges on it—most impressive.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Would you look at this alleged photostat and see if you are referring specifically to that organization whose name appears at the top? There are some of these organizations having similar names.

Miss KENYON. "President Marion Park, Bryn Mawr College; Prof. Harold Urey." This is the same one, yes. There are lots of other college presidents there too—very fine gentlemen.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you withdraw from this organization?

Miss KENYON. I had nothing to do with it, sir, according to my records, except to serve for a short period on this Committee to Promote Free Public Education—just one single ad hoc committee for one specific job. I don't know what we did.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You are not connected with it now, then?

Miss KENYON. I never have been since 1940, if that is the date on it. I was only connected with it then to that extent.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have another photostat of an alleged program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalien-

able Rights. This is Monday, February 12, 1940. The photostat is alleged to be of a list of members of the general committee. This organization is cited as a Communist front, which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. That citation was by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in their report March 29, 1944; also cited by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, report No. 115, September 2, 1947; cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1948.

Do you recall that organization?

Miss KENYON. Yes. I have mentioned that already, to say that all my records showed, and it must be the same meeting that you are talking about—was a meeting held in New York. I thought it was February 15, 1940, and Newbold Morris, who is not mayor of New York, and Mary Woolley, former president of Mount Holyoke College, were listed as the speakers in this clipping that I had.

Senator TYDINGS: Who is Newbold Morris, so we will know who he is.

Miss KENYON. He was president of the city council for 12 years when Mayor LaGuardia was president. He ran last fall for mayor against Mayor O'Dwyer. He is a liberal too.

Senator GREEN. In order that the record may be complete, on what ticket did Mr. Morris run for mayor?

Miss KENYON. Well, Senator, I think he ran on the Republican ticket. That is probably why I voted for O'Dwyer.

Excuse me, Senator Hickenlooper.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I notice it is the occasional Republican who belongs to one of these organizations that can be pointed to.

Mr. KIENDL. I am on your side on that, Senator.

Miss KENYON. Guilty by association.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Is this organization still in existence that you know of?

Miss KENYON. What, this Inalienable Rights?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. This Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

Miss KENYON. I haven't the faintest idea. I can't even remember it. All I can find was this clipping in my files, 1940.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now the testimonial dinner in honor of Ferdinand C. Smith, on September 20, 1944, at the Hotel Commodore, in New York. I have a photostat alleging to be a copy of the list of sponsors containing your name. Were you a sponsor of that organization?

Miss KENYON. I haven't any recollection. That is also a new one on me. It wasn't included in the list that Senator McCarthy gave last year. When was that, and what was the man's name?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. September 20, 1944, testimonial dinner in honor of Ferdinand C. Smith at the Hotel Commodore in New York. You may see this, if it will refresh your memory.

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much. Was he a Negro?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't know. The allegation was made, I believe, that he is a prominent Communist.

Miss KENYON. Do you mean at the dinner?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't know about at the dinner.

Miss KENYON. Excuse me a moment. I don't remember anything about this. I haven't any recollection of it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Your name is on the second page.

Miss KENYON. Yes, "in recognition of his outstanding service to labor, the Negro people, and the Nation."

I may have fallen for the fact that he is a member of the Negro race. That was a mistake like LaGuardia's occasional mistakes. It was a beaut.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you recall attending the dinner?

Miss KENYON. I don't know the individual. I don't recall having attended the dinner. I don't go to dinners if I can help myself.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature, suite 302, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. The photostat is alleged to be a copy of a letter, or photostat of the letterhead of that organization, upon which your name appears as a sponsor.

Miss KENYON. What is the date? May I see it?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. March 24, 1939. You may see it, of course.

Miss KENYON. I reported on this in my statement. I said I could find absolutely nothing in my files in regard to it, sir. I see a number of friends of mine along here on this sponsor list, including Prof. John Dewey. I just sponsored a dinner for him this fall. And Lillian Wald, who is also on the board of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Professor MacIver.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you have any recollection of it?

Miss KENYON. No.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And you are not now a member of it, nor a sponsor?

Miss KENYON. Certainly not.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have an alleged photostatic copy of a clipping of the Daily Worker of February 10, 1944, containing a story which I shall show you, headed as follows: "Leading citizens laud Isaacs' on Gerson," and it is alleged to be a letter of which they claim you were one of the signers, in this news story, a letter to Mr. Isaacs lauding the appointment of S. W. Gerson, former Daily Worker reporter, as an assistant on Mr. Isaacs' staff.

They print your name as one of the signers of that letter.

Miss KENYON. A Daily Worker clipping, you say? I never see that sheet.

Mr. Chairman, I have said that I could find nothing in my record in respect to Gerson, or any letter or any action of mine in respect to it, and I have no recollection of anything except the Gerson controversy itself, which I remember, but the thing that seems to me extraordinary is that if my memory is right, that Gerson incident was in 1937 and this is dated 1944. It may not be a very good paper, but news 7 years old seems a little stale. I would suspect it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't know, Judge. You are the one who either has the recollection or does not have the recollection, and I am merely asking whether you have any recollection or whether you did sign such a letter or not.

Miss KENYON. I have no recollection, and this seems to me incredible.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have heard that term before.

Miss KENYON. I did not mean to plagiarize.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In spite of the general sentiment, there is no monopoly on the term.

Miss KENYON. It is like "warmongering."

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now I have a photostat of an alleged news story in the Daily Worker of February 21, 1940, in which your name appears as the signer of a protest to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson, protesting the attacks upon the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and condemning the war hysteria now being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration. I show you the photostat. I have no knowledge of it whatsoever.

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much. I have already commented on that. I will just take a look at it now.

So far as I know, I have already referred to this, to say that I have absolutely no recollection of having done anything of the sort, and I will say this time it is simply preposterous in relation to my record, which was almost that of warmongering at that time. It is undoubtedly a complete and absolute falsehood.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I take it that you are quite positive that you did not sign such a protest?

Miss KENYON. I am as positive as I can be.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The National Citizens Political Action Committee. Do you recall that organization?

Miss KENYON. I believe that that was the organization of which Sidney Hillman was the head, and I was very happy to be a member of the PAC. I regarded him as a great labor leader and a great citizen and American. I don't need to look at the documentation on that, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You well remember that organization?

Miss KENYON. Quite.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have a photostat here of a page of the Daily Worker of February 10, 1944, headed "American women leaders greet colleagues in U. S. S. R."

Miss KENYON. Has that a picture of Dorothy Thompson in the middle of the page?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It has a picture of Miss Thompson.

Miss KENYON. I remember that very well indeed. I am proud to say I did send greetings along with Dorothy Thompson and a lot of other fine women to the brave women of Russia, who at that time were our allies and were putting up a wonderful fight. Dorothy Thompson and I both remember it very well, and we are very proud of the fact that we did it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That was at the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship; is that true?

Miss KENYON. I don't know anything about that. We just sent greetings as individuals. I did not belong to that organization.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You did not?

Miss KENYON. No. I understood we were invited as individuals to join in a Christmas greeting and we did—a lot of us. I think Mrs. Ogden Reid, of the Herald Tribune, was on it too.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe you recall the Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee in your State; do you not?

Miss KENYON. Yes, Senator. I have very little recollection of it myself. I mostly got it from Mr. Baldwin.



Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have here an alleged photostatic copy of a letterhead dated January 18, 1935, of the Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee, 154 Nassau Street, room 1200, New York City, and your name is printed on the side of this alleged photostat as one of the sponsors. Is that correct?

Miss KENYON. I believe so; yes. Mr. Baldwin's name appears there as trustee; is that correct?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Baldwin is the first named as trustee.

Miss KENYON. Perhaps I had better look at it.

Yes, that is the one. I see Heywood Broun's name there too.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. How long were you a member of that organization?

Miss KENYON. It died in 1934 or 1935. This must have been its death agony, I guess. That is what Mr. Baldwin told me. I have no recollection of it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You are not a member of it at this time?

Miss KENYON. It liquidated 15 years ago, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It was cited as subversive and Communist June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948. It was called a legal arm of the Communist Party by Attorney General Francis Biddle, according to the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942. It was cited as "It is essentially the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, reports, January 3, 1939; also cited in reports, January 3, 1940, and March 29, 1944, and again by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947. I have no knowledge as to whether or not it is still in existence, but those are the citations.

Miss KENYON. Senator, I believe you have confused it with the International Labor Defense. I think what you have been reading about is the record of the International Labor Defense, with which I never had anything to do, and it was, so far as I know, the arm of the Communist Party.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The Political Prisoners Bail Fund Committee is alleged to be a subsidiary of the International Labor Defense, which has been characterized as I have just given you by those reports.

Miss KENYON. Yes, but I gave you Roger Baldwin's report, which is to the contrary, and there is no evidence that it is a subsidiary that I know of, and I have Mr. Baldwin's statement to the contrary. That is the best I can do in respect to that, Senator.

So far as I am concerned, I have forgotten every single thing about it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have a photostat of a letter headed "Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain." This is dated March 5, 1938. Your name is carried on the photostat, apparently in a list of members. At the bottom of the list it says "(partial list)."

Miss KENYON. Will you give me the name again? I think I have covered it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain.

Miss KENYON. Yes, I covered that and said that I belonged to that. That was in 1938-39, and the purpose of that was, we were working to get the embargo against the Government of Spain lifted. If you re-

call the situation at that time, the policy of nonintervention I believe was in effect, and was practiced by everybody except Hitler and Mussolini, and I have a good deal of good company in that list. I also could not find that organization on any subversive list. It must have gone out of existence.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe you will find that it was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 19, 1944, pages 168-169, as "When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain" the above "Communist lawyers' front organization" supported this movement.

It was cited as a Communist front, I believe, by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, in their report, 1948, page 335.

Cited, I believe, also by the New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission.

Miss KENYON. I have told you that I was a member of it in 1939, for that one specific purpose. There are a great many very fine American citizens also included on that list. I had no knowledge whatsoever that it was Communist at the time, and I am not sure of it yet.

I have had nothing to do with it since 1939.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It is not in existence, so far as you know, at this time?

Miss KENYON. I understood it was formed for that one purpose, and then it went out of existence.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have a photostatic copy of an alleged political advertisement in the New York Times of October 9, 1944, entitled "An Open Letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey" in connection with the Morris U. Schappes' conviction and asking the Governor to pardon Mr. Schappes. Your name is listed in this alleged photostat of the advertisement as one of the signers of the open letter.

Miss KENYON. I covered that in my statement. I will be very glad to look at it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I think there is a pencil mark right there at your name.

Miss KENYON. I have absolutely no recollection of that whatever, Senator. That is one of the matters which I tried to see if I could find something on to refresh my recollection. I found absolutely nothing. I remember a long debate in regard to this Schappes case, and I think the American Civil Liberties Union had the matter under advisement in respect to a number of possible aspects of civil liberties in connection with the matter. Of course, in connection with civil liberties, as you know, we are always having cases come before us where it is charged that there has been some violation of civil liberties, and it is one of the basic tenets of the American Civil Liberties Union that every person is entitled to civil liberties, even if we hate his ideas.

I have no recollection of this or of myself having taken any action whatsoever. If I did take any action, it would have been entirely because of some civil liberties question which I believed was involved. Frankly, I don't think I took any action at all. I think I just chewed the rag the way a lot of others did.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then, the inclusion of your name in that advertisement as one of the sponsors was entirely without your consent or approval; would you say?

Miss KENYON. No, I can't be sure of that. I simply say I cannot remember. If it was included, it was only included because of some civil liberties aspect of the matter so far as I was concerned, but I have no recollection.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The Schappes Defense Committee has been listed by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, as a front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York. It was listed as a front organization, I am informed, by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report in 1948, page 55.

Miss KENYON. Mr. Senator, I take it that you are not charging that I was a member of that committee, but simply that I signed the letter. Is that correct?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Miss Kenyon, I am charging nothing.

Miss KENYON. I beg your pardon.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am asking for information.

Miss KENYON. Yes, yes. To clarify, let me say I know I never was a member of the committee.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I do not allege that this photostat shows any membership on anything, except it is alleged that you were a signer of the so-called open letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey as contained in a political advertisement of that date.

Miss KENYON. And that I may have done, although I doubt it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you recall the Washington Committee To Lift the Spanish Embargo?

Miss KENYON. No. I mentioned that, and I said I could find absolutely nothing whatsoever about it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have a photostatic copy of an alleged list of sponsors, I presume, of this organization; I don't know. It is headed "These Americans say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain.'". It is a booklet of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, an auxiliary of North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Under the heading "Lawyers" is listed "Judge Dorothy Kenyon."

Miss KENYON. Well, I was fighting for that cause. I wanted the embargo lifted.

This is one of the causes, Senator, for which I fought. It says, "These Americans say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain.'" They say they want the embargo lifted. I did.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You signed that?

Miss KENYON. That was 1939, was it not?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe it so.

Miss KENYON. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then I have a photostat of an alleged page in the New York Times of January 31, 1949, entitled "An Open Letter to the Government and the People of the United States," demanding that they lift the embargo now.

Miss KENYON. You mean 1939, not 1949.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did I say 1949? I'm sorry; 1939. And at the bottom of this is a list of names, in which your name appears.

Miss KENYON. I suppose that is the same thing, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't know.

Miss KENYON. There are an awful lot of bishops on this. This is what I was for. I see some very respectable lawyers of New York on there. Harold Riegelman's name is there.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The Washington Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo, I am informed, was cited as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish civil war by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation. That citation is by the Special Committee On Un-American Activities, report March 29, 1944, pages 137 and 138.

Cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1947, page 210, according to the information I have.

Miss KENYON. I certainly had no idea it was Communist, and I am sure those other Republican New York lawyers did not know it either.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Can't you find any Democratic lawyers on that list?

Miss KENYON. I think my counsel will be glad to.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Here is a photostatic copy, allegedly, of a letterhead of Films For Democracy, 342 Madison Avenue, New York. Listed on the side as a member of the advisory board is the name of Dorothy Kenyon.

Miss KENYON. I have reported on that already. I will be glad to see the exhibit.

I have absolutely no recollection. I see Stanley Iaacs' name here. I thought perhaps I might have made a speech before it, but I don't know.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Would you say the inclusion of your name on the list of advisers was without your consent or authorization?

Miss KENYON. No. I wouldn't know. I wouldn't have any idea about it. This was in 1938, and I couldn't tell you about that. I have no recollection whatever. I should have thought that I had perhaps made a speech before the group.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And from that they put your name on the list?

Miss KENYON. They might very well have. I am inclined to think that they did in a number of cases.

I see Senator Capper here. I think I had some good company, and if it was Communist then, I certainly did not know it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I might suggest that on some of these lists you had some very bad company as well as good company.

Miss KENYON. You are quite correct. We know that now. We did not all know as much then.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am not reading any other names on the list. This is a matter that concerns you, Judge Kenyon.

Miss KENYON. Yes, I understand, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Films for Democracy was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report March 29, 1944, and as a Communist Front organization which merged with another front, Film Audiences, to become Film Audiences for Democracy. It was cited in the year

1939 by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report of 1948, according to the information I have.

Miss KENYON. I also referred to that in my statement, saying that I had absolutely no record of it or memory of it. I take it from what you say that one was merged with the other.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't know. I am merely quoting from the report.

Miss KENYON. And the letterhead on which my name appears was dated, as you say, January 5, 1938?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. There is a date, January 5, 1938.

Miss KENYON. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Later, according to the information I have, it was merged with another organization to become an organization known as Film Audiences for Democracy, in 1939.

Miss KENYON. That I know nothing about.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have an alleged photostat of a letter of Film Audiences for Democracy, 342 Madison Avenue, New York. I do not have the date on this one, but on the advisory board, on the side of this letterhead, is the name of Dorothy Kenyon. That is the merged organization.

Miss KENYON. I know nothing whatever about it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I take it, then, that your name was put on there without your consent or approval.

Miss KENYON. I have no recollection, Senator, whether it was or not. I doubt that I ever had anything to do with it, but I cannot be sure. I have led a reasonably full life, and this was a long time ago.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then you might have been a member of this?

Miss KENYON. It is possible I might have, but if I did I will repeat again that I had no ideas that it was Communist then, and I haven't any idea what it is now.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in their report of March 29, 1944, cited it as a Communist front. I have the citation book here if there is any question about the citation. And the California Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report in 1948, said "The Communist fronts, Film Audiences and Films for Democracy, merged in 1939 to form a new front, Film Audiences for Democracy."

I am told the New York City Council Committee Investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission cited it as "an organization of Communist complexion."

Do you remember whether you canvassed the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom?

Miss KENYON. I think we discussed that previously, did we not? Yes, that's right. I have mentioned it, you have it, I mentioned it, and now you mention it again.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Were you a member of that organization?

Miss KENYON. I told you that I, in 1940, accepted membership in an ad hoc Citizens Committee to Promote Free Public Education. I have never heard of it since.

That is the one which had all of the college presidents on it, if you will recall.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. There was a meeting, I am told, according to this photostat which I have here and which I will hand you, sponsored, I believe, by that organization on April 13, 1940, and under the heading "These people sponsored this meeting" is the name of Dorothy Kenyon.

Miss KENYON. I have no recollection, but I may have.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You would not say that you did not? You would not positively state that you did not sponsor it?

Miss KENYON. That meeting?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That particular meeting.

Miss KENYON. I may have. It was, I believe, in that same year that I was accepting membership on this committee. It would not be inconsistent if I did. I repeat that I had no idea at that time that it was Communist. I saw Alvin Johnson's name there, and I am sure he did not think it was Communist either.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report for June 15, 1942, and also on March 29, 1944, as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers. The California Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report in 1948, says:

This Communist front was established on Lincoln's birthday in 1939. The activities of this group were always in behalf of communism. It has followed the Communist Party line as it switched and squirmed in support of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia.

It was cited as subversive and un-American by the Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations report, April 21, 1943.

I have a photostat, allegedly, of the letterhead of the Citizens' Committee to Aid Striking Seamen, 277 West Twenty-second Street, New York City, with a letter which is apparently a form letter photographed on this letterhead. On the side, under the heading "Advisory Committee", among others, appears the name of Dorothy Kenyon. This letter is dated January 28, 1937. Were you a member of that organization?

Miss KENYON. I have already reported on that. I could find absolutely nothing in my files, and I have absolutely no recollection. I have been sympathetic in a number of strikes, and it is perfectly possible that I may have sympathized with this. I know nothing about it whatsoever.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities in December 1944, in a report in appendix IX, I believe—there is a typographical bobble here—cited it, as a Communist front.

Miss KENYON. At that time?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The report was made in December 1944. The date of the letter that I have is 1937.

Miss KENYON. I certainly did not know that it was Communist if it was Communist, nor am I sure that I was on it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I do not know whether you were or not, Judge. I merely showed you the photostat with the name "Dorothy Kenyon" on the side as a member of the advisory committee.

I have a photostat of a letterhead of the Conference on Pan American Democracy, with offices at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. It

is dated November 16, 1938, and in the list of sponsors printed on the left-hand side of the letterhead is the name of Dorothy Kenyon.

Miss KENYON. I have covered that already in my statement.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Just to refresh my recollection, were you one of the sponsors of the organization?

Miss KENYON. Yes. I said that. I found the letterhead in my file dated March 4, 1939, and I remember making a speech before that organization, I think in 1938. On the letterhead was the name of Senator Paul H. Douglas, Quincy Howe, Stanley Isaacs, and Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, all good friends of mine. I didn't know the Communists on it, if there were some.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe it is alleged there were some on it.

Miss KENYON. I believe those gentlemen that I named were not Communists or even considered so by this committee.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Are you still a member of that organization?

Miss KENYON. I have never heard of it in 10 or more years.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you ever withdraw from it?

Miss KENYON. According to this letterhead, I was a sponsor in 1939.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. 1938 is the date of this letter.

Miss KENYON. I'm sorry. The letter I have in my files is 1939. I'm sorry.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then if this photostat is an accurate reproduction, you were a sponsor in 1938, and also according to your own letterhead in 1939?

Miss KENYON. That's right. I told you it was in my file, which brought me up a whole year longer than what you have.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. When was the last time you had any connection at all with this organization?

Miss KENYON. So far as I know, March 4, 1939. I have never heard of it since. I have difficulty remembering even this connection with it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Attorney General Tom Clark's letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948, cited it as subversive and Communist. It was cited as Communist front by the Special Committee on un-American Activities in its report March 29, 1944; also cited in the report of June 25, 1942.

The California Committee on un-American Activities, in its report, 1947, cited it as a Communist front, and it was cited as subversive and un-American by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations in its report of April 21, 1943.

Miss KENYON. I do not think I need repeat my position.

Senator TYDINGS. We want to go along, if you will permit us, to, for quite some time yet, but obviously there will be other members of the committee who will want to ask you some questions, and I am wondering whether it would be convenient for you to stay over tonight and come tomorrow to finish up.

Miss KENYON. Could we possibly finish tonight, Senator? I do earn my bread and butter practicing law, and I have had several days just knocked right out.

Senator TYDINGS. We will proceed, then.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe you discussed the New York League of Women Shoppers, and your association with that. I have

what is alleged to be a photostatic copy of their letterhead of January 25, 1940, in which you are listed, among others, as one of the sponsors. Is that correct?

Miss KENYON. No, that is absolutely not so, because I disagreed violently with them in about 1936 or 1937 and withdrew with a bang. I remember that very well indeed, so they probably just continued to carry my name on the letterhead, which I am sorry to say many organizations appear to have done.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you withdraw in writing?

Miss KENYON. I think I probably did. I know I had a great row with them. I could find nothing in my files, but I don't keep files forever and ever.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. At about what time did you withdraw from that organization?

Miss KENYON. That was 1937, I think—maybe it was earlier than that. No, I think it was founded about 1935, and I think it was 1936 or 1937 when I withdrew as a sponsor. I was never a member.

I didn't approve of the way they handled things, and I told them so.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then their use of your name on their letterhead as late as January 25, 1940, was completely without your consent and unauthorized?

Miss KENYON. That's right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. This organization was listed in 1944 by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-controlled front by indisputable documentary evidence obtained from the files of the Communist Party in Philadelphia, according to the citation, and it was cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943 as one of the Communist-inspired and therefore Communist-dominated and controlled consumer organizations.

Miss KENYON. That was my understanding, too, and that is one of the reasons I withdrew from it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I merely wanted to get these things completely cleared up for the record.

I have a photostat of a letterhead of the Milk Consumers Protective Committee, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. The date of this is supposed to be April 23, 1940, according to the photostat, and under the heading "advisory board" is the name Dorothy Kenyon. Do you recall the Milk Consumers Protective Committee?

Miss KENYON. I covered that in my statement. I have absolutely no recollection of any such thing, and I can find absolutely nothing in my files.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. So that you cannot recall now whether or not you ever were a member of it, or a member of the advisory board?

Miss KENYON. That's right; that's right. It sounds so utterly foreign to me that I would say I could not possibly have been, but you do sometimes have a lapse of memory, especially about unimportant things.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I think it is very apparent that a number of these organizations have been free with your name, Judge Kenyon. They have taken rather unusual liberties.

Miss KENYON. I think so too, Senator. It is unfortunate to be a liberal and a fighter for causes. It is probably better not to belong to anything.



Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you recall the organization called the Associated Blind, Inc.?

Miss KENYON. This is completely new.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Among the list of sponsors on this letterhead is "Honorable Dorothy Kenyon, Justice." I am merely asking you about the organization.

Miss KENYON. This, of course, is completely new, and I remember absolutely nothing about it. I don't know anything about it at all.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You have no recollection of the organization?

Miss KENYON. No. I would say I had never heard of it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Is that the fact, that you have never heard of it, so far as you remember?

Miss KENYON. That is right, yes. I haven't any recollection whatsoever of such a name.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Therefore the inclusion of your name as a sponsor of that organization would have been without your authority or consent?

Miss KENYON. I would say so; I would say so.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. This organization is cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in December 1944.

I have a photostat of an alleged program of the American Russian Institute, or I should say it appears to be an invitation to a dinner given by the American Russian Institute, a dinner and presentation of its first annual award to Franklin D. Roosevelt for outstanding service in furthering American-Soviet relations, given on Tuesday, May 7, 1946, at 6:30 o'clock in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Pennsylvania, in New York. On the list of sponsors—a partial list, it says—appears the name "Dorothy Kenyon." Do you recall that dinner of that organization?

Miss KENYON. I also covered that in my remarks. I do not recall the dinner, but I did say that, being a Rooseveltian, a devoted Rooseveltian, it might not have been strange if I had sponsored such a dinner in his honor.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union was cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report in 1948.

Miss KENYON. Are you talking about the same organization, Senator, or is this another one?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It says "American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union." Perhaps I had better look it up in the citations.

Senator TYDINGS. While Senator Hickenlooper is looking that up, do some of these organizations have a parent body with branches in the various States, some of those that have been enumerated, like the Maryland Division or the California Division, or is there one organization that covers the country with a mantle? Do they have State chapters?

Miss KENYON. Of what?

Senator TYDINGS. Any of these organizations.

Miss KENYON. Do you mean, do I know?

Senator TYDINGS. Do you know?

Miss KENYON. No.

Senator TYDINGS. The reason I asked you is that there was put in evidence yesterday in one of the cases an exhibit where they had a Maryland chapter, and I was wondering whether or not they had chapters over the country in other States, because—and I don't say this is a fact, but I think it is a logical inference—one of the chapters might have a connotation that the parent body might not have, and vice versa, for that matter, so I think that when we go into the State findings on any of them we ought to know whether there are State chapters there. We don't know exactly what is being referred to.

Miss KENYON. Unfortunately I know so little about these organizations that have been mentioned that I am not the authority to tell you what their organization is.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Of course, the only reason these organizations are brought up is that your name appears on all of them as a sponsor or adviser or something of that kind, and I merely wanted to probe that situation a little.

Miss KENYON. That's right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I think perhaps I should not press this for the moment, because this program says "The American Russian Institute cordially invites," et cetera, and the citation refers to the organization "American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union." That is the citation of its Communist activities. There is some addition to the name as contained in the program. It may not be the same, and I shall therefore pass it up.

The organization known as "Descendants of the American Revolution"—are you familiar with that?

Miss KENYON. Yes. That is not on this list. I have, however, a memory of that which is very clear, because that, again, was one of the organizations that I never would become a member of. I was associated with them at the start and I didn't like them, and I just dropped them as fast as I could.

The idea was a very nice idea, and I think it was Helen Hall, of New York, who told me that some Quaker lady whose name I forgot had thought up the idea of having some Descendants of the American Revolution who might have a slightly different program from that of the D. A. R. It sounded to me like an interesting idea. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, as I recall, was interested and was an adviser, and also, if I recall, Mary Simkhovitch, the very fine woman in New York who was for long the head of Greenwich House. We explored the idea, and I may have been on that advisory committee for a little while, but very soon I saw a little bit of some other people who were working in it and, as I say, I didn't like them at all and I got out as delicately but as fast as I could. That was all back in the early, or the middle of the 1930's, I would have said. I remember the idea intrigued me, but I did not like the people who were trying to put it into effect. They struggled to get me to join.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The photostat which I have lists "Dorothy Kenyon, prominent attorney" as a member of the advisory board.

Miss KENYON. As I say, I may have been on the advisory board for a year, along with John Haynes Holmes and Mary Simkhovitch, but I got out very fast. What is the date on that?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. There is no date that I notice.

Miss KENYON. It was the middle 1930's, I think. Oh, yes, they are both on there. Isn't that wonderful! My memory was good.

That idea did interest me.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And that was when, did you say?

Miss KENYON. It was around the middle 1930's, I would have said. I am not too clear about that. As I say, I haven't had a chance to look it up. I do have the recollection.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Your memory is good about that organization in the 1930's?

Miss KENYON. Yes, I remember that very much, because I was really interested in that idea. Most of these others I know nothing about because I had nothing to do with them.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The Descendants of the American Revolution are described by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of June 1942, as—

A Communist-front organization set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Descendants have uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party.

It was cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report in 1948; cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations in its report of April 21, 1943.

Miss KENYON. My feeling was sound. I might say that quite a number of my ancestors fought in the Revolutionary War—on the right side.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In the New York Journal-American of Sunday, March 12, 1950, under a story with a byline by Howard Rushmore, you are quoted—and I shall show you the entire story—

Miss KENYON. Yes; thank you very much.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. As saying, "Perhaps I was a sucker," when letterheads listed your name among the sponsors of Communist-front organizations dating from 1935 until 1949 and, "Denied in many instances that the use of her name had been authorized on stationery of organizations listed as Communist by Congress or the Attorney General," and, "Declared McCarthy was attempting 'to make people afraid of supporting popular ideas.'"

I wonder if that statement that "Perhaps I was a sucker" when letterheads listed her name among sponsors of the Communist organizations is an accurate statement.

Miss KENYON. I may have said that perhaps in certain instances I was a sucker, as who has not been, and I remember LaGuardia's statement that when he made a mistake, it was a "beaut," and I may have made one or two of those myself. When I have made a mistake, however, I think it has always been from generous motives, and never because of selfish political motivations.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you have a copy of this?

Miss KENYON. I have it right here. My counsel did not let me read it until this moment.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You are welcome to look at this, but if you have a copy of it we might as well keep this file together.

I have here a news story, Judge Kenyon, taken from the Times Record of Troy, N. Y., Tuesday evening, January 17, 1950, headed

"Hiss trial seen example of civil liberties hysteria"; subheading "Dorothy Kenyon, former judge, speaks at annual YWCA dinner." The story is as follows, and is under date of January 17, 1950:

The current perjury trial of Alger Hiss was cited last night by former New York City Municipal Court Judge Dorothy Kenyon as "a perfect example of a sacrifice to the hysteria created by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities." Speaking before a large gathering at a membership dinner at the Troy YWCA, Judge Kenyon claimed, "Lawyers agree that there is not one shred of respectable evidence to prove that Hiss did what he is charged with doing." She added that in spite of this, Mr. Hiss "will be lucky if he can get a hung jury in his second trial."

Now, for the purpose of my question, Judge, I do not intend to read any more of this. I expect to offer the entire story in evidence, and you may read it all if you want to, in evidence or anything else. But for the purpose of my question I will ask you, is that a substantially accurate statement of what you said in that speech?

Miss KENYON. There is one sentence in there which is not correct, where I am quoted as saying that lawyers agreed there was no evidence—did you say?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I shall read the quotation again, and I will be glad to hand you the story.

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The quotation here is as follows:

Judge Kenyon claimed "lawyers agree there is not one shred of respectable evidence to prove that Hiss did what he is charged with doing." She added that in spite of this Mr. Hiss "will be lucky if he can get a hung jury in his second trial."

My question is as to the accuracy of the alleged quotation, which is alleged in the story to be a direct quote from your statement. I have no objection—in fact, it is perfectly all right with me if the whole story goes in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. Either way you want it.

Miss KENYON. It makes no difference to me, because I said everything except that one thing, as I recall it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It will be put in the record.

Miss KENYON. May I make a comment in respect to that?

Senator TYDINGS. You may.

Miss KENYON. I made the remark quoted in substantially those words, that it was a product of the hysteria created by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities. I was asked in the question period about the Hiss case, which many people have said too many things about already, and if I can very briefly summarize what I said about it, it was this: I did say that he would be lucky if he got a second hung jury. I also said, which is not here, that in the present condition of hysteria in the country it was almost impossible, it seemed to me, to find a jury who had not perhaps already gotten some preconceived idea of the issues, and therefore would be disqualified by having made up their minds in advance, and that I really thought it would be almost impossible to get what you would call a fair trial with a jury completely objective for at least 2 years in the present temper of the country.

In regard to this matter of evidence, what I said, in substance, was that there wasn't a shred of direct evidence except what Mr. Whittaker Chambers had said, plus the documents which also went back to Mr.

Chambers, because he had produced them. In fact, I think that is roughly what I said. There was some discussion of the whole subject on the part of the audience and myself. I think that there are a number of lawyers who agree with that position.

I do not know Mr. Hiss or Mr. Chambers or any of the parties involved.

Senator TYDINGS. The exhibit will be printed in the record.

[From Troy (N. Y.) Times Record, January 17, 1950]

**HISS TRIAL SEEN EXAMPLE OF CIVIL LIBERTY HYSTERIA—DOROTHY KENYON, FORMER JUDGE, SPEAKS AT ANNUAL YWCA DINNER**

The current perjury trial of Alger Hiss was cited last night by former New York City Municipal Court Judge Dorothy Kenyon as "a perfect example of a sacrifice to the hysteria created by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities."

Speaking before a large gathering at a membership dinner at the Troy YWCA, Judge Kenyon claimed "lawyers agree there is not one shred of respectable evidence to prove that Hiss did what he is charged with doing." She added that in spite of this Mr. Hiss "will be lucky if he can get a hung jury in his second trial."

The case of the former State Department official came up during Judge Kenyon's discussion on the status of civil liberties in the United States and in the world. She charged that "under J. Parnell Thomas (former Republican Representative from New Jersey) the House Un-American Activities Committee made accusations based on the flimsiest hearsay."

The loyalty tests of Federal employees, the Feinberg law, and wire tapping also came in for criticism from Judge Kenyon, a practicing attorney, who is now serving on the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

She declared that the Federal loyalty tests "contain no elements of a fair trial" and pointed out that the accused employees "do not even know the nature of the charges which are brought against them."

Characterizing the Feinberg law, which was recently declared unconstitutional, as an "invitation to tattle on teacher," Judge Kenyon called it a violation of academic freedom. She expressed the hope that the law "which is certain to be drawn up to replace it" (the Feinberg law) will be drafted with more caution.

Judge Kenyon told the gathering that "the people of the United States will soon be presented with a United Nations covenant on human rights which will include a mechanism for enforcement." She said that Americans must decide if they are willing to guarantee these rights and submit our violations of them to the World Court.

"The example the United States sets in the world will decide whether the democratic ideal will stand or fall," she asserted.

"If we are going to win the battle of ideas we have to put into practice our ideals of civil liberties," Judge Kenyon said, concluding with a plea for America to "get over the hysteria and end the witch hunting."

Judge Kenyon was introduced by Mrs. Margaret Spencer, Rabbi Julius K. Gutmann of the Third Street Temple led the devotional services, and Mrs. Norman R. Clarke, executive director of the Troy YWCA, gave the invocation.

The program was under the direction of Mrs. Sterling P. Olmsted of the public affairs committee.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Just as a matter of interest in your philosophy, which you have referred to in the past, Judge, I believe you graduated from what schools?

Miss KENYON. Smith College.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That was in 1908?

Miss KENYON. Yes, that's right; and New York University Law School. Harvard was not open then to women, otherwise I would have done what my brothers did.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you recall writing something for the Decennial Class Book of 1918?

Miss KENYON. 1918? I am afraid, Senator, you have the advantage of me. I haven't the faintest idea of what folly I may have committed at that point.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't think you would have been old enough to write in 1918.

Miss KENYON. Very sweet of you, but I was. I hope you did not mean mature.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am just wondering if you recall.

Miss KENYON. I don't recall one thing about it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Before I have even read it?

Miss KENYON. I don't recall one thing.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It is interesting. You might desire to check it. It goes to the question of your philosophy. I am told, in the Decennial Class Book of 1918, in writing about yourself, you used these words: "Absolutely not a Republican, nor a Prohibitionist. She can't altogether agree with the Democrats, nor can she quite commit herself to Socialists, toward whom perhaps she most inclines. Six years of nothing at all, of polite visits, existence and travel. How it reads like the days before the Russian Revolution. Here comes a change, and with about as little ceremony, enter the radical, the woman economically independent, the wage earner, the advocate of international democracy. Having once started on the downward path, nothing but disillusion is apparently likely to stop me."

Do you recall writing any such sentiments as that?

Miss KENYON. I don't even know what it means. Do you? I understand that part about Prohibition and Republicans, but nothing else.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I confess to some confusion, and I thought perhaps you might be able to explain it.

Miss KENYON. I am afraid I thought I was funny.

Thank you very much for calling it to my attention.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I thought sometimes those historical things are interesting to go back and review.

Miss KENYON. My class was also antisuffrage if I remember aright.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The question involved, so far as I am concerned—I assure you that I haven't the least evidence, nor do I have any belief, that you are subversive in any way.

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Or disloyal. I haven't approached that from that standpoint at all. Regardless of what other members of the committee may interpret as the statement Senator McCarthy made, I interpret the statement he made as suggesting that your membership or alleged membership in a great many organizations at least later or presently declared to be subversive is a matter for concern so far as the security risk goes in public service, especially in the State Department and its activities.

Senator McMAHON. Will the Senator yield at that point? I just wanted to quote from the record as to what the Senator did charge the witness with.

Miss KENYON. I have it here, and it was a little more than membership.

Senator McMAHON (reading):

I think it is important that the committee know that the Communist activities of Miss Kenyon are not only deep rooted but extend back through the years. Her

sponsorship of the doctrines and philosophy of this ruthless and godless organization is not new.

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much, Senator, and he also at one point, on page 168, said:

Here again we have this prominent State Department official, Judge Kenyon, crying aloud in her anguish for a fellow Red—

and he adds—

I call anyone who gets \$12,000 a year of the people's money very prominent—but of course I didn't get it—

a fellow red.

I consider that I have the right to assume that I was charged with being a Communist, and therefore disloyal, and I don't want to get angry. I have tried very hard not to.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I assure you that I am not taking the position that you are a Communist, so far as my views of the matter are concerned, but I would like to ask you whether or not you are familiar with Secretary Acheson's criteria on security risks as he has laid them down before committees of Congress and, I understand, published them.

Miss KENYON. No.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Are you familiar with that?

Miss KENYON. No, I don't believe I know them.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Assuming that he has laid down the criteria, among others, that membership in organizations that have been declared to be subversive by official bodies is a matter for serious question and examination of the person as a security risk before public employment is given them—I say assuming that; if I am incorrect in that statement I can be corrected—before you took public employment as a representative of this country on the United Nations, did any official discuss with you the allegations of your membership in organizations that had been declared to be subversive?

Miss KENYON. Never. They have come and talked to me about other people.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In the event, and this is a hypothetical situation, a supposition that I am making, the files in connection with information on your activities disclose, prior to the time of your employment or representation of this country, allegations of memberships in a substantial number of organizations that had been declared to be subversive by various public bodies, such as the Attorney General, the House Un-American Activities Committee, or other organizations of that sort, what is your personal opinion as to whether or not you should have been interviewed along that line?

I am assuming, for the purpose of this question, and making no allegation one way or the other, that there were repeated allegations in your file of membership in organizations that had been declared subversive. Do you think that you should have been talked to about this matter for some explanation or inquiry as to how your name happened to appear on these lists as sponsor and otherwise?

Miss KENYON. Well, Senator, I appreciate your asking me my opinion as to how the State Department should have handled this and other cases of dangerous persons. I would think, myself, in the first place, of the organizations that have been named here, membership in

them is practically not charged to me at all. I have been charged with sponsoring a number of organizations, some of which I am perfectly certain I never did sponsor. The ones that I think I did boiled down to a handful that were probably at the time I belonged not Communist at all, because I am sure you know about the infiltration of Communists into various organizations, and I would have thought that it would have been proper for the State Department, or any other governmental body, in considering taking someone on their staff, or whatever that they should look at their record in the round, and look at all their activities, and not just at a tiny little bit of a group, and I have recited a number of my activities here today. There are many others, during most of my life, which I have not troubled the committee with going into, because I did not want to take your time or bore you. I therefore simply hit the high spots of the things which were inconsistent with the so-called Communist line, and if you were to look into all my activities, I think you might think yourself, without further questioning of me, that I was a good security risk.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Judge Kenyon, the question I asked you—

Miss KENYON. I am sure I have been looked into by everything.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The question that I asked you—perhaps I didn't make it clear, and I merely asked for your opinion.

Miss KENYON. Yes; I understand.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In the light of the criteria laid down by the Secretary of State himself, in which he said that membership in organizations which had been declared to be subversive, or which were declared to be subversive by official bodies, was at least a cause for serious examination of the background and security risk potential of the individual who is considered for public office. In that light of those criteria, and then assuming for the sake of this question that in your files there appeared numerous cases where you were alleged to have been a sponsor or a member of a number of organizations, whether it is 20 or 25 or whatever number, but a substantial number—

Miss KENYON. It boils down nearer to six or eight.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am talking about the allegation. I am not talking about your actual membership. I am talking about the allegations that you were a member of a substantial number of these organizations. Wouldn't you think that in keeping with the criteria laid down for examination someone officially should have talked to you about this matter? Shouldn't it have raised some question? Shouldn't they have said, "We will go and see Judge Kenyon. We will give her an opportunity to tell us about these things."

Here are these allegations. Wouldn't you think that would be a perfectly normal thing in carrying out the investigating procedure before appointment as a public official?

Miss KENYON. It might have been done, Senator. I have no doubt that very serious consideration was given to my text, but what is gained by talking to a person and asking them whether they are subversive or are in favor of overthrowing the Government by force and violence, when you know perfectly well the answer that you will get does not seem to me very substantial? I think the things which they doubtless did do were to talk to people with whom I had been associated in various activities, and to get their views on me, which was



considerably more intelligent than to come and talk to me. What do you think I would have said?

Senator HICKENLOOPER, I would have said some of the things I have been saying to you today.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am minded to ask the question, Judge Kenyon—

Miss KENYON. It is the only way I can answer it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Because you so vigorously and so very properly and so quickly demanded to be heard in this case, when the charges were made by Senator McCarthy, and I would think that normally it would therefore be your reaction that of course the State Department should have come to you and let you present your case in this matter if these things appeared in the file. It would seem to me to be perfectly consistent.

Miss KENYON. I understand you now, Senator, and I would say this. You are now, instead of asking me whether I think this was something the State Department should have done, talking about it in terms of what I would have liked in respect to my own reputation.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am asking you for your judgment. You are a very able woman, a woman of experience; you are a jurist. Your opinion, I think, is valuable.

Miss KENYON. I would have been very happy had they come and had I been able to answer and to tell them that most of these things I had had nothing whatsoever to do with. I didn't know at the time that there was a case like this building up against me.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Don't you think it was a matter—

Miss KENYON. I have learned a lot lately.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That you might well have known about, that they should have talked to you about and told you about?

Miss KENYON. I would have liked it had they come to me; yes, indeed. I would have been delighted, and I would have given them another piece of my mind.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. With the reservation, Mr. Chairman, that I still feel and insist that, inasmuch as this is one of the cases involved in this matter, the investigative file must be available to this committee and that I don't consider this to be any kind of a complete questioning of the witness without the background of those files, I have nothing more to say at this time.

Senator TYDINGS. Judge, I would like to ask you one or two questions.

Have you ever been an employee of the State Department?

Miss KENYON. My answer would be that I don't think so. I am not sure what you call a United States delegate to the United Nations. I had always described myself as a piece worker—p-i-e-c-e worker—for the State Department. I do not think that that position is considered an employee. I am not sure, Senator. You are asking me a technical question. That is my only connection ever with the State Department.

Senator TYDINGS. The next question I would like to ask you is, What was your first notice of the charges that Senator McCarthy had brought here concerning you?

Miss KENYON. Wednesday.

Senator TYDINGS. In the newspapers?

Miss KENYON. At 12 o'clock a reporter called me up, and from then until 1 a. m. reporters called me up.

Senator TYDINGS. Did you have any notice that your name was going to be called into question before this committee before the reporter called you up?

Miss KENYON. I never had the faintest inkling. I was horribly busy. I had professional engagements all last week and this and next week; and tomorrow is income-tax day, and I do some income-tax work; and I was submerged with things and never once thought about Congress.

Senator TYDINGS. There has been no evidence here that anyone who has made any charge against you has actually seen the files in the State Department, so you, in answering these charges, are in the same position so far as the committee knows as was the witness who brought the original charges. They were brought, so far as we know, without any seeing of the State Department files themselves, and consequently you are here without us having seen the State Department files.

Miss KENYON. We are all in the same boat.

Senator TYDINGS. I would like to ask you this: When you joined any of these organizations, those that you have particularly identified yourself with and have given your reason for joining, how did you come to join them? Did you organize these things, or were you invited by someone you knew to join?

Miss KENYON. I was always invited. I have always been very busy with my law practice and then, of course, with my governmental work during those years of the thirties. Perhaps Government work isn't quite as trying as practicing law. I seem to have had a little more time in the late thirties when I was a Government official for extra-curricular activities, and perhaps that is a pity. But in any event, you know, I got around, I spoke, and then I have always cared very much, as I stated, for the under dog; and the American Civil Liberties Union, of course, has dealt with under dogs; so people came to me and told me about projects.

Senator TYDINGS. What character of people suggested that you join any of these organizations?

Miss KENYON. Well, they were just people that I knew.

Senator TYDINGS. Were they prominent people in the community of well-known reputation, or were they people that were of shady reputation, or Communists, or pro-Communists, so far as you know, looking back on this record?

Miss KENYON. I would have said, for the most part; many of them were friends of mine who do have reputations, but I also know a lot of little people who don't have reputations in that sense of the word, and some of these little groups that have been talked about I surmise were perhaps in the beginning just a group of little people in some neighborhood in New York who had heard me speak and told me about their idea, and would I help them—maybe would I go on the advisory committee while they were trying to organize this thing, because I don't entirely deal in the world of Park Avenue and Wall Street.

Senator TYDINGS. I did not mean in the economic sense. I meant in the citizenship sense. Were any of these people who invited you to join, so far as you knew them, or so far as you know now, members

of the Communist Party, or allied with the Communist Party, or identified with Communist movements per se?

Miss KENYON. At the time when they came to me, I had no idea that they were Communists, if they were. I have had no idea whatsoever in respect to it. As I grew a little older in the thirties I worked out a policy that I was cooperative and friendly toward most people, but in respect to Communists, while I would support their civil liberties, my policy was isolationism, and I kept away from them and tried to keep them away from me.

Senator TYDINGS. I have lots of other questions, but I am going to defer to my two committeemen so you may not stay here if we can get through. Senator Green?

Senator GREEN. Miss Kenyon, you have many times in reply to a question referred to your filing system and having found nothing in your files. I think perhaps it would be just as well for you to say a few words as to what this filing system was. Was it your habit to open a file for a new organization you joined, and things like that?

Miss KENYON. Yes, Senator. I would be very glad to answer that question. It sounds a little formidable to call it a filing system; but, of course, you know I have my law office; and we, of course, have my legal files; and I have file clerks.

When it has come to the question of these nonlegal matters, but extracurricular activities, so to speak, my organizational matters, my various secretaries from time to time have tried to get order in them, and I have a file of associations. Where I have a great deal to do with them, the files with respect to them become very voluminous, and then I have miscellaneous association files. When there are specific things which become important enough to have a file by themselves, they get a file; and then, as I say, in the "miscellaneous" comes in what I would call the cats and dogs, the things that maybe I have just contact with for a very short period of time.

I did not, Senator, keep—unfortunately, if I did, I would have to pay much more rent than I do now—and I cannot keep, all my files from the beginning of time, because every now and then we burst at the seams and I either have to throw out some old ones or buy some new filing cabinets or do both, and my office in New York is not a very big one. It is jammed with files. Every now and then we have to have a house cleaning, and out go a lot of little innocent lambs.

I had a file on this Political Bail Fund thing. We had a card for it. But it ended, you see, in 1934 or 1935, and there wasn't any file. We had thrown it out. So I was stuck. All I could do was to ask Roger Baldwin.

Senator GREEN. As a rule you have a file of one kind or other for any organization of which you are actively a member?

Miss KENYON. That's right, and we have cards for them.

Senator GREEN. And, when you say you haven't found any reference to it, you infer that in all probability it was just a passing interest or some minor activity like a speech or something of that kind?

Miss KENYON. That is precisely it. I also have a speech file, but it does not go back to the thirties.

Senator GREEN. My distinguished colleague asked you about a good many associations and organizations on which your name appeared

in some publication, such as an invitation to a dinner or something like that, and it was based on the theory of guilt by association.

Miss KENYON. Yes.

Senator GREEN. Because that is the only purpose it seems to me it could have, and he quoted the Secretary of State as referring to that as one of the criteria which might be used in determining an applicant or an employee's loyalty, although the Secretary of State used that only as one of a number—

Miss KENYON. A number of criteria?

Senator GREEN. Yes; that the thought should be applied.

I think it would be just as well, or I would be glad, at any rate, to hear your views on this theory of guilt by association. It always seemed to me as though that was one of the fundamental differences between the totalitarian and the democratic form of government.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, so long as the Senator has predicated his question on his assumption of what I said, may I clear it up?

Senator GREEN. I will be glad to have you do so.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I did not say the Secretary of State had set these up as criteria of loyalty. I used the term "security risk." There is a vast difference between security risk and either proof of or allegation of disloyalty. There is a vast difference between them. A bad security risk may be loyal intentionally.

Senator GREEN. I am glad the Senator understands the difference, because the resolution under which we are acting specifies disloyalty and not security risk, so I assumed that those who are charged in these hearings and before this committee were being charged with disloyalty. It seems to me it is a logical conclusion.

However, about this theory of guilt by association, I know you must have very definite ideas, and I will be glad to hear them.

Miss KENYON. Thank you, Senator. I want to be very brief.

Of course, guilt by association alone seems to me a violation of due process, which is in our Constitution as one of the civil liberties which I have fought for. The associations themselves, the organizations themselves—and I hold no brief for any of these; I am prepared to believe they are all devilish—nevertheless they themselves have never been found subversive by a court of law or by any process other than an administrative edict; and administrative edicts or fiats or whatever you call them sound to me like Mr. Hitler and Mr. Stalin; therefore, I think that the terming of an organization subversive is in itself a violation of civil liberty.

And then from that to jump to the fact that a person who is a sponsor or a member or participates in one tiny little project for a short period of time is therefore tarred with the same brush and is therefore himself or herself subversive seems to me a non-sequitur. Very frequently it just is not true.

Therefore it seems to me that due process is violated, and maybe it is a bill of attainder and maybe it is an ex post facto law. I am prepared to say that it is completely contradictory to the democratic process.

Senator GREEN. I thought that was your view, and I am glad to hear you state it so clearly.

Miss KENYON. I hope you read the New York Times editorial on "The Right To Join."

Senator GREEN. I did not. Perhaps this will be a good substitute. There is just one other question: You were furnished with a good many lists on which appeared disreputable people as well as people of the highest repute. I have before me a document relating to you which contains people I do not think any of whom are disreputable, all of the highest repute.

Miss KENYON. Oh, Senator, thank you.

Senator GREEN. And I think it would be well if it appeared in the record now. It is headed "For release upon completion of testimony by Judge Dorothy Kenyon before Subcommittee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 14, 1950."

I don't know whether you care to read it and place it in the record. You are the only witness here; I suppose, unless you are overcome by modesty, you may do it.

Miss KENYON. Senator, you embarrass me. Might my counsel read it for me? If I know what it is, I would prefer not to read it myself.

Senator TYDINGS. Counsel will read the document.

Mr. KIENDL. The document reads as follows:

The following is a statement made public today by New York Attorney C. C. Burlingham and other prominent New York lawyers.

"The charges against Dorothy Kenyon made by Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin, in his testimony before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs are so fantastically false that here in New York where we all know Miss Kenyon they might well be ignored, but as the charges have been spread through the press of the entire Nation we who have known Miss Kenyon for years feel in duty-bound to declare and spread the truth as widely as possible.

"Miss Kenyon was admitted to the New York Bar in 1917. She is an able and experienced lawyer and served as justice of the municipal court by appointment of Mayor LaGuardia. She has served the city of New York with distinction in other official capacities and as a member of numerous boards and commissions of a public nature. She has attained a high reputation for her ability and her character. She is independent and liberal.

"We assert of our own knowledge that she has never had the slightest sympathy with communism in any of its forms. It is a matter of public record that long before World War II she warned of the loss of freedom in the totalitarian states. No citizen of New York is a more loyal American."

That is signed by: Ernest Angell, C. C. Burlingham, John W. Davis, Lloyd Garrison, Edward S. Greenbaum, Nicholas Kelley, William H. Davis, Newbold Morris, Robert Moses, Robert P. Patterson, A. J. G. Priest, Whitney North Seymour, and Ordway Tead.

Senator GREEN. Thank you.

Miss KENYON. Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator McMahon?

Senator McMAHON. No questions.

Senator TYDINGS. Miss Kenyon, we are very much obliged to you for coming down here and testifying. We will try and not call you back unless you get in the headlines again.

Miss KENYON. Unless I get in hot water.

Senator TYDINGS. I would like to announce before we adjourn that I would like to have an executive committee meeting of the subcommittee in room G-23 in the Capitol tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock. I hope all members will be present. It is important that they all be there promptly so we can dispatch some pending business.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene upon the call of the Chair.)

has been cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization is an indication that we failed, but if we are to be criticized it is perhaps because we are not active and aggressive enough to succeed, but at least we tried.

The Senator states that I was active in the launching of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts. That is true and I am proud of the fact.

He states that the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts was cited as a Communist-front organization. That is less than a half truth. It was, in fact, cited by the Dies Committee on March 29, 1944, but not as a Communist-front organization. It was cited as "an organization with the same aims as the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front advocating collective security prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact" of 1939. The American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts did advocate collective security. So did the loyal members of the League of Nations. So do all the loyal members of the present United Nations. Those aims appear to have been shared by the American Congress for Peace and Democracy up to the time of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. No other aims were shared by that organization and the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts. These aims were, of course, abandoned by the Communists, according to the party line, upon the announcement of the pact. They were not abandoned by the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts; on the contrary they were intensified.

The Senator states that the leader of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts was the editor of the Daily Worker. This is entirely false. The editor of the Daily Worker was a member of the executive committee of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy. Neither he nor any other Communist played any part in the direction of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts. The chairman of the executive committee of the American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts was Dr. Clark M. Eichelberger, at that time president of the American Association for the League of Nations, and now president of the American Association for the United Nations. The 15 other members of the executive committee, including myself, were persons of known loyalty to the United States. There were no Communists in this group. The American Union for Concerted Peace Efforts was succeeded by the William Allen White Committee, also known as the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The work of this committee in combating the Communist Party line is well known. I was one of the founders of this committee.

Mr. Chairman, I think I have answered Senator McCarthy's charges against me. If any of my answers is not entirely clear, I should be glad to supplement them to the best of my ability. I would like to present a group of letters which I have been requested to deliver to the chairman. I offer also a list of my publications.

Senator TYDINGS. Is it your wish to put them in now? The list of publications will be exhibit 55.

Mrs. BRUNAUER. I should like to put them in now.

There is a list of the letters. I do not think it is necessary to read the whole list, if that is all right with the committee.

Senator TYDINGS. You do want the letters in the record?

Mrs. BRUNAUER. Yes. There is an additional letter also received.

Senator McMAHON. I would like to know who they are from.

Mrs. BRUNAUER. These are the names of persons who addressed letters to the subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations and that are being presented to the subcommittee by me today:

- Milton S. Eisenhower, president, Kansas State College;
- Senator Joseph H. Ball, Washington, D. C.;
- Ralph H. Lutz, president, Stanford University and president of the American Association of University Professors;
- Mrs. Vera B. Whitehome, New York, N. Y.;
- Miss Margaret S. Morris, dean, Pembroke College in Brown University;
- Katherine K. Rice, a physician in Washington, D. C.;
- Sarah Gibson Blanding, president, Vassar College;
- Dr. Gertrude Kornfeld, Rochester, N. Y.;
- James P. Hendrick, Washington, D. C.;
- Mrs. Helen Alley, Arlington, Va.;
- Mrs. Ruth Lyons, Washington, D. C., director, Statistics Branch, Public Housing Administration;
- Ben M. Cherrington, director, University of Denver;
- Howard E. Wilson, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, N. Y.;
- Herbert Emmerich, director, Public Administration Clearing House, Washington, D. C.;
- Mrs. Olive Clapper, Washington, D. C.;
- Richard P. McKeon, department of philosophy, University of Chicago;
- Blanche N. Dow, president, Cottey College, Nevada, Mo.;
- Eliot B. Coulter, Assistant chief, Visa Division, Department of State;
- George F. Zook, president, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.;
- Louise Leonard Wright, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, Ill.;
- Graham H. Stuart, department of political science, Stanford University;
- Dr. Margaret Mary Nicholson, Washington, D. C., our family pediatrician;
- Hugh Moore, chairman of the board, Dixie Cup Co.;
- Mrs. Marjory B. Loengard, New York, N. Y.;
- Malvina Lindsay, the Washington Post, Washington, D. C.;
- Mrs. Helen K. Knandel, educational consultant, traffic engineering and safety department, American Automobile Association, Washington, D. C.;
- Mrs. Anne H. Johnstone, director, League of Women Voters of the United States, Washington, D. C.;
- Ralph E. Himstead, general secretary, American Association of University Professors, Washington, D. C.;
- Herman Hertzberg, a personal physician;
- Mrs. Gladys Murphy Graham, Santa Monica, Calif.;
- Miss Dorothy Fosdick, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State;
- C. Mildred Thompson, emeritus dean and professor of history, Vassar;
- Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Department of State;

Mrs. Ruth S. Brumbaugh, president, Washington branch, American Association of University Women;  
A. J. Brumbaugh, Washington, D. C.

I wish to add, Mr. Chairman, that these letters are presented to you as letters from people who have known me well and worked with me. They are not letters presented in order to impress the committee with what an important person I may or may not be, but people who can tell you about my character through the years.

May I also add Mrs. Eire Stevens?

Senator TYDINGS. The letters will be put in the record to supplement the names which have been read, as a group numbered exhibit 56.

Mrs. BRUNAUER. Thank you, sir.

Senator TYDINGS. Will you give the letters to the reporter before you leave, so that they may go in the record?

Mrs. BRUNAUER. Yes. Then I have one more, Mr. Chairman, from Judge Marion J. Harron, who has known me since I was in high school.

May I also read a personal letter from Mr. Milton Eisenhower? He said:

DEAR ESTHER: I am happy you wrote me, because I have been so angry about the McCarthy charges that I have been wanting to take some kind of action. You give me the very opportunity I need. The first letter I wrote for you just smoked with adjectives. Then I decided you didn't want that kind of testimonial, so I send you the attached very calm letter. If it isn't exactly what you want, please let me know at once.

I will see you in April at the commission meeting.

Senator TYDINGS. Dr. Brunauer, is he the president of Kansas or Penn State College?

Mrs. BRUNAUER. He is the president of Kansas and will assume his duties as president of Penn State very soon—July 1, I believe.

May I proceed?

Senator TYDINGS. You may proceed.

Mrs. BRUNAUER. It is possible that a very brief summary of the high points in my career may save time in the end.

I was born and brought up in the State of California. I received my Ph. D. at Stanford University in 1927 in history and political science. My principal interest since my graduation has been in international relations. My first job was in that field. It lasted 17 years. It was with the American Association of University Women. I have been in the Department of State ever since.

One of my most important projects for the American Association of University Women may be considered to deserve special mention. This was a study of national defense in relation to foreign policy which was undertaken by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War under a commission of which I was chairman. The report, entitled "National Defense, Institutions, Concepts, Policies" was published in 1937 by the Women's Press of the YWCA. After that, the commission reported annually on the problems of the National Defense Establishment which were important in the ever more critical international situation. Admiral Standley, who was then Chief of Naval Operations, has stated to me that he considers that this study was largely responsible for converting various pacifistic organizations in this country and thus making possible an immediate program of rearmament.



In this regard, I think the committee will also be interested in the part that I played in the international activities of the American Association of University Women during the critical period of 1939-41, the period of the Stalin-Hitler friendship pact. These activities culminated in the resolution of May 8, 1941, adopted by the biennial convention of the association in which they voted for—

Recognition of a common cause with all nations resisting totalitarian aggression and furnishing of whatever aid we can give to make this resistance effective.

This was in direct opposition to the Communist line at that time. Of course, I don't want the committee to believe that I did all this single-handed. I was a staff member, but it was a development of opinion in which I participated and of which I am proud.

Between 1941 and the beginning of 1946 there is nothing of particular interest to this committee in my career except my work with Mr. Bloom at San Francisco in 1945. In February 1946, I was designated representative of the United States on the Preparatory Commission for UNESCO. In my work with UNESCO I have attended sessions of the General Conferences at Paris, Mexico City, and Beirut. Those who have worked with me could tell you that I have been diligent in devising ways to thwart the attempts of Communists to use UNESCO for their own purposes.

Mr. Milton Eisenhower, president of Kansas State College, was at those conferences as a delegate. He has asked me to deliver a letter to you, Mr. Chairman, in which he is kind enough to make the following statement regarding my work. Now I am quoting from Mr. Eisenhower's letter:

I would say that the present ideological warfare in the world is Dr. Brunauer's chief concern, and in this she is constantly working to uphold United States policy, as well as the democratic philosophy generally, and to defeat the devious and clever tactics of the Russians and their satellites. At the Mexico City conference in 1947, for example, she spent a full month in counteracting the efforts of a Russian-dominated Polish delegation to pin the tag of "warmonger" on the Western democracies, and especially on the United States. She worked with devotion, precision, and effect. She was completely sincere in all she did.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to refer briefly to the charges made by Senator McCarthy against my husband, Dr. Stephen Brunauer. As to my husband's past, his Communist connections existed a very long time ago, more than 20 years ago, in fact. He came to this country at the age of 18 as an immigrant. He was without friends, without money, and without a command of the language. He was eager for American companionship, but this was largely denied him. His need for friends and companions was filled, in his first years here, by a group of young people of similar national origin who spoke the same language, and these people unfortunately were largely Communists. They brought him into the Hungarian section of the Young Workers League. After about 3 years, he began to understand the operations of the Communist movement more clearly and to see more clearly its conflict with American institutions. He dropped out of the Young Workers League early in 1927 and has not been a member of any Communist group since that time. His association with individuals in the Communist movement diminished rapidly after he came to Washington in 1928. By 1932 he had been denounced by the Communists as a deserter from their cause.

I shall not insist, one way or another, but I would like to ask about some names.

Do you know of a man, officially—Albert Rhys Williams?

Mr. BUDENZ. I do. I am surprised that you asked me, but I know him.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you know anything about whether he is a Communist or not?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, he is a Communist of long standing.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you know that personally, or by official report?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have known him for many years. Of course I have not seen him recently, but I have known him for years; even before I was in the Communist Party, I knew he was one.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. So, you know he is a Communist.

Mr. BUDENZ. Right.

Senator McMAHON. Who is that?

Mr. BUDENZ. Albert Rhys Williams.

Senator McMAHON. What does he do?

Mr. BUDENZ. I think he was a former minister, or educator for the—I am not quite sure, something along that line, and then he became a Soviet propagandist. He has written. He always claimed to be a liberal and not a Communist, but I know him to be a Communist. He was a great friend of Robert W. Dunn.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you know anything about Donald Hiss? Would you like to comment on that?

Mr. BUDENZ. I would not like to comment on that.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That means that you would not like to comment at this time on it.

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now, these three names, would you like to comment on whatever personal knowledge, official knowledge, you may have on John Davies, of the State Department?

Mr. BUDENZ. I know nothing about him.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I see.

Senator McMahan mentioned three names, three other names. I mention here Ruby Parsons and John Carter Vincent, who is now Minister to Switzerland.

Mr. BUDENZ. I would prefer not to discuss those at the moment, until I can file the list with the committee. That will permit—I feel this is quite a responsible obligation—without being more careful in my statements.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I shall not press—

Mr. BUDENZ. I will say, in reference to Albert Rhys Williams, I don't know what he is today, whether he is a Communist or not. I know he was a Communist up to the last minute I heard of him.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Are you familiar with Henry Wallace's book that he wrote and published in 1946 about his trip to Siberia, and up in there?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have read his book, but I could not discuss it at the moment. I would have to read it over.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then, you have no comment at the moment as to whether the Communists consider that to be a Communist—

Mr. BUDENZ. That was what you might call—Wallace was just surrounded by Communist influence there, in the writing of that book, and also, his policies—

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Are you aware of the fact that Henry Wallace, in writing that book, gives credit to Owen Lattimore and to John Rhys Williams as his—

Mr. BUDENZ. Albert Rhys Williams.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Albert Rhys Williams as his collaborators in the writing of that book?

Mr. BUDENZ. I am aware of that.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, if you are anxious to leave—

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, I will remain.

Mr. BUDENZ. While the Senators wait, I don't know whether this is an impertinent observation or not, but would it be agreeable if I were to furnish anything I know, outside of Mr. Lattimore, what I could on the Amerasia case to Mr. Morgan?

Senator TYDINGS. It would; and let me say this to you, Mr. Budenz: Obviously, as you already know, this is primarily directed to the State Department employees, past and present.

Mr. BUDENZ. I understand.

Senator TYDINGS. Anything that touches on that would be pertinent. If it does not touch on that, so far as I am concerned, I would like for you to turn it over to the F. B. I., because we do not have the facilities to go into things outside of the scope of our investigation.

Mr. BUDENZ. Very well.

Senator GREEN. On this list, some of those who are on that list were in no departments—

Senator TYDINGS. If you will wait—

Mr. BUDENZ. People I would know of, in Government departments.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. May I complete my record?

Mr. Budenz, I have here a copy of a magazine that is called The Reporter of April 25, 1950. It has pictures of people who have left the Communist Party. Your picture is up here, and there is a man there alleged to be Arthur Koestler; also the name and picture of a man alleged to be Stephen Spender; the name and picture of Ignazio Silone; also, a woman named Ruth Fischer—

Mr. BUDENZ. That is Eisler's sister—Gerhart's.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Also a man Traicho Kostov; also a man named Granville Hicks; also a man Wladyslaw Gomulka; and a man by the name of Laszlo Rajik.

Do you know all those people?

Mr. BUDENZ. I don't know some of them—I don't know all.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I will show you the pictures. The only thing that I was going to ask you—

Mr. BUDENZ. The only one I know personally, of those, are Ruth Fischer, whom I met after she left the Party, and Granville Hicks. I don't know anyone else.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you have any reason to believe, any sound reason to believe, that any of those people may not have been sincere in leaving the party, or that they may be back, actually, in the party, but openly—

Mr. BUDENZ. Oh, no. The point of the matter is that the people that leave the party and attack it in this wise, openly, are anti-Communists. You can count on that. The party will take care of that, and the person who is suspect, however, when they leave the party, are the ones who remain silent and quiet in regard to the party.

I understand. See what I mean, Senator?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes.

Mr. BUDENZ. That is not due to the fact that they leave the party to become agents of some kind, but after they leave, you see this thing I talked about, about being bribed, about being intimidated or something like that—now, the ex-Communist, such as Silone, Koestler, Ruth Fischer, and myself, as far as we are concerned, are hated more by the Communist Party than anything else. Their press is full of vituperation of us and use every opportunity for injury. They use every device and that is the reason you have to be so cautious, but an ex-Communist who remains silent is a problem.

I will give you an example.

Off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Senator GREEN. Mr. Budenz, just as you have told us already, there are certain people in the party who make believe they are non-Communists, so are there not people that are outside that make believe they are Communists?

Mr. BUDENZ. No; no.

You see, those people—look, Senator—those people who would do a thing like that, especially if they were to go and attack the party, month after month, and in trial at the trial—

Senator GREEN. That seems rather absurd.

Mr. BUDENZ. That doesn't happen. That is to say, a man like Koestler, for example—

Senator GREEN. But, there are certain people in the party that make believe they are not; that is true?

Mr. BUDENZ. Surely. That is different. That is to deceive the outside; but, you would have utter confusion within the Communist army, if you try the other thing. In addition, see, one thing, Senator, that they do, they are always watching for agents of the Government.

Senator GREEN. That would be one way to put people off, make believe you are opposed to a thing when you are in favor of it?

Mr. BUDENZ. You would not say you are a Communist, I am sure, and—

Senator GREEN. You don't know of any such case?

Mr. BUDENZ. No; no. That is unheard of, because that would create utter confusion and would destroy the party, itself, eventually.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have nothing else.

Senator GREEN. You have not told us, it would be very illuminating, in view of all you have told us, if you told us why you originally joined the party.

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, I would be glad to tell you that, Senator, and why I left. Of course it is a long story, and linked up with my religion. Briefly, it is a sort of personal story.

Senator GREEN. It must be an interesting story.

Mr. BUDENZ. The thing is, I was a great labor—I don't mean "great," I mean intense, and intent labor worker when I was young, and was also very strongly opposed to discrimination against the Negro people

and a number of other things, and thought these reforms were not being cured fast enough. In fact, I took a trip out to Leeds, S. Dak., to help the fight of Bishop Bush, a Catholic. The bishop was against a 7-day week. That was a long time ago. I was about 18 or 19 years old, and I thought he didn't get proper support. I got angry, and in addition—that is what helps to make Communists, thoughtlessness, and impatience, and I felt that he wasn't getting the proper support and that made me criticize the Catholic Church of which I was a member. I left the church.

I did not become a Communist; I went on fighting for labor. I organized strikes. The fact is that I was arrested 21 times in the injunctions, the old days when that injunction was such a problem. I used to get sent in for the A. F. of L. union. Time went on, and I got more and more impatient, thinking that things were not remedied, and I became a Communist.

Senator GREEN. Did you become a Communist at once, or gradually?

Mr. BUDENZ. I fought the Communists; I opposed them. I opposed them very strongly when I was working for the A. F. of L.; and then I gradually, especially in 1935, came around to a certain extent. I will say this, though: I don't want to make it public, because it just looks like an excuse, but to a certain extent I was taken in. That is, that although I knew that Stalin ruled the organization, when they said in 1935, at the People's Front Congress, that they were going to cooperate with a democratic organization and democratic nations, I thought then that communism was becoming democratic on its part, and that it would merge, you understand, into a democratic Communist development.

Therefore, after People's Front Congress was when I joined, after 1935; but of course I soon found, when I joined the Communist Party, right up on the ninth floor here was Eisler.

Senator GREEN. In New York, you joined them?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right. I became part of the Daily Worker, right away, because they knew me.

Senator GREEN. What do they do or what did they do to test you, to be sure you could stick it out, and that you'd be loyal to them?

Mr. BUDENZ. First of all, they knew me, or had known of me for a number of years in a neighborhood movement; knew my views on how I was opposed to them, and then worked with them in the united front, and so forth; and, secondly, they wanted to use me, as they frankly told me later, because at that time they were trying to weave into the CIO union, and I had been on friendly terms with many of the men who helped form the CIO, like Tom Kennedy of the Miners and, well, John Brophy, and a number of those men who knew me from years back. So, they used me in a sort of front. Jack Stachel told me that. That is why they put me on the central committee so fast.

However, I found Eisler on the top floor, and Peters; and there was Feruccio Marini, whose real name was Fred Brown—they were running the party. Browder was a stuffed shirt, just a front. That is the rule of the Kremlin. The man running the party in every country is never from that country. An American can run the Philippine or Chinese Party.

Senator GREEN. When you are initiated or whatever you call it, you have to take an oath?

Senator TYDINGS. Counsel will have to decide that.

Mr. MORGAN. "Will you detail for us to the best of your recollection all sums received from Chinese sources, including the payment of your passage and expenses when you came to the United States in 1939?"

Miss UTLEY. I am sorry, but I had no money passage paid me when I came in 1939. Nothing was paid to me by the Chinese.

Mr. MORGAN. "Are you now, or have you ever been, a member or director of the China Policy Association?"

Miss UTLEY. I am a member of the China Policy Association. There is no income in it.

Mr. MORGAN. "You are a member as distinguished from being a director, or are you both?"

Miss UTLEY. When I lived in New York I was, I think it is called, a director. That is, I regularly went to the meetings. Since I have lived in Washington I go very occasionally. I haven't been to a meeting for a long time.

Mr. MORGAN. "Describe in detail the purpose and objectives of this association, its members, officers, and directors."

Miss UTLEY. Really, I think you had better ask Mr. Kohlberg. I can't answer that. It is a group of us who were interested in China, who were anti-Communist. The membership of the board of directors ranges from right to left, up and down. It includes Mr. Peabody of the New Leader; Mr. Kohlberg; Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce; Irene Kuhn, formerly of NBC although I don't know whether she is there any more. You had better ask Mr. Kohlberg.

Mr. MORGAN. "Is Mr. Kohlberg the head of the association?"

Miss UTLEY. Yes. As I say, I haven't attended a meeting in a long time.

Mr. MORGAN. The Chairman suggests that I ask, what are the objectives of the association.

Miss UTLEY. The main objective—I don't think I can answer for them, but as far as I understood it, they were a group of people interested in China who were anti-Communist and wanted to do something to counteract the influence of all these pro-Communists in the United States.

Mr. MORGAN. Perhaps you have answered this question: "Have you received any compensation for your participation in the China Policy Association?"

Miss UTLEY. No. I don't go to their meetings largely because I can't afford to go to New York just for a meeting of the China Policy Association.

Mr. MORGAN. "Did you write, in 1940, The Dream We Lost?"

Miss UTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. "In that book did you advocate a negotiated peace with the Nazis?"

Miss UTLEY. Yes. That is not quite correct. I advocated a negotiated peace with Germany in order to prevent Russia dominating Europe, and I also argued—if you want the book, anybody can look at it. I argued that we could hope to have the Nazis overthrown from within, but that if the war went on to a point that Russia was able to dominate Europe, communism would be even worse than nazism.

Senator TYDINGS. Can I ask, is it possible to get a copy of the book?

Miss UTLEY. In the Congressional Library. It is out of print. Senator TYDINGS. Have you an extra copy that we can use for reference if I were to return it to you?

Miss UTLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. "Will you give us an explanation of the quotation appearing on page 361 of that book, which reads as follows: 'If Germany can be halted upon its mad course of conquest, but not destroyed, and the genius of the German people allowed to play the leading role in the reconstruction and unification of Europe, National Socialism may be humanized and democratized.'"

Miss UTLEY. I think, Mr. Morgan, I refer you much better to my book published last year, *The High Cost of Vengeance*, in which I go into all detail in all this. My own view of Germany was that Germany had followed the false star of the Nazis owing to economic conditions and despair, and the great difference I made in that book between Communist Russia and Nazi Germany was that in Communist Russia an alternative to the Communists had been wiped out, whereas in Germany, because of murder by the Nazis of all nonparty members had never gone to anything like the extreme in Russia, in Germany my book was—you take me far outside the purpose of this committee—mainly an argument to show that Communist Russia was even worse than Nazi Germany. It was written in 1940, when most people had been led to believe that Communist Russia was wonderful and that the only criminal, the only bad, government in the world was Nazi Germany.

Mr. MORGAN. "Did you in 1941 write an article in *Common Sense*, reprinted in the *Reader's Digest* in October 1941, which stated: 'There are times when there is only a choice of evils, and today the evil of accepting the fact of Nazi domination of continental Europe is less than the evil which is likely to result from encouraging England to continue indefinitely a hopeless fight until English liberties also are destroyed, either from within or without?'"

Miss UTLEY. I did not bring the book; I brought this along. I would like you to take the whole article in the record if you take part of it.

My point was that America was not in the war then, and I think the whole point again is that I felt it was a choice of evils. I rather like that quotation, because that is just what I was trying to prove. I considered it was a choice of evils.

Mr. MORGAN. I am sure the entire article ought to be in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I think the entire article ought to be in so there won't be any false interpretation drawn from it, but as I read the quote here, is that a correct quotation?

The evil of accepting the fact of Nazi domination of continental Europe is less than the evil which is likely to result from encouraging England to continue indefinitely a hopeless fight until English liberties also are destroyed, either from within or without.

Is that a correct quotation?

Miss UTLEY. That is from the original. *Reader's Digest* picked it up and altered it again. I can't tell you whether that is exact.

Mr. MORGAN (continuing the questions). "Do not these quotations, as well as others of your writings, establish that prior to Pearl Harbor you were writing sympathetically for the Nazi cause?"

Miss UTLEY. No; they do not.

Mr. MORGAN. Again in *Solution in Asia*, page 142, you say [reading]:

Outer Mongolia may be called a satellite of Russia in the good sense.

Would you care to elaborate on that?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes. "In the good sense." I will see what I have about it here. If I have it in print, there is no need to repeat it.

It is in the good sense, to the best of my knowledge, of Outer Mongolia, in that the satellite relationship between Outer Mongolia and Russia is not due to a Russian conquest; it is due to the free association. Those people never had any free institutions; but, as far as the association can be free in a society like that of the Mongols, it was a free association of Outer Mongolia with Russia, and it resulted not from the Mongols' thinking that the Russians were wonderful. "Let's tag after them"; but, as I have explained—I am not sure whether it is in this book, but elsewhere; I have frequently written on the subject—the Mongols had had such a raw deal from the Chinese, and were so badly scared by the presence of the Japanese in Manchuria, that not as a choice of the best, but as a choice of the less bad, they preferred to associate with Russia.

Mr. MORGAN. Perhaps you have also touched on the next statement that I want to refer to. Page 144 of the same book, in which you say [reading]:

Soviet policy in Outer Mongolia cannot be fairly called Red imperialism.

Does the observation you have just made apply also to that statement?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That applies in exactly the same way.

Mr. MORGAN. Now, here is a statement, Dr. Lattimore, that I want to bring to your attention, in the light of an observation made a moment ago about this so-called guilt by association. On page 190 of your book, *Solution in Asia*, you say [reading]:

In the first interim government we should include political and parliamentary leaders still surviving who have a record of imprisonment or of being beaten up by political gangsters, or threatened with assassination. To protect them from terror we should include among war criminals all officers and civilians with proved associations of the Black Dragon type, who should be punished according to their guilt, with deportation and interment as the minimum.

There, I notice, you suggest that association with organizations such as the Black Dragon, on the part of Japanese, should be a basis for sanctions.

Would you care to comment on that in the light of your statement with respect to and regarding guilt by association?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I think that is a case, Mr. Morgan, of—what is the popular word now—"semantics"—and I think that the word "association" is used in this text here very differently from the use with which we are familiar when we speak of guilt by association in this country.

When I said proved associations, organizations like the Black Dragon, I meant proved participation in the activities of the Black Dragon Society, which was a terroristic society.

At that time I don't think this phrase "association" had acquired quite the flavor that it now has.



Mr. MORGAN. Going on, Dr. Lattimore—and, believe me, this is as hard on me as it is on you—in Solution in Asia, page 191 [reading]:

When Japan begins to show an ability to make progress politically, we must expect the leadership to be left of center and at least liberal enough to be friendly with Russia.

What do you mean by “liberal enough to be friendly with Russia”? Is it possible to be “liberal enough and friendly with Russia” without going all the way?

Dr. LATTIMORE. In 1945, Mr. Morgan, it certainly was. It happened all over the place.

Mr. MORGAN. Do you still feel that way about it, Dr. Lattimore?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not so easy now.

Mr. MORGAN. Has your opinion changed, Dr. Lattimore?

Dr. LATTIMORE. My opinion has changed. The whole climate of international relations has deteriorated since 1945.

Mr. MORGAN. That brings us to another statement in Solution in Asia, page 199, in which you say [reading]:

The difficulty in dealing with Russia is not Russian policy, but the truly appalling lack of an American policy.

Do you still feel that way about it?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I feel that in 1945 we did have a lack of policy about what to do in China, Korea, Japan, that seemed to me appalling, and I think the results since then have shown that we were badly prepared in Asia for the situation that arose after 1945, and despite the outstandingly good work done by MacArthur in the occupation of Japan, by General Marshall in trying to salvage the situation in China, nevertheless, we did get into a mess.

Mr. MORGAN. With respect to the situation today, do you feel that our unpleasantness with the Soviet Union is the result of Russian policy, or of any policy that this country is now or has been projecting?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I think it is mainly due to the Russians themselves. I think, however, that it is also partly due to lack of policy or lateness of action, on our part. We have been a part of a steadily deteriorating situation which has produced a worse and worse atmosphere on both sides and has made it more and more difficult on both sides to get out of the kind of grouping of attitudes that we are in.

Mr. MORGAN. Dr. Lattimore—

Dr. LATTIMORE. I might elaborate on that point a little bit, though, because it is a part of a whole attitude of interpretation of modern international relations that I began to develop at this time in Solution in Asia and have developed further since, and that is that a great part of the deterioration of the international situation stems primarily not from Russian expansionism, and certainly not from what the Russians call American imperialism, it stems rather from the fact that the combined effect of the war in Europe and in Asia was a very serious weakening of what hitherto had been great powers, like England and France, and the weakening of these powers which had formerly held a strong position in Europe, and also a strong position in Asia, created a weakness in the general international structure, to deal with which inevitably both Russia and the United States took steps, but since these steps were not taken according to prior agreements they inevitably led to rivalry; but the cause lies primarily

in the weakening of what has been the great power structure of the world before the Second World War.

Mr. MORGAN. I believe you testified, Dr. Lattimore, that nowhere in your writings did you feel that you had ever referred to Chinese communism as merely agrarian radicalism, and I must say that while I have read rather exhaustively, I think, from your writings, I will say at this point that it has not been as easy to follow your writings as it was your statement.

I have found in the Virginia Quarterly Review of 1940, pages 164 and 165, a statement that I would like to have you comment on:

The question of China illustrates perfectly how we think about China with two quite different parts of our brain. On the one hand we take it for granted that there is practically no industrial proletariat in China, that the heavily agrarian structure in China makes it necessary for even the Chinese Communists to be agrarian radicals rather than true Communists, and that the Chinese family system is notably resistant to Marxist ideas. On the other hand we also take it for granted that the Chinese are incapable of looking after themselves and all it needs is a little excitement to turn them into raging Reds. What is more, the persons associated with the second set of ideas are usually potent enough to stampede the intelligence of those associated with the first set.

Now, this is a long way around the mulberry bush, but if I read this correctly the first set of ideas, which interpreted the Chinese Communists to be agrarian radicals, are the ideas to which you attach the intelligence associated with such thoughts.

Would you comment on that statement?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I haven't a text of that statement. Are you sure the first sentence does not apply to the lack of industrial proletariat? Yes; the question of intelligence, Mr. Morgan, refers to a group of ideas, that there is, perhaps, no industrial proletariat, that structure of society is heavily agrarian, that this structure makes it necessary for them to be agrarian radicals—in quotes. That was the current phrase at the time. It was not my phrase. That is why I used it in quotes. This question of true communism.

I don't remember whether later in that article I clarified these questions that are in quotes, but I should like to quote to you a recent—not so very recent—letter that I wrote in response to a private inquiry on the subject.

Somebody wrote to me, in 1948, and asked for my opinion on the subject, and I, on January 21, 1948, I wrote back [reading]:

The Chinese Communists are involved in a very wide movement of the Chinese people which in some ways is extremely complicated but in others is quite simple. The Chinese Communists themselves make no bones about the fact that they are complete and convinced Marxists. They do not pretend that they are simple agrarian radicals. On the other hand, the Chinese Communists who are Communists are vastly outnumbered by their allies who include all kinds of liberals, nationalists and democratically inclined people. As so often happens in human affairs, the majority of these people are fighting with the Communists, as though on the side of Communists, not because they are for communism but because they are more against the homeless Chinese Government than they are against communism.

Now, in 1940 the situation was the same. As I say, I speak without knowing whether in the full article I dealt with this other aspect of the matter or not. But the fact is that in 1940 the Chinese Communists were gaining ground politically by offering to meet the agrarian needs of an agrarian society.

That does not mean that they were converting themselves from Marxists to agrarians. It means that they were exploiting the condition that then existed.

Mr. MORGAN. Thank you. I am going to bring this to a head, to the relief of all of us, and, again, I think we have touched on it, but I would like to have in the record at this point your observations concerning what, quite frankly, to me, is, to a great extent, the crux of the situation here. That is, the advocacies, so far as you were concerned, with respect to the American position in the Far East, paralleling, to a degree, what most of us are inclined to believe were Soviet Russia's. I refer (1) to the thought of recognizing the Communist government in China today; the suggestion that we abandon Chiang and Formosa; the suggestion that we pull out of Korea, South Korea, insofar as we are in South Korea.

And again, I would like, at this point, for you to explain for me, and for the committee, if you can, by what process of reasoning you have arrived at these conclusions to which I have referred?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Morgan, the question of Formosa, and I believe South Korea, though many people differ with me on South Korea, is this kind of question: Let's take Formosa. It is the clearest example.

The situation in Formosa is not one that can be remedied. Looking at it as coldly as I can, I see no prospect whatever that a government, the remnants of a government which landed upon the island of Formosa, as the remnants of a process of collapse in China, are going to roll back from Formosa to China. It is a hopeless situation.

Nor does Formosa, in my opinion, have the makings of a nation. It certainly does not have the makings of a nation under this government which is not Formosian in character.

As a matter not of the policy I advocate, but the future that I predict, we are going to have to get out of Formosa, in the sense of abandoning any idea of maintaining, by American support, the present rump government in Formosa.

Now comes the question of what policy do you advocate. I think that if you are in a position that you are going to have to abandon, then you lose prestige, and suffer less moral damage if you show that you are able to abandon that position of your own accord, rather than wait until the situation is taken away from you.

Now, I think that the Communists, while they are, of course, protesting, with as much noise as they can make, about the connection between the American policy and the rump government on Formosa, are really hoping that we will stay there as long as possible. They would like to have us hang on; they would like to have us try to hang on to a position that can't be hung on to, because then, when we are finally pushed to let go, as they will represent it, they get a much bigger propaganda story out of it.

Mr. MORGAN. You feel that the Russians would like for us to try to hold on to Formosa?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I am sure they would, and the Chinese Communists, because they are sure we can't do it, and I think that in the long run we can't do it. The situation is something like this: At the time of the great defeat in France, when the British were left with just the remnant of an army on the beaches of Dunkirk, if the British

had responded to that situation and used every ton of shipping they could get to rush everybody from England on to the beach at Dunkirk, that would have delighted every Nazi agent in Britain; instead of which the British extricated themselves from a situation that was no longer tenable and used the resources, manpower, and whatever equipment they could save, extricated from the beaches of Dunkirk, to use successfully in the subsequent conduct of the war from Britain.

And I think that is the kind of situation we have in Formosa.

Now, in connection with these holding point positions, such as Formosa, Korea, Indochina, it seems to me that a grave defect of our policy at the present time is that so much of our resources, and so much of our emotion, is committed to these holding points, and I do not think we can make a successful policy in Asia out of holding points. The only reason for having a holding point is to do something in the spaces behind the holding point.

What we ought to have right now is a program with a lot of resources put into it and real drive behind it in countries like India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Afghanistan, the near eastern countries I don't know so much about, and I won't say anything about them, but if we can get going in those countries, before they themselves become holding points, programs which the people of those countries feel are for their own benefit, not being imposed upon them by America, but arrived at for reasons of mutual benefit, not only between them and America but between them, America, and western Europe, so that we coordinate our large-scale program in western Europe and south Asia, then we can get something going, then there will be a feeling of hope, and then this holding-point psychology will not longer be necessary.

At the present time anything put into Formosa is being frittered away. Anything put into India, Pakistan, Indonesia, has a chance of developing into a big, going concern, and I think it is a grave defect of our policy at the present time that so much attention is concentrated on these holding-point positions which cannot in any event be anything but temporary situations, and the main field of action is being neglected.

I was in India in December of last year, and talking with Indians I was tremendously impressed that the Indians had the feeling that the future of their country, what they were going to do now as an independent country, was a matter of tremendous urgency, and if the Americans were going to come in on it, then they better fish or cut bait—come in on it if they were, stay out if they were going to stay out.

The Americans, on the other hand, seemed to have the idea, "Well, let's see how this thing rocks along; after all, you aren't menaced right now; if we feel like it, we will see about some investment later on—something of that sort. They weren't regarding it as priority. They weren't regarding it as an emergency. They had no sense of urgency. And the situation in Asia, as a whole, is an urgent situation, and the urgency lies in the main features, and not in the detail.

Mr. MORGAN. I have two final questions, Dr. Lattimore.

Is it your feeling, therefore, that any advantages that might stem from the program you suggest would offset and overcome any disadvantages that might result from such a program with respect to, let us say, the Philippines and Japan?

Dr. LATTIMORE. The Philippines and Japan are two very different problems. The Philippine problem is going to be solved in the Philippines. The Philippines are islands off the coast of Asia. Formosa is an island off the coast of Asia, but the internal questions of nationalism, economy, ability to be a nation, and so forth, are utterly different in Formosa and in the Philippines. Japan is a different kind of question.

Japan is a Germany without a ruler. Japan is a country which has got to live by foreign trade, and no longer being an empire it has got to live by foreign trade on terms which it can negotiate, and not on terms which it can enforce, impose.

Mr. MORGAN. Dr. Lattimore, I want to ask you: Has the program which you have advocated with respect to China and the Far East been the result of your independent studies and thinking or are you seeking to project, on behalf of the Soviet Union, a policy in this area?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I think it is self-evident, Mr. Morgan, that that is not a program that can possibly be projected from Russia.

Mr. MORGAN. That is all.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator Hickenlooper.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, I have a number of questions to ask you.

First, I know Mr. Morris, the assistant counsel, has a number of questions to ask, and I ask that he be permitted to ask his questions, as assistant counsel of this committee.

Senator TYDINGS. If Mr. Morris will give me those questions, I will ask them as fast as he can write them.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. My suggestion is that Mr. Morris be permitted to do his own questioning.

Senator TYDINGS. We would like you to proceed now, if you please.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That means that the committee action is that he is not permitted to ask the questions?

Senator TYDINGS. The committee took this up and decided against it, and I don't find I have the authority to override the committee—unless they give me the authority.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Very well.

Dr. Lattimore, let me ask just this preliminary question. It may or may not have pertinence: Where was your mimeographed statement mimeographed? This statement that you read from this morning.

Mr. FORTAS. It was mimeographed by the office that does the mimeographing for us, the law firm of Arnold, Fortas & Porter.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It was not mimeographed here on Capitol Hill?

Mr. FORTAS. Oh, no.

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right; it was not.

Mr. FORTAS. Virginia Bowman. She would appreciate this advertising, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That is perfectly all right. My question was inspired by a suggestion made to me this morning that it was mimeographed here on the Hill and I merely wanted to find out about it.

Mr. FORTAS. If anybody would like to have the bill, Senator, we would be glad to send it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now, Dr. Lattimore, I believe you testified repeatedly, and I am not questioning that testimony at the mo-

ment, that you never met Mr. Budenz, formally, in your life; is that correct?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is correct. Formally or informally, to the best of my recollection. I hope I never do.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It is my recollection of your testimony that you said you had never seen him until he appeared here the other day, a few days ago, to give his testimony, when he originally appeared here?

Dr. LATTIMORE. To the best of my recollection I had never seen him before, and I sincerely hope I never see him again.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And you never had any transactions, such as correspondence, or dealings with him, in any way, in the past?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I can recall.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Therefore you have never had any quarrels with him, or differences with him, of any kind in the past in which you and he might have been involved, some serious dispute of some kind; is that correct?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Nothing besides the little difference of his trying—

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am leaving out the present testimony as an area of dispute.

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is something I am rather unwilling to leave out, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am attempting to ask you whether or not in the past, let's say prior to—

Dr. LATTIMORE. In the past, neither by conversation, correspondence, word of mouth, or telegram, can I put the faintest recollection of the man.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I see.

Now, I think we are bound to be led to one of two, or perhaps three, conclusions with regard to this controversy in connection with Mr. Budenz about you—and these, of course, are alternative assumptions that one might make:

One assumption could be that Mr. Budenz is telling the truth when he charges that he learned officially that you were an instrumentality of the Communist Party. That could be one assumption.

Another assumption could be that he is not telling the truth when he makes that assertion.

Inasmuch as you have never had any association with Mr. Budenz, or any dispute with Mr. Budenz outside of the present dispute, if you can call it that, in this proceeding—that is, involving the McCarthy allegations, and so forth—inasmuch as you have never been acquainted with Mr. Budenz, can you ascribe or do you know of any reason why Mr. Budenz would lie about you or about the information which he alleges to be extant about you, which he claims he got in his official capacity?

Do you know of any reason why he would make these assertions if they are not true?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I should like to repeat, Senator, a passage from my statement this morning.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. What page?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Page B4. [Reading:]

Now, consider the kind of career that Budenz has been following for 5 years. He has made himself a sensational author and lecturer by exploiting his own

past. But the past is the past, and he must be haunted by the fact that his tales of skullduggery and conspiracy may grow stale through sheer repetition. Already there have been new sensational revelations by Government agents who have successfully infiltrated the Communist Party, and who have appeared at trials to give their testimony.

The pressure on Budenz is obvious. When a new sensation breaks out in the press and a man is accused—even if the accusation is false—what is the temptation that is dangled before him? It is the easiest thing in the world for his own memory to be convenient and obliging. He can then rush up and say "I remember him, too"—and thus revive his reputation as the peerless informant.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Then, in short, do I understand you to advance the theory that Mr. Budenz did not necessarily originate this idea about you, but that after someone else had mentioned it, he then joined the pack and said, "I knew him, too"?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Senator, these allegations and charges against me are a tissue not only of lies but of recent lies.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, do I understand your position—

Dr. LATTIMORE. I am in a position where I can only deal with this kind of fantastic performance by exercising my intelligence upon it, and the best conclusion to which my reason leads me is that Budenz was activated by extremely sordid commercial motives of personal career.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am merely trying to establish, if there is to be established, some motive for Mr. Budenz if his statements should be false, reaching into thin air, as it were, and bringing your name into this controversy by way of allegation.

Dr. LATTIMORE. Personal profit is a motive which acts upon people in many ways, unfortunately; at times in extremely sordid and disgraceful ways, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. But I take it that you have no direct evidence that personal profit has induced him to name you in this controversy?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I have the evidence that Mr. Budenz pursues a spectacular career by lecturing and writing as an expert on all things Communist. He has been 5 years, presumably, cut off from his sources by the nature of the way in which he himself says that he left this conspiracy, and if he is running short of material, he appears to me, by his actions and words, to be the kind of man who will stoop to this kind of dirty work.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes. Would you call that guilt by associations, Dr. Lattimore, that sort of analysis of why Mr. Budenz' actions, you conclude, are motivated by those things?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Guilt by Mr. Budenz' association with Mr. Budenz; yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In other words, I take it that you are engaging then in assumption of what motivated Mr. Budenz by putting various speculations together and coming to a conclusion?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Senator, Budenz has tried to do to me things about as filthy as anyone who calls himself an American can do to another American. I am not going to attribute to him any charitable motive.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I think you have made that very clear, Dr. Lattimore.

In an attempt to try and find out the facts in this case I am concerned about whatever proof there may be in existence, whether you may be able to supply it or whether someone else may be able to supply it.

First, as to whether or not Mr. Budenz is telling the truth in his testimony; if he is not telling the truth, what is the motivating influence for picking you out of the thin air, as it were, and naming you as the Communist functionary, according to his own words? That is what I am interested in.

Dr. LATTIMORE. I can see no motive, except Mr. Budenz's idea of Budenz's advantage.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In other words, Mr. Budenz, according to that theory, could reach out and arbitrarily pick anyone and name them as a Communist functionary?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Senator, Budenz has been waving 400 undeclared names, which he may pin on anybody.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, you just returned from Afghanistan; did you not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You went there as a representative of the United Nations; is that correct? Just what was the capacity?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I went there as the head of what was called an exploratory mission for the United Nations technical aid program.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Who paid the expense of that trip; that is, your expense?

Dr. LATTIMORE. United Nations.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did the State Department pay any part of that directly?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It came directly from the United Nations?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And in a recent trip last summer you were in Alaska; is that correct?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is correct.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Was that a private trip purely or did it have any official connections in any way?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I went on that trip to Alaska as deputy for President Bronk, of Johns Hopkins University, who is one of the directors of the Arctic Research Laboratory at Point Barrow.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now, that trip, were your expenses paid by the State Department?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Who was responsible for the expenses of that trip?

Dr. LATTIMORE. As far as I can recall the expenses were borne by the Arctic Research Laboratory.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And who accompanied you on that trip, Doctor?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Oh, there must have been a dozen people or so. The minutes are in the record, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Was Mr. Stefansson, the explorer, with you on that trip?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.



Senator HICKENLOOPER. You are acquainted with Mr. Stefansson, are you not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I cannot pronounce his first name. If you were to tell me how to do it, I would appreciate it.

Dr. LATTIMORE. V-i-l-h-j-a-l-m-u-r.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Stefansson has been quite active in the past several years in various political sociological activities, has he not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't know, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Are you interested, you and Mrs. Lattimore, interested in any property with Mr. Stefansson?

Dr. LATTIMORE. We have joint ownership of a farm in Vermont.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And where is the location of that farm?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Bethel, Vt.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You have an undivided, you and Mrs. Lattimore have an undivided half interest in this farm, do you not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. When did you acquire that?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Last summer, of 1949.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you spend some time up there, or have you?

Dr. LATTIMORE. We spent a couple of months there last summer. I had some Mongols with me, from our research group at Johns Hopkins, and I was engaged there in taking down material from them, and in translation work from Mongol sources.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did Mr. Stefansson stay there at the time?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Stefansson was at his house part of the time; not the whole time.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Well, it is your house as well as his; is it not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No; he has a house on the property which belongs to him and there is an adjoining property, about a half mile away, through some woods, in which he has a half interest and we have a half interest, and the house in which we have a half interest is on that other property.

Senator TYDINGS. Are the two homes separate?

Dr. LATTIMORE. About a half mile apart.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Is Mr. Stefansson the assistant director of the Arctic Institute of North America, do you know?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I believe he is; yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you know the Chinese Tung Piwu?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir; I don't believe I have ever met him.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In that event, you have never had a meeting with him, and others, some years ago, 4 or 5 years ago.

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. At any place?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now, I notice in your testimony, Mr. Lattimore, today, as I recall, the Budenz charges, as far as you know, were the first, as I understand your testimony, and if I am incorrect you may correct me, as I understand your testimony the Budenz charges against you were the first charges that you were aware of,

or the first insinuations that you were aware of as to any possible Communist connections that you might have; is that substantially correct?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Senator McCarthy came before Budenz and Kohlberg went pretty far before Senator McCarthy.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Kohlberg's allegations, or whatever they were, were in connection with the Institute of Pacific Relations activities, is that correct?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Also in connection with me personally.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I noticed on pages B 6 and 7 of your statement, in connection with the appearance of Mr. Whittaker Chambers before the House Un-American Activities Committee, that they questioned, Mr. Stripling questioned, Mr. Chambers about any acquaintance with you at that time?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe Mr. Chambers said that he had none, and I believe you testified, as I recall, that you had no acquaintance with Mr. Chambers.

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't remember testimony—it may have been the first time I was here—in any case, no, no connection.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now, on page C 5 of your statement, I call your attention to the paragraph beginning in the middle of the page as follows [reading]:

And in the same period—

This is referring, as I understand it, to the Institute of Pacific Relations publication—

And in the same period we published at least 94 contributions out of the 250 that were definitely to the right of center.

Does that indicate, Dr. Lattimore, that the other 156 were to the left of center, the balance of the articles in this publication?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. The balance are articles that are on scientific or bibliographical or political, entirely colorless subjects.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It is my recollection, Dr. Lattimore, that General Thorpe testified when he was before this committee that you saw classified documents when you were down at the last post of command where he was stationed; is that correct?

If I am not correct in my assumption, I wish you would correct me.

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes, I recall his testimony on that subject, Senator, and I have not conferred with him on that subject, but to the best of my recollection when I was in Tokyo I went in several times to see General Thorpe, and to talk with him about various subjects. I don't think there is any harm in saying that subject on which I probably conferred with him in most detail was the fact that there were a number of Mongols in Japan who had been brought over by the Japanese before and during the war. General Thorpe apparently did not know about them, but I had known that they must be there because I had known something about the Japanese Mongol from the Mongol side before that. So I went in to urge him to get some of the Mongols down. At first I urged him to get hold of them. Then he made inquiry and found that they had all been segregated at a university up in northern Japan. Then I suggested that he get some down. He found out how many there were, and it was obviously too large a number to

bring all of them down, and I suggested to him the classification on which he should bring them down to Tokyo for interrogation, that classification being by region from which they came, tribal affiliation, and that kind of thing. This was done eventually but only after I left Japan, because the airfield where they were was snowed in.

Now, in connection with that kind of question and other questions, he may have shown me classified documents, but I can't, I confess that I cannot recall any single classified document shown to me, or even whether classified documents were shown to me. It may be that I was cleared in his department as a person to whom classified documents could be shown, and yet no occasion came up for showing them, and, therefore, I wasn't shown any. But my memory is not entirely clear on the subject.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, did you ever urge or recommend to an official of the American Government that the United States recognize the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia after it had set up its, as you referred, I believe, a while ago, its de facto independence from China?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Well, I have recommended in books that outer Mongolia should be recognized, and I may have recommended it in that memorandum of August 1949, but I can't recall any other occasion.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you recall whether or not you, or would you say whether or not you strongly represented that in, let's say, the late thirties, the then recognition by the United States of the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia—I don't know whether you would refer to it as Outer Mongolia.

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is the general term. I can't recall it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Would you say that you had not so recommended?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, I might have. I don't recall any occasion on which I did so.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. When was it that the Russian secret police and political police moved into Outer Mongolia and actually took over the physical control, and by that I don't mean that they put their own persons in the elective offices, but the secret police and the enforcement branch from Russia, moved in and took over the practical control of Outer Mongolia?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't know, sir. In fact, I don't know if they have that kind of control in Outer Mongolia today. It is a subject on which I work continuously accumulating information as best I can, but I don't have the positive answer.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Wasn't there a time around 1935 or 1936, the dates of which I cannot specifically place, when there was reported a so-called revolutionary activity in Outer Mongolia which set up some new officials there and changed the complexion of the then existing government?

Dr. LATTIMORE. There was a time—Let's see how close I can date it—about 1931, 1932, along in there, when there was a year of rather acute trouble in outer Mongolia, the nature of which was that they attempted their move considerably to the left of where they had been, and then decided that was a bad move, and moved back over toward the right of center.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Wasn't there a disturbance, or revolution in Outer Mongolia in the thirties in which the Russian secret police and other Russian secret forces, that is nonuniformed forces, I might say, moved in and after a certain blood purge succeeded in getting people friendly to them established in the Government of Outer Mongolia?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't know, sir. There was a Mongolian purge after this leftward move that failed. Whether that Mongol purge was conducted by Russia or at the instigation of the Russians, I don't know. In 1924 there was a much bigger change of regime in Outer Mongolia, and most Mongols attribute the beginning of stronger Russian influence to that period.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, did you ever address an organization in Washington known as the Washington Book Shop, or make addresses up there under your sponsorship?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I recall, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you speak before a Washington committee to aid China which was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy about 1941?

Dr. LATTIMORE. About, I think, a little earlier than that, 1939 or 1940, I spoke at a committee for the—a meeting in a church somewhere here in Washington, sponsored by the Washington Committee for Aid to China, but I do not believe that they—what was that other committee?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. American League for Peace and Democracy.

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't believe that was the sponsor.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. After Philip Jaffe was arrested in the Am-  
 erasia case, did you furnish any character references for Mr. Jaffe?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't believe so. I haven't seen Mr. Jaffe since about 1940 or 1941.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you think that you would recall if you had furnished character references for him?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I should think I would; yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And so far as you recall, you did not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. As far as I can recall, I did not.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You were in China in June of 1937, were you not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And you were in Yunnan at that time?

Dr. LATTIMORE. About then; yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You made a trip to Yunnan.

Dr. LATTIMORE. It was in June, I think.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. How long was the duration of that trip?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Oh, I forget how long the total duration of the trip was overland to Yunnan; we spent, I think, 3 or 4 days in Yunnan—and, by the way, Mr. Chairman, I have just discovered the notebook that I kept while I was in Yunnan. I would like to submit it as an exhibit to show the routine nature of the interviews, on which I took notes, and the routine nature of the notes indicates why I didn't feel that there was anything that I could publish after such a trip.

Senator TYDINGS. You are just lending it to us for reference?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I should like to have it back for my files, if I may.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. On this trip to Yunan, Dr. Lattimore, you were accompanied by Philip Jaffe and by T. A. Bisson, or either of them?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Both of them, sir. I think there was a fairly complete account of that in my first statement, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you know Gerhart Eisler in China?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir; nor anywhere else.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Referring to Gerhart Eisler, is it possible that he could have gone under any other name where his identity might have become known to you later as Gerhart Eisler?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I doubt it, Senator. I never knew that Gerhart Eisler had been—who he was, or that he had been in China—until I saw the newspaper accounts here, and, as I recall from those newspaper accounts, he was in South China, where the Communists and Kuomintang united front of that period was operating, and at that time I was traveling across Mongolia and central Asia.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did a man by the name of Loomis, a man who went under the name of Loomis, at least, ever arrange to furnish information supplied by you to Moscow in Soviet diplomatic pouches, the Soviet diplomatic pouch?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe you were in Yokohama in 1934, were you not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yokohama, 1934? I may have passed through Yokohama, probably did pass through Yokohama on the way back from America to China in 1934; yes. I don't remember any Loomis, though.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Sir?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't remember any Loomis there.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The Loomis had nothing to do with this particular question.

The trip was made by boat?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Was Agnus Smedley along on the boat on that trip?

Dr. LATTIMORE. She was on that boat; yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. She made the trip from this country to Yokohama then at the same time?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't remember whether she made the trip from this country or joined the boat in Yokohama. Let me see now. I was on that boat for part of the time with her but not the whole trip.

Incidentally, that was the first time I had met her and the trip was not by prearrangement.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, do you know a person by the name of Miyagi Yotoku?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I can recall. My memory for Japanese names is not as good as my memory for Chinese names but that sounds completely strange to me.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, did Mrs. Lattimore, your wife, lecture before the Tom Mooney School in California?

Dr. LATTIMORE. You will have to ask her, sir; she is right here.

Can't recall it, she says.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And you no knowledge of your own as to whether or not she did?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No; I haven't, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, we discussed for a moment, on your previous appearance here, the matter of the picnic at your place, I believe, in Maryland, outside of Baltimore, at the time the arrests were made in the Amerasia case, perhaps a day or so before that, and that at that time, do I recall correctly, that you said Mr. Roth was there?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Is he married, and if so, was his wife there?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No; I don't think his wife was there.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And was Phillip Jaffe there?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Was John Service there?

Dr. LATTIMORE. He was there.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The purpose of their visit at your house, in addition to attending a picnic, I believe you said, was to examine the manuscript, or some book in preparation that one of them was writing?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Roth was going through the galley proofs of his book, Dilemma in Japan, and as a good deal younger man, writing—I am not sure that it was his first book—yes; I think it was his first book—I am not sure, but as a younger author, he very flatteringly asked me if I would look at the galleys and make any suggestions that could be made at the galley proof stage, and so on.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And Mr. Service, what was his connection with the meeting?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Service, as I have been saying this afternoon, was a friend of a good many years, I had seen something of him in Chungking, he had been back in Washington for some time, I don't recall just how long, and it was the first chance to offer him hospitality, so my wife and I asked him to come over.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And he was not there for the purpose of examining the galley proofs of this book?

Dr. LATTIMORE. He may have looked at the galley proofs, being a foreign service officer, specializing in the Far East he could have been expected to be interested, but I don't recall whether he did or not.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And he did not bring or take away the galley proofs, is that true, or did Mr. Roth do that?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I can recall, sir. The only galley proofs I saw were Mr. Roth's.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I will hand you, merely to refresh your recollection, if possible, a tear sheet from the paper The People's World, Wednesday, April 28, 1943. I call your attention to an advertisement that appears on page 3 of that paper as the tear-sheet shows, headed San Francisco, and in a box "Lecture by Mrs. Owen Lattimore, China and the War, Friday, April 30, 8 p. m., Tom Mooney Labor School, 678 Turk Street, Admission 50 Cents."

I will hand you that for your reference, to see whether or not it may refresh your recollection, or that of Mrs. Lattimore.

Dr. LATTIMORE. She says that she could have. She talked at a great many places in those years.

May I ask, Senator, if there is any reason why anyone should not speak at the Tom Mooney School; is there anything sinister about it?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I hadn't suggested any, one way or the other, Dr. Lattimore, I am merely asking as to facts.

Did you ever know or meet Richard Sorge?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No. I don't recall ever meeting him, and I don't think I could have.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You know to whom I refer?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. He was the subject of an investigation and report on espionage activities in the Orient.

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. If I may have returned that tear sheet, if you are through with it.

Now, do you know whether or not the People's World is one of the official publications of the Communist Party, or was in 1943?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I couldn't tell you, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. On your visit to Yunnan that we mentioned a moment ago, I take it you had been in Yunnan before?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir; I had never been there before.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In your life in China?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you have anything to do with the arrangement for Edgar Snow's trip into Communist territory in connection with securing necessary information for his book or writings on Red Star Over China?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir; I didn't even know about it, the preparations for it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. On your trip to Yunnan, did you lecture, or make any addresses, address or addresses to Chinese Communist troops?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I made one speech, or partial address. They had an open air meeting, for hospitality to the visiting group, and I spoke there, rather briefly, in the open air.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you know Harriet Lavine Chi?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I used to know her many years ago, yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Is she not the present proposed delegate to the United Nations of the Chinese Communists?

Dr. LATTIMORE. She is or was the wife of Chao-Ting Chi, yes. I don't know whether they are still married or not.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And he is the man who is either now here or waiting the action of the United Nations to become the delegate for the China government of the Communists?

Dr. LATTIMORE. So I hear, yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Harriet Lavine Chi was at one time your secretary, was she not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. She worked for, I think, something like a week, as my secretary, a week, or it may have been two weeks, in the summer of 1936, when the preparations were being made for the 1936 conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and we had a number of temporary secretaries and stenographers.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That is the only time she was ever employed by you or worked with you?

Dr. LATTIMORE. She was not employed by me.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. She was employed to work for you?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I do not mean necessarily that you paid her.

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Was that the only time that she ever performed any work for you?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is the only time I recall.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Is she Philip Jaffe's niece?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't know, sir.

Senator TYDINGS. Dr. Lattimore, the hour is getting pretty late, and you have had a pretty long session. I wonder if it wouldn't be convenient for you to be here at 10:15 tomorrow morning?

Dr. LATTIMORE. If you so desire, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have a great many more questions that I want to ask. I don't care to hold the committee here.

Senator TYDINGS. Senator Hickenlooper has some other questions he would like to ask; so I think we might make it at 10 tomorrow morning, so that we can get back on our other schedule.

Senator LODGE. Let me say, if the decision not to permit any questioning in executive session is adhered to, I would be constrained to ask some questions myself.

Senator TYDINGS. All right. Senator Lodge will have some questions. I think we might as well meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. So if it is convenient to the committee we will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p. m., the committee recessed to reconvene on Wednesday, May 3, 1950, at 10 a. m.)



STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE  
LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1950

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTED UNDER SENATE RESOLUTION 231,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to an adjournment taken on May 2, 1950, at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator Millard E. Tydings (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Tydings, Green, McMahon, Hickenlooper, and Lodge.

Also present: Senator Knowland; Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel for the subcommittee; and Robert Morris, assistant counsel for the subcommittee.

Senator TYDINGS. The committee will come to order.

While we are waiting to get started, I have written to General Marshall, Cordel Hull, Secretary Byrnes, and Secretary Acheson, inquiring of each of them, in identical or similar letters, what influence Mr. Lattimore had on the far eastern policy, and whether he was the chief architect on the State Department's far eastern policy.

Each of them replied and I would like to have these inserted in the record, both my letters and the replies thereto.

APRIL 17, 1950.

Gen. GEORGE C. MARSHALL,  
*American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR GENERAL MARSHALL: It has been stated by Senator McCarthy during the course of the hearings now being held by the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under Senate Resolution 231, that Mr. Owen Lattimore is "the principal architect of our far eastern policy."

It is important for our committee to determine the truth of this contention for whatever bearing it may have on other evidence adduced in the Lattimore matter. For that reason, I would appreciate it greatly if you would inform me at your earliest possible convenience of the extent to which, in your opinion, Dr. Lattimore was "the principal architect of our far eastern policy" or the extent that Dr. Lattimore influenced our far eastern policy during the period in which you were Secretary of State.

I am addressing a similar letter to Secretary Acheson, Mr. Hull, and Mr. Byrnes.

Thanking you for your kindness in giving the committee this information, I am  
Very respectfully,

PINEHURST, N. C., April 22, 1950.

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: I have received your letter of April 17 in which you refer to a recent statement, in connection with the hearings of the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations under Senate Resolution 231, that "Owen Lattimore

is the principal architect of our far eastern policy." Your letter then asks the extent to which, in my opinion, "Lattimore was the principal architect of our far eastern policy" during the period in which I served as Secretary of State.

The statement referred to above is completely without basis in fact.

So far as I and my associates can recall, I never even met Mr. Lattimore.

I take the liberty of commenting on the harmful effect on our foreign relations of such statements, charges, or insinuations broadcast with so little regard for the truth. They undoubtedly confuse our friends abroad, undermine and weaken our position before the world, and actually lend assistance to the powers that would destroy us.

Faithfully yours,

G. C. MARSHALL.

APRIL 17, 1950.

HON. CORDELL HULL,  
*Wardman Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. HULL: It has been stated by Senator McCarthy during the course of the hearings now being held by the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under Senate Resolution 231, that Mr. Owen Lattimore is "the principal architect of our far eastern policy."

It is important for our committee to determine the truth of this contention for whatever bearing it may have on other evidence adduced in the Lattimore matter. For that reason, I would appreciate it greatly if you would inform me at your earliest possible convenience of the extent to which, in your opinion, Dr. Lattimore was "the principal architect of our far eastern policy," or the extent that Dr. Lattimore influenced our far eastern policy during the period in which you were Secretary of State.

I am addressing a similar letter to Secretary Acheson, Mr. Byrnes, and General Marshall.

Thanking you for your kindness in giving the committee this information, I am  
Very respectfully,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 20, 1950.

HON. MILLARD E. TYDINGS,  
*United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: I have your letter of April 17 in which you inquire concerning the extent to which, in my opinion, Dr. Owen Lattimore was "the principal architect of our far eastern policy" or the extent he influenced our far eastern policy while I was Secretary of State.

In my opinion, he was in no sense the "principal architect" of our far eastern policy during the period I served as Secretary of State. Although his position in academic circles as a student of and writer on some aspects of Chinese life and history was, of course, known to us, I am not aware that during this period he had any appreciable influence on our far eastern policy. I do not remember having consulted with him on that subject or on any subject at any time.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL.

APRIL 17, 1950.

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES,  
*Spartanburg, S. C.*

DEAR MR. BYRNES: It has been stated by Senator McCarthy during the course of the hearings now being held by the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under Senate Resolution 231, that Mr. Owen Lattimore is "the principal architect of our far eastern policy."

It is important for our committee to determine the truth of this contention for whatever bearing it may have on other evidence adduced in the Lattimore matter. For that reason, I would appreciate it greatly if you would inform me at your earliest possible convenience of the extent to which, in your opinion, Dr. Lattimore was "the principal architect of our far eastern policy," or the extent that Dr. Lattimore influenced our far eastern policy during the period in which you were Secretary of State.

I am addressing a similar letter to Secretary Acheson, Mr. Hull, and General Marshall.

Thanking you for your kindness in giving the committee this information, I am

Very respectfully,

SPARTANBURG, S. C., April 24, 1950.

Hon. MILLARD E. TYDINGS,  
*United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MILLARD: I have your letter of the 17th asking the extent to which, in my opinion, Mr. Owen Lattimore was "the principal architect of our far-eastern policy" or the extent he influenced our far-eastern policy during the period I was Secretary of State.

I do not know Mr. Lattimore. If he ever wrote me about the far-eastern policy the letter was not called to my attention. If, while I was Secretary of State, he discussed our far-eastern policy with any officials of the Department concerned with that policy, in their discussions with me they did not quote him.

Early in December 1945 Gen. George C. Marshall went to China and thereafter his reports to the President and me influenced our policies in China and the Far East. I do not think General Marshall was influenced by Mr. Lattimore.

To my former colleagues, I take the liberty of adding that, regardless of the merits of complaints as to what has heretofore occurred, the President and the Secretary of State have given proof of their desire to restore the bipartisan policy in our foreign affairs, and I earnestly hope the Members of the Senate will cooperate in that effort.

While I was Secretary of State I found I could talk to Senator Vandenberg with the same freedom with which I talked to Senator Connally and to my assistants, and I profited by his advice. I am sure that in his absence other Republican Senators will cooperate just as did Senator Vandenberg. It is extremely important at this time, in view of the tenseness of the situation in world affairs, that we do not give to either our friends or enemies abroad the false impression of a serious division among us in our policies as to the Soviet Government. Seldom in history have our people been so united on any issue.

I hope that, regardless of our differences on domestic issues, our political leaders can present a united front in our foreign relations.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. BYRNES.

APRIL 17, 1950.

Hon. DEAN ACHESON,  
*Secretary of State,  
Department of State, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It has been stated by Senator McCarthy during the course of the hearings now being held by the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under Senate Resolution 231, that Mr. Owen Lattimore is "the principal architect of our far-eastern policy."

It is important for our committee to determine the truth of this contention for whatever bearing it may have on other evidence adduced in the Lattimore matter. For that reason, I would appreciate it greatly if you would inform me at your earliest possible convenience of the extent to which, in your opinion, Dr. Lattimore was "the principal architect of our far-eastern policy," or the extent that Dr. Lattimore influenced our far-eastern policy during the period in which you have been Secretary of State.

I am addressing a similar letter to Mr. Hull, Mr. Byrnes, and General Marshall. Thanking you for your kindness in giving the committee this information, I am

Very respectfully,

APRIL 27, 1950.

Hon. MILLARD E. TYDINGS,  
*United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: In a letter dated April 17, 1950, you asked that I inform you of the extent to which, in my opinion, Mr. Owen Lattimore was the

"principal architect of our far eastern policy," or the extent to which he influenced our far eastern policy during the period in which I have been Secretary of State. On April 17 Mr. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, wrote you in full detail concerning Mr. Lattimore's connections with this Department in the past. The far eastern policy of this Government, like all other foreign policy, is the responsibility of the Secretary of State and has been made by me in my administration, subject, of course, to the direction of the President. I welcome this opportunity to state personally and categorically that during the period in which I have been Secretary, Mr. Lattimore, so far as I am concerned or am aware, has had no influence in the determination of our far eastern policy. There is clearly no basis in fact for describing Mr. Lattimore as the "principal architect" of our far eastern policy. I might add that, so far as I am aware, I have never met Mr. Lattimore.

The far eastern policy of the United States has at all times been determined after careful study by the responsible officers of the Department and an objective evaluation by me of all of the facts available to this Government. The Department of State has explored all avenues to arrive at the relevant facts. The measure of the participation of Mr. Lattimore, so far as this Department and I am concerned, is fully and fairly indicated in the letter of April 17 from Mr. Peurifoy.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON.

APRIL 17, 1950.

Hon. MILLARD E. TYDINGS,  
*United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: Following Senator McCarthy's statement on March 21 that a top Russian espionage agent, whom he privately identified as Mr. Owen Lattimore, was an employee or consultant of the State Department, I submitted to your subcommittee a brief statement of Mr. Lattimore's connections with this Department, as revealed by a careful check of our personnel records. Since Mr. Lattimore has been publicly identified and since there has been considerable public discussion concerning his relationship with the Department, it is now appropriate to give in greater detail the instances of connections between Mr. Lattimore and the Department. Without any intention of reflecting on Mr. Lattimore and for the purpose of setting the record straight, I believe I should state that Mr. Lattimore does not have a desk in the Department of State nor access to its files, and is neither an employee nor a top adviser of the Department. These are the facts:

On October 15, 1945, Mr. Owen Lattimore was appointed as an economic adviser to the United States Reparations Mission to Japan. He served with the mission until February 12, 1946. While on this assignment he was paid out of the Department's international conferences funds.

Mr. Lattimore was 1 of 28 persons to lecture on a program known as Meet the Public, which was given at the Department's Foreign Service Institute. He gave one lecture on June 5, 1946. This program was initiated by the Department's Office of Public Affairs and was designed to bring before departmental personnel the viewpoints of various persons who were working on, or interested in, foreign affairs. In this capacity, Mr. Lattimore was not an employee of the Department and received no remuneration. The following were the speakers on this program:

Senator J. William Fulbright

Mr. Ernest K. Lindley, chief of the Washington bureau of Newsweek

Senator Warren Austin

Dr. Arthur Compton, chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis.

Mr. Charles Bolte, chairman of the American Veterans' Committee.

Congressman Jerry Voorhis.

Prof. Owen Lattimore, director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University.

Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College.

Mr. Herbert Elliston, editor of the Washington Post.

Mr. Eugene Meyer, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Dr. Jacob Viner, professor of economics, Princeton University.

Dr. Harold Lasswell, professor of law, Yale University.

Mr. Wallace Deuel, editor of the Chicago News.

Senator Wayne Morse.

Mr. Thomas K. Finletter, vice chairman of Americans United for World Government, Inc.  
 Mr. James M. Landis, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board.  
 Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, editor and research director of the Foreign Policy Association.  
 Mr. Kermit Eby, director of education and research, Congress of Industrial Organizations.  
 Mr. Hamilton Owens, editor of the Baltimore Sun (and Sun papers).  
 Prof. Frank Tannenbaum, Columbia University.  
 Mr. Gardner Murphy, American Psychological Association.  
 Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, vice president of Georgetown University and regent of the School of Foreign Service.  
 Mr. David Lawrence, editor of the United States News and of the World Report.  
 Mr. Robert Watt, international representative of the American Federation of Labor.  
 Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.  
 Dr. Dexter Perkins, professor of Latin-American affairs, University of Rochester.  
 Congressman Mike Mansfield.  
 Dr. James P. Baxter, president of Williams College.

On October 6, 7, and 8, 1949, Mr. Lattimore, following preliminary correspondence with the Department of State, was one of a group of 25 private individuals participating in a round-table discussion arranged by the Office of Public Affairs for the purpose of exchanging views on United States foreign policy toward China. As a member of this group, Mr. Lattimore was not an employee of the Department and received no compensation but was reimbursed for expenses. This round-table discussion followed a solicitation of written views on the same topic from a larger group in response to which the written views of 31 private individuals were received and analyzed. Some of the members, including Mr. Lattimore, were in both groups. Both the written views received and the transcript of the round-table discussions were made available as some of the background material for consideration by Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Mr. Everett Case, and Ambassador Jessup, who had been requested by the Secretary to review United States policy toward the Far East. The 31 who expressed views initially in writing were:

Former Consul General Joseph W. Bullantline, now at Brookings Institution.  
 Prof. Hugh Borton, Columbia University.  
 Former President Isalah Bowman, Johns Hopkins University.  
 Dr. A. J. Brunbaugh, American Council on Education, Washington.  
 Former Ambassador William Bullitt.  
 Former Under Secretary Castle.  
 Former Consul John A. Embry.  
 Prof. Rupert Emerson, Harvard University.  
 Dr. Charles B. Fahs, New York City.  
 Prof. John K. Fairbank, Harvard University.  
 Dr. Huntington Gilchrist, New York City.  
 Prof. Carrington Goodrich, Columbia University.  
 Former Under Secretary Grew.  
 Col. Robert A. Griffin, former Deputy Administrator, ECA, China.  
 Former Ambassador Stanley K. Hornbeck.  
 Roger Lapham, former Administrator, ECA, China.  
 Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette, Yale University.  
 Prof. Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University.  
 Oliver C. Lockhart, Export-Import Bank of Washington.  
 Walter H. Mallory, Council on Foreign Relations.  
 Prof. Wallace Moore, Occidental College, Los Angeles.  
 Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer, Harvard University.  
 C. A. Richards, Economic Cooperation Administration.  
 Former Minister Walter S. Robertson, Richmond, Va.  
 Dr. Lawrence K. Rosinger, New York City.  
 Mr. James Rowe, Washington.  
 Mrs. Virginia Thompson (Adloff), New York City.  
 Prof. Amry Vandenbosch, University of Kentucky.  
 Prof. Karl A. Wittfogel, Columbia University.  
 Prof. Mary Wright, Stanford University.  
 Admiral Yarnell.

The 25 who attended the round-table discussions were:

Joseph W. Ballantine, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.  
 Bernard Brodie, Department of International Relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
 Claude A. Buss, Director of Studies, Army War College, Washington, D. C.  
 Kenneth Colegrove, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
 Arthur G. Coons, president, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif.  
 John W. Decker, International Missionary Council, New York, N. Y.  
 John K. Fairbank, Committee on International and Regional Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 William R. Herod, president, International General Electric Co., New York, N. Y.  
 Arthur N. Holcombe, Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Benjamin H. Kizer, Graves, Kizer & Graves, Spokane, Wash.  
 Owen Lattimore, director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
 Ernest B. MacNaughton, chairman of the board, First National Bank, Portland, Ore.  
 George C. Marshall, president, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.  
 J. Morden Murphy, assistant vice president, Bankers Trust Co., New York, N. Y.  
 Nathaniel Peffer, department of public law and government, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
 Harold S. Quigley, department of political science, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Edwin O. Reischauer, department of far eastern languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 William S. Robertson, president, American & Foreign Power Co., New York, N. Y.  
 John D. Rockefeller III, president Rockefeller Brothers' Fund, New York, N. Y.  
 Lawrence K. Rosinger, American Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, N. Y.  
 Eugene Staley, executive director, World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, Calif.  
 Harold Stassen, president, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Phillips Talbot, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
 George E. Taylor, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.  
 Harold M. Vinacke, department of political science, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The following were invited to the round table October 6, 7, and 8, 1949, but did not attend:

W. Langbourne Bond, Pan American Airways, Washington, D. C.  
 Monroe E. Deutsch, provost, University of California.  
 Anne O'Hare McCormick, New York Times.  
 Moris T. Moore, chairman of the board of Time, Inc.  
 Michael Ross, director, department of international affairs, CIO.  
 J. E. Wallace Sterling, president, Stanford University.

In order to ascertain whether any facts whatsoever might support Senator McCarthy's assertions that Mr. Lattimore has a desk in the Department, access to its files, and a position as a top adviser on far-Eastern affairs, a check has been made with officers of the Department who have been concerned with the Far East, and many of whom have come to know Mr. Lattimore, who is widely regarded as one of the leading experts in this field. Beyond the normal contacts found among persons having a common specialized professional training and interest, this check developed only that Mr. Lattimore, as director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University, has participated in setting up at Johns Hopkins a Mongolian language project in which the Department is interested. The Department of State, in line with the policy of promoting and utilizing foreign language and other international studies in numerous American universities, has, under authority of Public Law 724 (79th Cong.), entered into a contract with the Johns Hopkins University, pursuant to which it has contributed \$3,200 toward this language project. Very much larger sums have been made available for this project, it is understood, by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Foundation. In connection with this project, it was possible to arrange for three Mongol scholars, including Dilowa Hutuktu, or the "Living Buddha," to enter the United States and work in the Walter Hines Page School in Baltimore. Officers of the Department's Foreign Service Institute have visited the project from time to time to observe its progress, and a junior member of the Foreign Service Staff, a specialist on the Far East,

whose salary is \$4,650 a year, is studying at the Walter Hines Page School as part of this project. The end results of the project will be a descriptive grammar of the Mongolian language and other teaching materials in spoken Mongolian.

Mr. Lattimore was recently sent by the Secretariat of the United Nations as a member of a preliminary economic survey mission to Afghanistan. In this capacity, Mr. Lattimore was hired by and responsible to the United Nations and not the Department of State.

Mr. Lattimore does not have a desk in the Department of State, nor does he have access to its files. Of course, in connection with his OWI employment (1942-45) and his 4-month assignment to the Pauley Reparations Mission which terminated February 12, 1946, Mr. Lattimore like others in such positions, might have been required as part of his duties to consider some official papers from other agencies of the Government, including the Department of State.

These are the facts.

Sincerely yours,

*Deputy Under Secretary.*

All right, Senator Hickenlooper, whenever you are ready.

#### TESTIMONY OF DR. OWEN LATTIMORE—Resumed

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Chairman, may I first hand in some of the things I was requested to hand in yesterday?

Senator TYDINGS. What are they, Mr. Lattimore?

Dr. LATTIMORE. First, Mr. Chairman, I have here two exhibits. One is my memorandum to the generalissimo, which the committee wanted to examine—

Senator TYDINGS. That will be filed.

Is it identified on the cover?

Dr. LATTIMORE. It is identified on the cover.

Senator TYDINGS. Hand it over to the stenographer.

(The document referred to was passed to the committee reporter for filing with the committee.)

Dr. LATTIMORE. Second is the diary of my trip to Yen-an. In connection with this diary, Mr. Chairman, I should like to draw attention to one fact, lest any misapprehension should arise: The diary consists entirely of interviews with Communist leaders at Yen-an; but at the end there are some names on a separate sheet. I did not want to tear out that sheet, to make the notebook seem mutilated, but I do not want to leave the names in there without guarding against misapprehension. The names are the names of Christians, Chinese, and British, and they are noted on that page because, while I was at Yen-an, a Chinese Christian doctor came up to me and said that he was working in the region, that he was afraid that he would be denounced to his colleagues, and the British, and would I please write to his colleagues and take out some letters for him, and to say that he was there, not because he was a Communist, but because, as a Christian and a doctor, he felt it his duty to remain in an area which had been taken over by the Communists, to show that it had not been abandoned by Christians, and men of his profession.

That is the only reason his name is in there.

Senator TYDINGS. You want those names in the diary treated in confidence, and you are submitting it for the information of the committee?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. And you want it returned?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes; returned to me, if you please.

Senator TYDINGS. The stenographer will so note.

What was the year of the Yenon visit?

Dr. LATTIMORE. 1937.

Senator TYDINGS. 1937?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. And the diary is for 1937?

Dr. LATTIMORE. At the time I was there.

(The diary was passed to the committee reporter.)

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead.

Dr. LATTIMORE. I should then like to hand in some quotations from my own writings.

The question was raised—

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want those back, or just filed?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Filed for the record.

Senator TYDINGS. Filed for the record, as exhibit 87.

Dr. LATTIMORE. In this connection, I should like to remark, Mr. Chairman, that the question of whether I am against Russian expansion, and against the spread of communism, is something that is implicit throughout my writings. As a political scientist, and not a propagandist, my writing has not taken the form of mere hostile denunciation. I have always been a loyal American citizen, devoted to the best interests of my country; and my anti-Communist view is primarily expressed in the fact that I have repeatedly advocated programs that would limit the expansion of Russia, as a state; and limit the expansion of Communism as an ideology. Therefore, it is positively expressed, and not negatively expressed, in terms of denunciation.

Senator TYDINGS. It will be filed for the record, as exhibit 87.

(The document was passed to the committee reporter.)

Dr. LATTIMORE. Thirdly, I should like to add to this record a file of attacks on me in the Communist press. I should like to say that these were gathered primarily by my wife while I was away in Afghanistan, before I returned. They do not represent a thorough searching of the Soviet press; as the Soviet press is not indexed in this country, and it is an expensive and long-time business to search the entire record, particularly as my writings fall under the head of geography, history, anthropology, as well as political science.

Therefore, a very wide search would have to be undertaken; and in this connection, Mr. Senator, I should like to make one further observation:

Reflecting last night on the trend of some of the questions yesterday, which I realize were devoted to the eliciting of facts, and which I realized represented the fact that the shadow of McCarthyism hangs over the whole procedure of our public life, as well as over me personally, I nevertheless found certain things that both as a university professor, and as an author, I thought might represent perhaps a dangerous trend in our whole public life.

How often does a man have to prove his loyalty as an American, not by the constructive work that he does, but by the angry denunciation in which he engages?

How often does a loyal American have to prove his loyalty by the number of attacks on him, in the Soviet or American Communist press?

One of the things that most instantly repels Americans is, when they read in the original, or in translation, the kind of thing that is published in the Soviet press, where every issue of a magazine has to begin



with an adulation of Stalin, and denunciation of American imperialism, without any proof; where every individual article has to begin with an adulation of Stalin and denunciation of bourgeois cosmopolitanism, and jargon of this kind, Mr. Senator, to reach a point in American life where a university professor can only hold his chair if he is able to produce, from time to time, printed evidence that he has been attacked in the Soviet or Communist press, not longer ago than, say, 6 months?

If we get to that stage, Mr. Senator, McCarthyism will have dominated this country.

Senator TYDINGS. It will be filed in the record as exhibit 88.

Senator HICKENLOOPER?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, on yesterday you dwelt at some length upon the freedom of research and the danger to this country in curtailing that freedom. You advocated strongly the right of scholars, researchers, and others to examine the truth, to probe deeply to get to the truth, and the facts, whatever the facts are.

Again this morning you have defended that philosophy, and I am not in disagreement with you on that idea that the scholars and researchers must search for the truth, if we expect to progress; but, by the same token, this committee has a responsibility in the public political interest to search for the truth and to probe deeply for truth.

Now, do I understand that you are raising objection here now to this committee probing deeply and searchingly for the truth in this matter?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Senator, I am not raising any objection at all to the committee probing as widely as it sees fit. I am here before this committee, not only in person, but as a representative of a whole group in our public life. I have referred to the trend of certain questions which I thought represented the reflection in this country of a type of denunciatory procedure which exists in Russia, and which I and other Americans do not like.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Well, Dr. Lattimore, the denomination by you of this proceeding as "McCarthyism" in my judgment is not exactly appropriate, and I say that without meaning to be caustic about any—

Dr. LATTIMORE. I am merely saying that the shadow of McCarthy has been projected over this committee. He denounced this committee over on the floor of the Senate—

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The shadow of Senator McCarthy may be projected over this committee, but the shadow of communistic activities in this country has been projected over this committee, and if you will read the statement of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover of yesterday I think that it will indicate that the Communist activities in this country are something for substantial concern, indeed; and, I shall be further interested in his statement of yesterday at a later date.

Dr. LATTIMORE. The question of communism in this country, as far as it affects me, Mr. Senator, has been introduced by false accusations, not by activities or writings.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Well, it is true that Senator McCarthy has been prominently connected with this proceeding. Without doubt, some of his charges generated the setting up of this committee. I think that goes without saying. That is true. But this committee

faces, as I understand it, as I approach it, a fact, and not necessarily a theory, and the fact that the committee faces—or facts—are the necessity for probing for truth, once this matter has been opened up.

Now, you have become an element in this inquiry. As such an element, I feel that it is the duty of this committee to ask questions, to probe deeply, and to find out from the answers to the questions that are asked, and information that is received, to find out a basis for fair and decent conclusions.

Dr. LATTIMORE. Equally, Senator, I feel it is my duty to appear before this committee. I would respectfully point out, however, that my case has been before this committee for more than a month, in the course of which I have not been able to attend to my ordinary vocation, in the slightest. I have put more than a month of time at the full disposal of this committee.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, the question I asked you, the question about whether or not Mrs. Lattimore had lectured to the Tom Mooney Labor School at San Francisco in 1943, and produced a tear sheet from the People's World, dated April 28, 1943, published in San Francisco, I believe, and in connection with that I find—I want to ask you whether or not, overnight, you and Mrs. Lattimore have had opportunity to refresh your recollection as to whether or not she actually did lecture at that time and place, to the Tom Mooney School?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes, Senator. We discussed it. First, I should like to say that during 1943, we were at the height of our war effort, and my wife and I, as people who had spent a great many years in China, were requested to speak all over the place, to all kinds of organizations, and we did so; and, as the printed record shows, both from a book that I published in 1943 and from a book that my wife and I together wrote in 1943 and published in 1944, we were both at that time heart and soul behind the Chinese war effort, as well as our war effort, and were strongly in favor of Chiang Kai-shek; so that all the lectures we gave at that time included strong support of Chiang Kai-shek.

My wife recalls that she spoke at what she understood to be a labor school, as both of us spoke at many schools, churches, community organizations and so forth, at various times; and with all due respect, Senator, I should like to add at this point that I think that this attack on me has set a new low in American political life, and I consider that this attempt to attack me through the activities of my wife, as a loyal American citizen, giving her opinions to no matter whoever it may be—her opinions, not the opinions of anyone else, strikes a new low.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I assure you, Dr. Lattimore, that I am merely attempting to probe the historic attitude toward communism, and I think some of these things are extremely pertinent, in putting the pattern together.

Dr. LATTIMORE. In putting the pattern together, is it a question of the audience to whom one speaks, or the words which one says?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. So far as the Tom Mooney Labor School is concerned, I have checked up on it, and I find the following reference, from the California Committee on un-American Activities. The first Tom Mooney Labor School was first announced in the People's World, July 1, 1942, that being the west coast organ of the Com-

munist Party. The California Committee on Un-American Activities further, in its report for 1947, said, and I quote as follows:

The San Francisco Workers' School \* \* \* frankly and openly a school for instruction in communism \* \* \* by 1943 \* \* \* had been rechristened the Tom Mooney Labor School. \* \* \* A glance at the curriculum reveals that changing the name of the San Francisco Workers' School to the Tom Mooney Labor School did not result in any deviation from the Marxist character of the institution \* \* \* the Tom Mooney Labor School functioned for years with Communist Party functionaries as instructors.

The reference is the California Un-American Activities report, for 1947, pages 63, 77, and 78.

Dr. LATTIMORE. Mr. Senator, in 1943 my wife and I were engaged in patriotic activity. We were not professional discoverers of subversive institutions. As far as my wife can recall, she remembers that she was asked to go down to a trade-union school. She spoke there, expressing the same ideas that she and I expressed everywhere else, and if now, some years later, it turns out that the Communists at that time were against Chiang Kai-Shek, and if it turns out now that my wife and I discover what we did not know before, that that particular school had Communist connections, well, I think that it is an extremely good thing that they were exposed at that time to some extremely un-Communist and anti-Communist remarks on, and interpretations of the situation in China.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, on yesterday I asked you a question as to whether or not a man by the name of Loomis ever arranged to furnish information supplied by you to Moscow, and in the Soviet diplomatic pouch. Your answer was "No."

Dr. LATTIMORE. I, to the best of my knowledge—the only man by the name of Loomis, of whom I knew in those years, was a former YMCA secretary in Hawaii, who was at that time the secretary of the Hawaii branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations and as anti-Communist a man as I know, and I certainly never stuffed anybody's pouches with information for the Soviet Union.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And, you did not at any time use the Soviet diplomatic pouch for the transmission of communications of any kind?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I may have used it on one occasion, in 1947, when I was hoping to be able to make a trip to Outer Mongolia. At that time, I knew that Americans were not being admitted to Outer Mongolia, and I thought it would be a considerable score if I could get there, so I wrote a letter to the Premier of Outer Mongolia, using the same technique that is used by correspondents in Moscow when they write a letter to Stalin, hoping to get a publishable answer, since the United States has no diplomatic connection with Outer Mongolia. I enclosed an original letter written in Mongol, with an English translation, and sent it to the Soviet Ambassador here in Washington, and asked him—and the enclosure was unsealed, and I asked him if he would transmit this request to the Soviet, to the Mongol Embassy in Moscow, asking him to transmit it to the Premier of Outer Mongolia.

Whether they sent it in any pouch or by written mail, I do not know. My request was all in writing. There was no conversation, and there was no answer.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And did you at any other time, and under any other circumstances ever make use of the Soviet diplomatic pouch for the transmission of any communications?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I can possibly recall, Senator; and, I think it most unlikely. I cannot imagine the circumstances under which I might have used the Soviet pouch.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Well, then—

Senator McMAHON. I want to just say that—have you a copy of that letter that Senator Hickenlooper just asked you about?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I must have, yes.

Senator McMAHON. Will you produce it?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Surely.

Senator McMAHON. I will take advantage now of saying, for the record, that I have to preside over a meeting of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee at 10:30. We are having a very, very important session with Dr. Page, the physicist, and I have to go.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, what methods and means did you take for making your arrangements and the contacts for your trip to Yenai in, I believe, 1936 or 1937?

Senator TYDINGS. Excuse me.

Due to the absence of some of the members of the committee here, it will not be feasible to sit beyond 11:15, which is 40 minutes from now. I, myself, have to go downtown to keep an engagement of 2 months' standing which I have tried to get out of, and cannot, and, at 12:15 a speech; and Senator McMahon has this meeting and I am wondering what the situation will be in that regard.

Senator Green, could you preside up to 12:15 here, because we are meeting at 11—that would take care of it. We could go on for that length of time.

Senator GREEN. They want us all present.

Senator TYDINGS. Can you be here up to 12:15? I have to go.

Senator GREEN. I received this call from Senator Lucas to be in the Senate at 11.

Senator TYDINGS. What is your answer?

Senator GREEN. No.

Senator TYDINGS. I would stay myself, even in spite of the call, but I cannot stay on account of the engagement of a few months' standing, to speak to the Washington Rotary Club. Visitors from all over the country will be there at 12:15, and I have to leave before that to arrange for some other matters.

If you could sit here until 12:15, and then you could recess, it would relieve me; otherwise, there won't be anybody here.

Just a minute, we will get this all straightened out.

I would like for the hearing to go on, if you could stay here.

Senator GREEN. I would, but the majority leader telephoned and asked me to present there at 11 o'clock.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, the two Republican members might arrange to go on with the hearing, if the Democrats have to be gone.

Senator TYDINGS. Some of us have tried to be here at all times. We have always tried to have one of each party present while the committee was proceeding.

Senator GREEN. It seems to me it will be better if, when it comes 11 o'clock, we would adjourn—

Senator TYDINGS. We will have to do that.

I had no idea yesterday that we were meeting at 11 this morning. The usual time for a meeting is at 12, so I had planned to go to 12:15. Go ahead. We will have to recess at 11 and meet again this afternoon.

Sorry to have to do this.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I withdraw that question. Just disregard the question I had asked which has not yet been answered.

Dr. Lattimore, will you tell the circumstances of whom you contacted and who arranged for your trip to Yen-an, that you testified about?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I was the man who managed the trip, Senator. We went by train, as far as we could go by train; then, we chartered a motorcar and drove on, and our first contact with Communists was at the first Communist post we encountered in the territory held by them.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you have arrangement made to go on through, through that territory?

Dr. LATTIMORE. None.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You went without any previous authorization?

Dr. LATTIMORE. None.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. None whatever?

Dr. LATTIMORE. None whatever.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. So that you did not have the arrangements for this trip made in advance by any other persons?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe you said Mr. Jaffe and Mr. Bison accompanied you on that trip?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right, Senator.

I might add, Senator, that at that time every newspaperman in China was trying to get to Yen-an. The press, all over the world, was avid for news of that region, and it was known that anybody could get in who could get that far.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And, did the press, generally, get into Yen-an at that time?

Dr. LATTIMORE. A certain number got in, quite a number.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Was Agnes Smedley and Nym Wales at Yen-an when you reached there?

Dr. LATTIMORE. They were there when I arrived, yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And you conferred with them, there, I believe, at that time in Yen-an? That is, you met and talked to them there?

Dr. LATTIMORE. When we got there, we found that the Communists had a sort of resting house or hostel at which they put up all visitors, all foreign visitors. They were at that same hostel, and we saw them there.

We—at least, I can't speak for the others, but I had no conferences with them. I met them and talked with them socially.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Have you ever read the sort of story as developed by the Far Eastern Command?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I have seen references to it, Senator. I don't think I read it in detail.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You are aware that Agnes Smedley was listed as one of the agents that worked in connection with Sorge—

Dr. LATTIMORE. I am aware of that. I also remember a press story in which she vigorously denied it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Dr. Lattimore, what connection did you have with the Pacific Story, and the National Broadcasting Co. transcript, presented by the OWI? Did you write it or collaborate in its preparation?

Dr. LATTIMORE. The Pacific Story was a radio series of the type that is called radio drama. I was approached by NBC in 1943 and asked if I would act as commentator, coming on for a 3- or 4-minute period at the end of each broadcast, and for a number of the broadcasts my wife was asked to act as research worker, to dig out material for the man who did the program.

The program itself, as written, dramatized and presented on the air, was entirely the responsibility of the producer and of NBC. I was responsible for the commentary which I added at the end.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did Agnes Smedley broadcast in The Pacific Story?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I ever heard of, not while I was on it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you ever arrange for Miss Smedley to broadcast or take part in the broadcasting or preparation of The Pacific Story?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. I was on that Pacific Story program for about 3 months, as I recall. I did not arrange for it to be rebroadcast by OWI and, in fact, I believe that any time when I was working on it, I cannot recall that it was rebroadcast by OWI, and I did not arrange for anybody else to appear on it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do I understand you to say that Agnes Smedley did not appear on the program while you were taking part in it?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I can recall. The program went on for some time after I left California.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Are you familiar with the organization called Indusco?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Were you ever an official of that organization?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I may have been one of the executive committee at one time, before I left for China in 1941.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Were you, in fact, an honorary vice chairman of the organization?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I may have been and, also, while I was in China, I talked a number of times about Indusco with the man who was then Premier of China, H. H. Chung, who was the chairman of the Chinese side of the organization.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And was Philip Jaffe on the board of directors?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't recall.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Was Mrs. Lattimore on the board of directors with you?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Yes—

Mrs. LATTIMORE. Yes, I still am.

Dr. LATTIMORE. She was and still is.

Perhaps I should add at this moment, Senator, that in the people who were active on Indusco, as far as I knew them, and the whole program as far as I had anything to do with it, it was a part of that whole general attitude in China that I so frequently referred to, as my attitude, namely, the development of reforms and progressive measures in China that would forestall the Communists by giving people a democratic state of their own, in a kind of China totally different from the kind of China the Communists were aiming at.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Mr. Chairman, may I diverge just a moment here?

I received a note on yesterday, received a note from Freda Utley, in which she said she had seven questions she would like to have propounded to Mr. Lattimore. The information was that she had sent those questions to me, but the guard told her the questions had to be turned over to Mr. Morgan, and I never received the questions. Now, I am giving no carte blanche to ask any questions anybody asks me to, but that is not the point—I would like to see the seven questions, to see whether I want to propound any of them to this witness or not.

(Mr. Morgan handed the questions of Miss Utley to Senator Hickenlooper.)

Senator TYDINGS. Is Mr. Bielaski in the room, Mr. Frank Bielaski? (No response.)

Senator TYDINGS. He does not seem to be here, but he sent a message to the chairman that—I don't know Mr. Bielaski—that he would like to be notified when he was likely to be called. That is something I cannot tell him, except that when we finish with this phase of the matter, it is the present intention of the chairman, if the committee approves, to call Mr. Bielaski today, if we can find time to do it.

If he has any friends here, I wish they would notify him.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe, Dr. Lattimore, that you testified as to your acquaintance, for some period of time, with the young Mr. Chi, who is the person proposed by the present Communist regime in China as their representative to the United Nations?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is correct, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You have known him for a number of years?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I have known him for a number of years.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you know him before the war?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I knew him before the war. I think I must have met him first about 1934. I knew him rather slightly in those years, except that I remember that he helped me, by checking some of my translations from Chinese sources at one time, Chinese historical sources; but the time at which I knew him best was during the war, in Chungking, when I was adviser to the generalissimo, and he stood in a confidential relationship to Mr. H. H. Chung, who was then the Premier.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. During your acquaintance with Mr. Chi, prior to the war or during the war, did you believe him to be or did you learn him to be a Communist at any time?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir; no, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. When did you first know that he was, in fact, a Communist?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I do not know that he is, in fact, a Communist now, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Is there any doubt in your mind that he would be here as the proposed representative of Communist China to the United Nations, if he is not a Communist?

Dr. LATTIMORE. It is possible, Senator. The Communist government in China appears to have taken over the services of a considerable number of non-Communists, especially where they were men of specialized training of various kinds.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You have known Mr. Frederick V. Field for a number of years?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Since 1934; in the summer of 1933 I met him at a conference of the institute.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And you have associated with him in the Institute of Pacific Relations and in the earlier days of Amcrasia; is that correct?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I was associated with Mr. Field to the extent that we were both employed by the Institute of Pacific Relations since 1934.

He, however, was associated with the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and I was associated with Pacific Affairs, which was the organ of the International Organization of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

During the earlier years of that association I was living principally in China.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. During that association, did you believe at any time, or were you reliably informed by Mr. Field—I will put it specifically—by Mr. Field, on information, that Mr. Field was either a Communist or had vigorous Communist sympathies?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. Quite the contrary. As far as I knew, Mr. Field was a man who had an interest in the economies of the Pacific region, and who was a rather liberal young man, but my acquaintance with him, my discussion of political topics with him, was so casual that it was not even—not until the other day did I even learn that he had at one time been a supporter of Mr. Norman Thomas. At that time I didn't know it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. During all of your associations with Philip Jaffe did you at any time come to believe, or were you at any time reliably informed, as to whether or not Mr. Jaffe either was or is either a Communist or a strong Communist sympathizer?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. In my contacts with Mr. Jaffe, which were extremely slight, I went on this one trip with him to Yenan, and after I came back to the United States, at the very end of 1937, enroute to Baltimore in the fall of 1938, I saw him rather occasionally. I was not an active—I was not very active on the advisory board of Amerasia, and my opinion of Mr. Jaffe, chiefly from talking to him on the journey to Yenan, which was the closest association I ever had with him, was that he was one of those Americans who had a very bright and open view of the democratic nature of the Communists in China, but I had no reason to believe that he was, himself, a Communist.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. As a result of your association and acquaintance with Agnes Smedley, did you at any time conclude, or were you at any time reliably informed that Agnes Smedley either was a Communist, or had strong Communist sympathies?



Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. My acquaintance with Agnes Smedley, which has never been a very close acquaintance, consisted in meeting here on a few occasions, at long intervals and would convince me, from such of her conversations that I have heard, that she is not and never could be a Communist. She is a person of very strong opinions, and as far as my experience with her goes, she is not a person who would submit her ideas or her conduct to anybody's control.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. During your association and acquaintance with, and knowledge of Nym Wales, did you at any time believe, or were you at any time reliably informed as to whether or not Nym Wales was a Communist, or strongly sympathetic toward the Communists?

Dr. LATTIMORE. My acquaintance with Nym Wales is even slighter than my acquaintance with Agnes Smedley. I knew her slightly when she and her then husband, Mr. Edgar Snow, were living in Peking. I saw her again when I was up at Yen-an. From what I have heard of her conversations, and from what I have read of hers, and I confess I have not read very much that she has written, I have no reason to believe that she is or was a Communist.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now, during your acquaintance with and knowledge of T. A. Bisson, did you have reason to believe, or were you reliably informed as to whether or not Mr. Bisson was either a Communist or had strong Communist leanings?

Dr. LATTIMORE. None whatever, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Had these people, or any of them become known to you as either Communist, or people with strong Communist leanings—had that happened, would your actions and conduct with them been different than it was, in your associations?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is a hypothetical question, Senator?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I realize that it is.

Dr. LATTIMORE. I think it can best be answered by pointing out that during those years, and to this day I have been extremely little influenced by—I say this with all due respect to them—people like Agnes Smedley or Nym Wales or T. A. Bisson; because all of these are people who have lived in China less than I have; who either do not speak or read Chinese at all, or do not speak it or read it as well as I do, so that they are not people to whom I would go, either for material information, or for guidance of ideas, because I have always worked directly with original sources.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe on page 914 of your statement—I don't know whether the page number is correct or not—I believe you made a statement in which you said that during the war you consulted with a Chinese, Chou En Lai; I don't know how to pronounce it but it is spelled C-h-o-u E-n L-a-i. He was a Communist leader; was he not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. He was the official Communist representative in Chungking when I was there with the generalissimo, and I met him on instructions from the generalissimo.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Therefore, I take it that you reported in detail the results of your conversations with him to the generalissimo?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Naturally.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I believe that you stated previously that Lauchlin Currie had advised you that he had recommended you to the President, and the President had selected you for recommendation as an adviser to Chiang Kai-shek; is that right?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. I was asked to come over to Washington, to speak with Mr. Currie, who told me that the generalissimo had asked President Roosevelt to recommend an adviser to him. I don't know how my name came up, but I certainly did not understand that I was being recommended to the President by Mr. Currie. What I understood was that Mr. Currie, as an executive assistant to the President, had been instructed to call me in for an interview to see whether I was willing to consider such an appointment, before I saw Mr. Roosevelt.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. How long and how well had you known Mr. Lauchlin Currie before that time?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Before that time, I had never heard of him. I had never met him or even heard of him, except as his name appeared in the press, as a man who had made a journey to China, on behalf of the President.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. After your tour of duty as adviser to Chiang Kai-shek, did you submit a report to any person in this Government as to your activities?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Of the affairs there during that period?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. I was not responsible to this Government, and there was no requirement for me to make any report to this Government. I was solely in the service of the generalissimo.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I understand that. I was inquiring as to whether in fact such a report had been filed.

Did you file a report with anybody in the Government after you returned from your trip with Vice President Wallace?

Dr. LATTIMORE. Not that I can recall, Senator.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Were you designated to accompany him on that trip by some authority?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I was.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. What was the designating authority?

Dr. LATTIMORE. The Office of War Information, to which I belonged, as far as I recall.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And did you not file a report with the Office of War Information on that trip?

Dr. LATTIMORE. I don't recall that I did. That could easily be checked.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Did you file any official report, or a report with any public officials, Government officials at the conclusion of the Pawley Reparations Commission?

Dr. LATTIMORE. No, sir. Like other members of that Commission, I participated in the gathering of pertinent material and the drafting of Mr. Pawley's report. Mr. Pawley's report was Mr. Pawley's report, and I was not required to make any report as an individual.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In connection with your trip with Mr. Wallace, you are familiar with his book, Soviet Asia Mission, are you not?

Dr. LATTIMORE. That is right.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You are familiar, therefore, I presume, with the credit which he gives in the first part of this book, under the heading "Author's note" in which he says:

In acknowledgement of invaluable assistance in preparing the manuscript of Soviet Asia Mission, my sincere thanks are extended to: John Hazard, Owen

PART II

**STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE A

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE**

**EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS**

**SECOND SESSION**

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 231**

**A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES**

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**PART 2**

**APPENDIX**

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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listed the problems which might confront us if there were any landings of the coast of China, of being in a position to use whatever forces we found organized and able to give us effective support.

Senator McMAHON. What was, if you know, General Wedemeyer's position in this controversy?

Mr. SERVICE. I do not know. He was interested in having our statement of the problem.

Senator McMAHON. In military developments what policy was chosen?

Mr. SERVICE. I also do not know what policy was finally chosen. There never were any landings, and the situation actually never arose.

Senator McMAHON. That is what I wanted to get in the record. My memory was sure that the problem never arose because there were no landings, but I wanted to make sure that on the record that was stated, because I thought possibly there might have been some brief skirmishes which I did not remember.

Mr. SERVICE. I do not know what the final policy was, or whether any final policy was adopted.

Mr. MORGAN. Incident to my contemplated interrogation with respect to this conversation between Mr. Service and Jaffe, I believe a great many of the questions which I had in mind have already been discussed. However, since Mr. McInerney is here, and in order that our record may be somewhat complete on this matter, can you indicate for our record, Mr. McInerney, as to how long the transcript of this conversation has been made available to you, or how long it has been available to you in the Department of Justice?

Mr. McINERNEY. That transcript which you have before you was made available to us last week, I believe on June 21, and it was made available to us pursuant to your request for it.

Mr. MORGAN. What I want to know, Mr. McInerney, if you can help me, is whether you and Mr. Hitchcock at the time of the handling of this matter from a prosecuting standpoint in 1945 were cognizant of this conversation?

Mr. McINERNEY. This conversation was contained in the summarization and contained in an FBI report dated approximately June 1, 1945.

Mr. MORGAN. Does the summarization accurately reflect the substance of this conversation?

Mr. McINERNEY. I would say generally, yes. It is incomplete, but speaking generally I would say so.

Mr. MORGAN. Did it indicate to you, on the basis of the summary which we do not have before us, that Mr. Service had said he had passed on military plans to Mr. Jaffe?

Senator GREEN. That does not appear in the transcript, either.

Mr. MORGAN. The statement to which I am referring, Senator, is the one we have been referring to this morning, in which Mr. Service purportedly said, "What I said about the military plans is, of course, very secret."

Mr. McINERNEY. I would say in response to your question that it contained no more than the transcript you have before you, and perhaps a little less, because it was a summarization.

Mr. MORGAN. Thank you.

Senator McMAHON. Did you know when you received this advice in 1945 that this was secured by an intercept?

Mr. McINERNEY. From the face of the report it was described as coming from a confidential informant.

Senator McMAHON. It was the choice of that and that they had somebody under one of the desks?

Mr. McINERNEY. You could speculate along those lines, although I must admit that I knew from my experience that such was not the case.

Senator McMAHON. I think that was a fair deduction from the physical set-up, that it was probably by wire instead of by eaves-dropping.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McInerney, if there had been a direct microphone in the apartment, a direct microphone intercept, would you have proceeded to consider that as evidence admissible in court?

Mr. McINERNEY. Apart from its inadmissibility, it had been received by us with the caveat which was read by the chairman at the commencement of the session here.

Mr. MORRIS. Who wrote the caveat?

Mr. McINERNEY. The FBI. It is the FBI caveat.

That is from the FBI memorandum of May 29, 1945, introducing the case to us.

Mr. MORGAN. Is that the caveat reading,

Most of the foregoing information regarding the contacts made by the various principals and the documents which were exchanged were obtained through highly confidential means and sources of information which cannot be used in evidence.

Mr. McINERNEY. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that an FBI or Justice Department caveat?

Mr. McINERNEY. That is an FBI caveat.

Senator GREEN. Does that end that line of questioning?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe so.

Senator GREEN. It is 1 o'clock. I believe we had better take a recess until half past 2.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., a recess was taken to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2:45 p. m., Senator Green, acting chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

Senator GREEN. I think we had better proceed, Mr. Morgan. Have you any further questions?

Mr. MORGAN. I think, Mr. Chairman, at the last session I had directed a few questions to Mr. McInerney, and I would like to ask him this general question with respect to this transcript of the conversation, as to whether the method in which that transcript was obtained had any bearing upon the handling of Mr. Service's case from the prosecutive standpoint.

Mr. McINERNEY. I would say—

Senator GREEN. I think if you came over here and sat down at the foot of the table, it would be better.

Mr. McINERNEY. I would say that it did not, since this transcript was not available to us from an evidentiary standpoint, and we reviewed it solely from the standpoint of background material.

Since it could not be used before the grand jury or otherwise, I would say that it did not have any bearing on the prosecution in this case with respect to Mr. Service.



Mr. MORGAN. I believe those are the only questions that I have to direct to Mr. McInerney, and the only questions that I have for the moment I have asked Mr. Service already, so the questioning, Mr. Chairman, you can turn over to somebody else.

Senator GREEN. Senator Lodge?

Senator LODGE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

I understand that there were six FBI reports about Mr. Service dated December 28, 1948, February 10, 1949, March 10, 1949, April 4, 1949, August 9, 1949, September 7, 1949, and September 21, 1949.

I wonder if we could have copies of those reports, Mr. McInerney?

Mr. McINERNEY. I would have to take that up with Mr. Ford, Senator. I would assume that they would not be available, sir.

Senator LODGE. Well, I would like to make a motion, Mr. Chairman, that we request that those FBI reports about Mr. Service be made available because they are obviously extremely pertinent to this whole matter in contemplation.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator LODGE. I have made a motion which I would like to have the chairman put.

Senator GREEN. There are only two of us here, and I do not know whether we can act.

Senator LODGE. Would you object to getting those?

Senator GREEN. No, I would be glad to join Senator Lodge in his request, but I think we would have to leave it for the others of the committee also.

Senator LODGE. Did you want to make an observation, Mr. McInerney?

Mr. McINERNEY. I was going to ask whether Mr. Service's loyalty file is included.

Senator LODGE. I do not know.

Mr. McINERNEY. I wonder if you have had access to those reports.

Senator LODGE. I will have to ask Mr. Morgan the question.

Mr. MORGAN. Whether Mr. Service's files is among the 81?

Senator LODGE. Whether it is among the 81.

Mr. MORGAN. That were examined by the committee at the White House? Probably not. I would have to check. As I recall the list of 81 names, Mr. Service's name was not on it.

Senator LODGE. Have you not read all of the 81 files yourself?

Mr. MORGAN. I have not read one of them, Senator.

Senator GREEN. They have not been available to him.

Senator LODGE. I would like to ask Mr. Service to tell the committee the time and place of his meeting with Lauchlin Currie in 1945.

Mr. SERVICE. That is a difficult question—

Senator LODGE. What is that?

Mr. SERVICE. That is a difficult question to answer in detail because I am not sure how many times I saw him, but I have no recollection of meeting him in 1945 at any place other than at his office.

Senator LODGE. In what city?

Mr. SERVICE. In Washington, D. C. His office was in the old State Department Building.

Senator LODGE. How many times did you see him?

Mr. SERVICE. I am sorry, I am not sure whether it would be two or three times, perhaps.

Senator LODGE. What did Mr. Currie tell you?

Mr. SERVICE. It is extremely difficult after all this lapse of time to remember these events in any particular detail.

Senator LODGE. Well, if there are important events, you certainly ought to be able to remember the gist of them.

Mr. SERVICE. I have an idea that the first time I saw him was probably fairly soon after I arrived back here in April, and that would be just general conversation, the situation in China, and he probably told me something about what he was doing, but I think he was working on German assets in Switzerland.

Senator LODGE. Did he not ever give you any assignments?

Mr. SERVICE. Not in 1945, sir.

Senator LODGE. At any time did he give you any assignments?

Mr. SERVICE. I am not sure what you mean by "assignments," did he—

Senator LODGE. Did he give you instructions, tell you things that he wanted you to do?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, at one time in 1943, I think it was, he expressed a hope that I would be able to write letters to him occasionally, write directly to him.

Senator LODGE. Did he never tell you to go to any particular place?

Mr. SERVICE. No, sir; I do not recall his ever telling me to go to any particular place?

Senator LODGE. Did he tell you to go to see any particular person? (Mr. Service confers with counsel.)

Mr. SERVICE. On one occasion he asked me to talk to Drew Pearson.

Senator LODGE. With what purpose?

Mr. SERVICE. Just to give Mr. Pearson some background information.

Senator LODGE. Is that the only person that he ever asked you to talk to?

Mr. SERVICE. No, 1945 there was a question of whom I should retain for my counsel, and he suggested that I talk to Mr. Corcoran as being a person who might be a good person to advise me on the question.

Senator LODGE. You saw him after the Amerasia case broke?

Mr. SERVICE. That was after the Amerasia case.

Senator LODGE. Did you go to see him to get advice?

Mr. SERVICE. Mr. Currie?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Mr. SERVICE. Yes, I went to him to talk to him about it, see what his advice was. I was talking to a great many people I knew then, and almost everybody had different advice on this question of counsel whom I should retain.

Senator LODGE. And you sought him out to get his advice, is that right?

Mr. SERVICE. That is correct, sir.

Senator LODGE. What did he say that he could do for you?

Mr. SERVICE. He did not say that he could do anything for me. He suggested that I talk to Mr. Corcoran.

Senator LODGE. Did Mr. Currie ever do anything for you?

Mr. SERVICE. Not that I know of, except to suggest that Mr. Corcoran would be a person who would be able to advise me on this problem of counsel. Mr. Corcoran advised me to retain the counsel whom I had already provisionally retained, Mr. Munter.

Senator LODGE. Where is Mr. Currie now, do you know?

Mr. SERVICE. He has been employed, I think, with the World Bank. I am not sure whether he is still in Washington or not.

I saw in the newspapers, I think, that he had accepted some appointment to go to some South American country, perhaps Colombia.

Senator LODGE. Reading through this testimony, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that there are five persons whose names appear, and who may have something of value to tell this committee about the Amerasia case, Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Braunlicht, Mr. Hartfield, Mr. Geiger, and Mr. Currie, and I suggest that they be called for questioning.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Mr. Geiger, Senator?

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator LODGE. I have just been reading through the testimony which was taken while I was away. I would add the name of Mr. Currie who was considered by some people to know a good deal about this subject.

Senator GREEN. Mr. Morgan, do you wish to say something?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Hartfield, Mr. Currie, Mr. Braunlicht—his name appears in the testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, but not in connection with Amerasia.

Senator LODGE. It does not?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think that is true with respect to Mr. Geiger. I do not believe our record has anything about him concerning Amerasia. Geiger, as I understand it, has been or is an employee of ECA.

Senator LODGE. I know, but I thought he had a connection with this case.

Mr. MORGAN. Not to my knowledge.

Senator LODGE. If he has no connection—I thought the evidence indicated that he did have a connection with this case, but if he has not, then I do not want to call him.

Senator GREEN. So the three names are?

Senator LODGE. Bannerman, Hartfield, and Currie; and if Geiger and Braunlicht have no connection with the Amerasia case, then I do not want to bother to call them.

Mr. McINERNEY. Mr. Chairman, if you are through with the discussion of the record, which I came here to be helpful on and in answering any questions concerning it, if the questioning with regard to that record is complete, why, I can leave, since it would appear as if you are going into other matters.

Senator GREEN. Have you any further questions? Are there any further questions of Mr. McInerney?

Senator LODGE. I have some questions here about this Amerasia case. I have got a question I would like to ask Mr. McInerney.

Testifying on May 4, before this subcommittee, Mr. McInerney said with reference to the documents found in the offices of the Amerasia magazine, and I quote—I am making a partial quotation:

I would say with respect to all these documents that they were of an innocuous, very innocuous character. These things impressed me as being a little above the level of teacup gossip. Classification of documents in this case was nothing short of silly.

Now, the question presents itself to me, by what right and with what justification does the Department of Justice presume to pass on whether a document is properly or improperly classified by some other agency or department of the Government?

Mr. McINERNEY. I would say that generally speaking the classification of a document of another agency is not the business of the Department of Justice, and I think, perhaps, what I was trying to say there was to indicate the relationship between those documents and the national defense as the words "national defense" are used in the espionage statutes; and under the law, the relationship between a particular document and the national defense is a question of fact for a jurymen to decide, and it is not a question of fact or of law for the agency to decide, and I believe I illustrated my point at that time by alluding to the trial at Hartford of Draper and Adler, in which I said that the judge at that trial refused to accept the designation of the Attorney General as to an organization's being subversive or not subversive; so it was in that light against that background that I made that statement, sir.

Senator LODGE. Well, do you think that the Department of Justice personnel are sufficiently trained in making decisions regarding the importance of military matters to be able to say whether a military document is properly classified or not?

Mr. McINERNEY. I do not believe so, sir.

Senator LODGE. Is it not true that a document to a person who has no military training may appear silly, but to a person who has military training it is not so silly at all; is that not true?

Mr. McINERNEY. Yes, sir.

Senator LODGE. I have nothing more from Mr. McInerney.

Senator GREEN. Then you may be excused unless Mr. Morgan or Mr. Morris have any questions.

Be mindful of that request that we have made, and let us know the reply.

Mr. McINERNEY. About the records, sir.

Senator GREEN. Yes.

Mr. McINERNEY. Yes, sir.

(Mr. McInerney withdrew from the room.)

Senator GREEN. Are you ready, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Is it my turn now?

May I just pursue the line of questioning that Senator Lodge instituted there?

Did you go to see Mr. Corcoran after Lauchlin Currie had recommended it?

Mr. SERVICE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he say?

Mr. SERVICE. He recommended that I retain the lawyer I had already provisionally retained.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he give you any other advice?

Mr. SERVICE. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there anybody in addition to Mr. Corcoran that Mr. Currie asked you to go to see? There were some others, were there not? Did you go to see David Niles in this connection?

Mr. SERVICE. No; never have met David Niles, so far as I know.

Mr. MORRIS. I wish you would recall very carefully, Mr. Service. Did you go to see anybody else in this connection?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, I went to see and talked to a great many people.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us who some of them were?

Mr. SERVICE: Friends of mine. I talked to Ambassador Gauss who was an old friend of mine, my former chief. I talked to most of my associates.

Mr. MORRIS: Did you speak to Owen Lattimore about it?

Mr. SERVICE: I don't recall seeing Owen Lattimore after my arrest at all. No; I don't recall speaking to Mr. Owen Lattimore about it.

Mr. MORRIS: Could you tell us some of the other friends of yours whom you discussed the matter with, particularly Government officials?

Mr. SERVICE: That is a very difficult question. All of my friends were interested in my situation. They were interested in knowing whether or not they could help me; interested in knowing what my situation was; almost everybody asked me something about the case.

Mr. MORRIS: Whom did you seek out?

Mr. SERVICE: Well, I talked to Judge Helmick who used to be judge of the United States Court for China, and who was in Washington at that time.

I spoke to Mr. John Carter Vincent who was a man whom I worked under in China, and was at that time head of the Division of Chinese Affairs.

I talked briefly to Mr. Seldon Chapin, who was the Director of the Office of Foreign Service.

Mr. MORRIS: Anyone else?

Mr. SERVICE: Those are the principal ones.

As I say, it is hard to make an inclusive list of all of the people whom I talked to about the case.

Mr. MORRIS: Mr. Service, in open session the other day you testified that you did not recall the name of Anna Liese Wang.

Mr. SERVICE: Yes; I was going to raise that. We said we were going to raise that ourselves. I was thinking of it after you interrogated me the other day, and I recalled that I know a woman whom I had always thought of as Anna Wang, but I never knew her middle name. I always thought it was a German woman. She is married to a Chinese.

Mr. MORRIS: I see.

Mr. SERVICE: But she was out in China, and if she is a white woman, she always—

Mr. MORRIS: I did say she was Chinese.

Mr. SERVICE: But I do know an Anna Wang or did know Anna Wang.

Mr. MORRIS: Did you ever give her access to your file?

Mr. SERVICE: Certainly not, sir.

Mr. MORRIS: Certainly not?

Mr. SERVICE: Yes. What sort of file?

Mr. MORRIS: Well, the official records in your office.

Mr. SERVICE: No.

Mr. MORRIS: Was a complaint lodged against you on that score, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE: Not that I have any recollection of.

Mr. MORRIS: Would you give the committee here just a brief outline of your association with Mrs. Wang; you know, just the extent of it?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, she was the wife of a Chinese named Wang Ping-nan, who was ostensibly the representative in Chungking of a Chinese general named Yang Hu-ching. It was known to us that Mr. Wang worked fairly closely with the Chinese Communists, and eventually some time subsequent to my departure from Chungking after the war, actually he came out openly as a member of the Chinese Communist representative's office.

Now, I had very little direct contact with Mrs. Wang. Mr. Wang was an intelligence source, and I had occasion to see him fairly frequently in my work.

Mrs. Wang was acting part time, I believe, as a sort of secretary to Madam Sun Yat-sen who, of course, is the widow of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the patriarch of the Chinese revolution, and the first leader of the Kuomintang.

Mr. MORRIS. She is not with the Chinese Communists?

Mr. SERVICE. I have no knowledge; I have not heard of her since I left China. I have not had anything to do with her since I left China over 5 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. How freely did you discuss political matters with Mrs. Wang?

Mr. SERVICE. I don't think I discussed them with her at all. As I say, I had very little contact with her; it was incidental.

Mr. MORRIS. There are a couple of other names I want to ask you about in connection with the Amerasia case.

(Mr. Service consults with counsel.)

Mr. SERVICE. Well, I did have occasion once to report to G-2 that she seemed to be very friendly with some American enlisted men.

(Mr. Service confers with counsel.)

Mr. SERVICE. Well, the point is that as part of my work with headquarters I would advise—I was called in for consultation by G-2 occasionally on reputation and security risks of contact by our enlisted men with certain women in Chungking city. I had some occasion to report to G-2 that Mrs. Wang was, in my view, a poor person for some of our military staff to be contacting too closely, shall we say.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever discuss your difficulty in the Amerasia case with Ben Cohen?

Mr. SERVICE. After the whole case was finished, after I had thought it was finished, after the announcement of the grand jury decision, several days went by with no public announcement as to what action had been taken by the State Department in regard to my reinstatement or return to active duty.

I am not sure of the exact date, but it seems to me the grand jury's decision was announced on the 10th of August. At about the 13th or 14th—at any rate some days later—I think the Washington Post published a brief editorial raising the question, "What's happened to this man who had a no-true-bill returned against him? Has the Department of State reinstated him or not?"

So I went to Mr. Cohen, who was the counselor of the Department, and I showed him the editorial, and I asked him whether the Department of State expected to make any announcement since I had already, in fact, been reinstated, and it was fairly soon after that that some announcement was made, the letters being published from Secretary Byrnes and Under Secretary Grew. That is the only time in that period that I met Mr. Cohen, and the first time I had met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, when you met Mr. Corcoran, was Mr. Currie at the meeting?

Mr. SERVICE. I don't believe so; no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you confer with the attorneys in the Department of Justice in this matter at all?

Mr. SERVICE. My counsel and I, Mr. Munter and I, called on Mr. McInerney in connection with my request to appear voluntarily before the grand jury. I believe that we talked to him only once.

Mr. MORRIS. You spoke with whom then?

Mr. SERVICE. Mr. McInerney.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ask to appear before the second grand jury, or did the second grand jury call you?

Mr. SERVICE. I don't remember having any knowledge at the time that there had been a first grand jury.

Mr. MORRIS. You appeared before only one grand jury?

Mr. SERVICE. Only before the second grand jury, and that was only at my request. I don't think that we knew that the first grand jury was meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know before you appeared before the grand jury or did you have any reason to believe before you appeared before the grand jury, that you would not be indicted?

Mr. SERVICE. I was confident that I was innocent.

Mr. MORRIS. Did anyone assure you that you were?

Mr. SERVICE. I was confident in my own mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you receive any assurances other than from your own conviction?

Mr. SERVICE. Of course not; none whatsoever, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And nobody intimated to you that you were going to be cleared?

Mr. SERVICE. No, sir. I don't see how anyone could.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you were not advised before you appeared before the grand jury that everything would be all right? I wish you would think very carefully on that.

Mr. SERVICE. That everything would be all right?

Mr. MORRIS. Think very carefully, Mr. Service, because it is an important question.

Mr. SERVICE. Who was supposed to have made such a statement?

Mr. MORRIS. I asked you the question.

Mr. SERVICE. I don't recall any such statement as that. Both my lawyer and Mr. Corcoran were extremely hesitant to allow me to appear. I suppose that lawyers naturally would hesitate to allow any person to waive immunity and appear. Mr. Munter finally agreed to allow me to appear.

Mr. MORRIS. Why did he change his mind, Mr. Service? Did Mr. Currie make any assurances to him or to you that you should appear?

Mr. SERVICE. No, sir. So far as I know he never talked to Mr. Currie.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Cohen?

Mr. SERVICE. I don't believe so.

Mr. MORRIS. Why did Mr. Munter change his mind, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. I assume because he was convinced that I was guilty, and therefore I would be all right—I am sorry, I was innocent, was not guilty, and would be all right. He told me to go ahead, and he thought it would be all right.

Mr. MORRIS. So it is your testimony that no one assured you that if you appeared before the grand jury you would come out all right?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, I have no recollection of anyone telling me that, and unless I know the context it is hard for me to answer. Somebody, Mr. Munter himself, may have said, "Well, I think you are all right, go ahead if you feel that you can take it, that you will be all right; why, all right, go ahead."

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first hear that you were cleared by the grand jury, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. I heard it from the press, as I remember it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you not hear it before it was announced formally?

Mr. SERVICE. I can't recall how I did hear it now. It was the same day that it was announced.

Mr. MORRIS. It is not a fact that you knew it before the official return was made?

Mr. SERVICE. Not that I recall. Can you give me any information?

Mr. MORRIS. No, I am asking you the question, Mr. Service.

Mr. SERVICE. I cannot recall now whether my lawyer told me; but in any case, it was the same day that the announcement was made.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Service, I think—I call your attention to the fact that here was a decision on the part of the grand jury that certainly must have meant a great deal to you and your life.

Mr. SERVICE. It certainly did.

Mr. MORRIS. So I think it is reasonable if we ask you to tell us how you first learned that news. It seems to me the kind of thing that you do not forget.

Mr. SERVICE. I am sorry, I simply have. There were a great many things happening to me at that time. So far as I can remember, I heard simultaneously with the public announcement on the same day that it was announced.

Now, whether I heard—I assume I must have heard through my lawyer's office. He may have received word, but I don't remember actually because I was very disappointed. It was the same day that it was announced that Japan was going to accept our surrender terms, and I thought, "This is a guy's tough luck; when he is arrested it is all over the front page, but when he is cleared on the day that it is announced that Japan is surrendering, he is lucky if it is going to be on page 27."

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony, Mr. Service, that you do not recall how you first learned the decision of the grand jury that you had been cleared even though that fact was and should have been a very important decision in your life?

Mr. SERVICE. I regret that I have no specific recollection now of how I got the news. I may have gotten it through the State Department, I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is the one who was in charge of your defense fund, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, as I said the other day, there was a small fund of \$500 raised by various friends.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there not one person in charge of collecting it?

Mr. SERVICE. There was one person who was not in charge, but simply acting as a treasurer. It was Dr. Mortimer Graves. That, of course, was only a small part of my expenditures. That simply cov-



ered the cost of my bond. I had to borrow considerable money from my family and other people.

Mr. MORRIS. Altogether what did your defense cost you, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. I think that the lawyer's fee was \$2,000, which he later reduced to \$1,500. I spent, I estimated, \$400 or \$500 in incidental expenses, and so on, and counting \$500 for a bond, that would be \$2,500.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you discuss the Amerasia case at all with Alger Hiss?

Mr. SERVICE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Alger Hiss? Did you discuss the Amerasia case with him?

Mr. SERVICE. I never had any discussion with Alger Hiss.

Mr. MORRIS. Or Donald Hiss?

Mr. SERVICE. I never met him at all except on one occasion in January or February 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that occasion, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, at that time he was working, I think, as an assistant to Dr. Hornbeck, who was called special adviser on Far Eastern affairs, and while I was in the Department on consultation during January and February 1943 I was introduced to Mr. Hiss, as I was to everyone else in the Far Eastern set-up, and we had lunch together on one occasion.

Mr. MORRIS. That was in 1943 that you had lunch?

Mr. SERVICE. That was in early 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Donald Hiss?

Mr. SERVICE. As far as I know I have never met Donald Hiss.

Mr. MORRIS. In your testimony, in your statement, Mr. Service, you quoted from Emmanuel Larsen's testimony before this committee. Where did you obtain a copy of this testimony?

Mr. SERVICE. You don't have the page, do you?

Mr. MORRIS. No, I don't know offhand, Mr. Service.

Mr. SERVICE. This is from my preliminary statement, which appears at page 1982 of the transcript of these hearings, and I quote:

Despite the sworn testimony which I have just quoted—

that is, the sworn testimony which I just quoted was from the hearings before the loyalty board—I continue with the quotation from the transcript of these hearings:

The news story in the Washington Star for June 20 referred to above indicates that Larsen repeated before your committee the following day the charge that I, among others, sought to "sabotage" Mr. Hurley.

I can try to find the Evening Star for you.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you had no information on Larsen's testimony other than what you read in the Washington Star?

Mr. SERVICE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. You had access to no other testimony?

Mr. SERVICE. We had access to no other testimony, except the testimony that he gave in the loyalty hearing, my own loyalty hearing. We had no access that he had—no access to testimony that he had given before this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. That is from the loyalty board. All right.

In connection with your visit to the Lattimores 2 days prior to your arrest, Mr. Service, you testified that you were going over the manuscript of a book that had been written by Mr. Roth.

Mr. SERVICE. I don't think that I testified that I was going over it. I said that my recollection was that Mr. Roth had brought along the galley proofs, so far as the book he wanted to discuss with Mr. Lattimore.

Mr. MORRIS. I see, not with you?

Mr. SERVICE. No, I said that I don't recall ever having read the galley proofs myself; that I was not particularly interested in it. It was a book on Japan.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the name of the book, do you know?

Mr. SERVICE. It was finally published under the title, as I recall it, Dilemma in Japan.

Can I refer you, sir, to page 1322 of the transcript of hearing before this committee in which Mr. Morgan asked me: "Did you see the galley proofs of Mr. Roth's book yourself?"

I replied:

I have no recollection of ever seeing them or reading them. I was not particularly interested in Japan, and the book was entirely concerned with Japan. I had no specialized knowledge or interest.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Service, I notice that very often after you would render a report to your superiors you would frequently request that a copy be sent to John Davies. Why did you do that?

Mr. SERVICE. There were four Foreign Service officers attached to the China-Burma-India theater as political officers. The senior among the four was Mr. Davies, who had come to China with General Stilwell when he took over command or rather when he established the theater in the beginning of 1942.

Mr. Davies acted really as the senior, and as he was the director of this group of four officers, it was our established policy, with the approval of Army Headquarters, to send him a copy of any of these memoranda which we wrote.

Now, of course, if I was asked to draft a telegram—if I was asked to draft a telegram or correspondence for General Stilwell's signature or for actual staff use, I would not retain any copy and, of course, would not send any copy to Mr. Davies.

It was only these reportorial memoranda that I wrote describing conversations that I would send a copy to Mr. Davies.

Senator McMAHON. Is Mr. Davies still in the Department?

Mr. SERVICE. He is still in the Department.

Senator McMAHON. Has he got a brother who lives in Philadelphia?

Mr. SERVICE. No; I believe he has only one brother, and that brother is in the Foreign Service, and is stationed out in the field somewhere.

Senator McMAHON. Do you know his first name?

Mr. SERVICE. The brother?

Senator McMAHON. Is his name Richard?

Mr. SERVICE. The only brother that I know is Donald Davies. There is a Richard Davies in the Foreign Service also, but he is no relative.

Mr. MORRIS. What is Mr. John Davies' present position?

Mr. SERVICE. He is a member of the policy planning staff, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you say that generally Mr. Davies' reports, analysis of the Chinese political situation, coincided with yours?

Mr. SERVICE. Yes, I think they did.

Mr. MORRIS. I am not going into this extensively, but I would like to just introduce one report of Mr. Davies.

Mr. SERVICE. Mr. Davies, of course, was not in China most of the time; he was generally stationed in New Delhi at the rear echelon headquarters, and I, having more experience in China, more recent experience in China, and being on good terms, and having a good many contacts in Chungking, I stayed in Chungking.

Mr. MORRIS. I have here a report of Mr. Davies, How Red are the Chinese Communists.

Senator McMAHON. May I ask what this designed to prove? I would like to know the connection in your mind.

Mr. MORRIS. There are two reasons, Senator: I notice that Mr. Service always sent his reports to Mr. Davies. Also I note there was an identity of thought expressed in the various memoranda, and in order to support my statement to that effect, I am just introducing one copy, and I want to ask him if his report coincided with his.

Senator McMAHON. What I would like to know is what it proves of interest to our investigation. Is there any allegation that Mr. Davies gave out any information?

Mr. MORRIS. I do not know.

Senator McMAHON. Well, is there any allegation—

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Davies first came into the discussion the other day when Mr. Kennan was the one who analyzed the reports of Mr. Service. Now, Mr. Davies is an assistant to Mr. Kennan.

Senator McMAHON. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to point out in fact that here is Mr. Davies whose reports coincide with Mr. Service, and who is an assistant to Mr. Kennan.

Senator McMAHON. That is in the record. But what I am trying to get at is, I realize we are not holding a hearing where we abide by the rules of evidence, but there is reason not to encumber this record, I think you will agree with me.

As a lawyer, I do not see any connection between him, Davies, accepting the views of Service with the allegation that Service was too friendly with Jaffe or anybody else. I do not know Davies from Adam, but what does that prove regarding Service's questionable conduct?

Mr. MORRIS. I do not think it is only Mr. Service's questionable conduct. It is the whole policy of the State Department with respect to representatives in the field.

Senator McMAHON. No, that is not the question.

Mr. MORRIS. If you want to restrict it to the Amerasia case, if you are restricting this to the Amerasia aspect of it, I say that it true.

Senator McMAHON. You see what we are doing here is investigating disloyalty in the State Department, and we are going over the Amerasia case so far as it reflects that kind of thing. Now, in some cases we have gone far afield, and I wish you would not go too far afield, and if there is any allegation that Mr. Davies was disloyal, I think that would be, perhaps, material. I do not know of any allegation, and that is why I am asking you the question.

Mr. MORRIS. I think one day we had it out here, Senator, when someone asked me why I thought the Amerasia case was important, and I said that one of the reasons was that a summary of the records

seized in the Amerasia case shows that there were several Foreign Service officers and State Department officers in the field whose reports all seemed to coincide, and whose reports differently reflected pro-Communist leanings.

We have had testimony to that effect. Now, here in noticing this, Mr. Service makes up a report, and he would always send a copy to Mr. Davies, and I thought it might be pertinent. Perhaps I am wrong, but I thought it might be pertinent at this juncture for us to introduce one of Mr. Davies' reports into the record. If you think it is not relevant, I will withdraw it.

Senator McMAHON. Not at all. If it is on the ground of proving something with regard to this witness. The question is does it prove something on Davies?

Mr. MORRIS. I am not directing this to any individual at all, Senator. Remember, when somebody asked me—I did not volunteer the statement—what I thought was the importance of the Amerasia case, I said, the Amerasia case to me is one of the cases—the important aspect of it is that the records seized in the Amerasia office showed that there were quite a number of Foreign Service officers and State Department officials in the field who were sending reports back to Washington which indicated a definite pro-Communist bias, and that is significant.

Senator McMAHON. And you are offering it then in connection with a reflection to be drawn from that on Davies?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I guess you could say that.

Senator TYDINGS. General Marshall himself went out to China and tried to bring the Communists and the Nationalists together, as you yourself know. I do not think that because a man may say one thing or the other, that necessarily is disloyal. You may disagree with it, and I may disagree with it, but that in itself, if it is an honest expression of opinion as to what he thinks the policy should be, particularly when a war is going on, as to how we can save our own lives, is not necessarily disloyal.

It can be wrong, and I think we have gotten away from our whole scope of this investigation, and I must insist that the questions be brought more in line with Resolution 231 to investigate whether or not persons in the State Department have been or are disloyal. I do not want to make it very narrow, but I ask you, not as an order, but as a request, to try to come back into the general purview.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Senator, some of them say this. I think if we are going to show anything in this investigation it is going to be and will contain three types of proof. One will be by direct association, if we had somebody who was a member of the Communist Party—

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead with your questions, and if they get out of line I am going to ask that we rule on them so that we can get along here. I do not want to go into these half-way things, and I do not want to be—

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Senator, I think a man's writings and a man's associations are one of the few ways we have of showing whether or not he has been disloyal.

Senator TYDINGS. If they show disloyalty; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That is what I am submitting.

Senator TYDINGS. But if they show a difference in point of view; no.

Senator LODGE. The questions that Mr. Morris wants to ask are questions which are in the minds of a great many Americans, and if this investigation is to have validity and carry conviction with the people you want to convince, not the people who agree with you already, it seems to me that his questions are entitled to be answered.

Senator TYDINGS. I want him to have a wide latitude, but I want to see—

Senator McMAHON. In view of Mr. Morris' remarks, I have no objection to Mr. Davies' statement going into the record, but I thought it proper at this point to try to point out some of the limitations implicit in our investigation.

Now, I have been informed, and have never verified it myself, that General Hurley made a statement after he saw Mr. Stalin one time that he took Mr. Stalin's word for his statement, and believed in Mr. Stalin's statement that Mr. Stalin was not interested in the Chinese Communists.

Now, I would certainly, knowing General Hurley, not put that in the record for the purpose of showing that he was inclined to be a Communist. Do you follow me? That is true, is it not, what General Hurley said at one time? I have been informed that was his statement.

Mr. MORRIS. I do not know.

Senator TYDINGS. The questions ought to have some relevancy. (Discussion off the record.)

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead.

Senator McMAHON. Put in Mr. Davies' statement.

Mr. MORRIS. Remember, my reason for going into the personal effects—

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead.

Senator McMAHON. Let us put in Mr. Davies' statement.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want Mr. Davies' statement in?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. Without objection it will be put in the record. (The document referred to follows:)

DOCUMENT J 108 y  
RF Q 306

1. Agency where prepared: OWI.
2. Agency where routed:
3. Where recovered: Amerasia.
4. Original or copy: Typed copy and carbons.
5. Copies found elsewhere:
6. Abstract of document:
  - (1) Yen-an, November 7, 1944. Subject: How Red are the Chinese Communists? by John Davies. Memo points out moderateness of Communists, their willingness to cooperate and to make concessions.
  - (2) Yen-an, November 7, 1944. Subject: Will the Communists Take Over China? by John Davies. Memo reflects Davies' opinion that the Communists are in China to stay, China's destiny is in their hands, and they possess strength and vitality superior to that of Chiang and his followers. (Original typed copy with four copies.)
7. Comments of agency preparing document: An item, not an exact copy, but of the same substance, was located by Helen Groves in OWI files, July 5, 1945; filed in China Section, room 3036.
8. Comments of agency receiving document: None.
9. Laboratory examination: Latents (Iodine), none; typewriting, ident K4-KB.
10. Comments:
11. Agent who can introduce document: George E. Allen.

## HOW RED ARE THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS?

The Chinese Communists are backsliders. They still acclaim the infallibility of Marxian dogma and call themselves Communists. But they have become indulgent of human frailty and confess that China's Communist salvation can be attained only through prolonged evolutionary rather than immediate revolutionary conversation. Like that other eminent backslider, Ramsay MacDonald, they have come to accept the inevitability of gradualness.

Yenan is no Marxist New Jerusalem. The saints and prophets of Chinese communism, living in the austere comfort of caves scooped out of loess cliffs, lust after the strange gods of class compromise and party coalition, rather shamefacedly worship the golden calf of foreign investments and yearn to be considered respectable by worldly standards.

All of this is more than scheming Communist opportunism. Whatever the orthodox Communist theory may be about reversion from expedient compromise to pristine revolutionary ardor, the Chinese Communist leaders are realistic enough to recognize that they have now deviated so far to the right that they will return to the revolution only if driven to it by overwhelming pressure from domestic and foreign forces of reaction.

There are several reasons for the moderation of the Communists.

1. They are Chinese. Being Chinese, they are, for all of their early excesses, temperamentally inclined to compromise and harmony in human relationships.

2. They are realists. They recognize that the Chinese masses is 90 percent peasantry; that the peasantry is semi-feudal—culturally, economically, and politically in the Middle Ages; that not until China has developed through several generations will it be ready for communism; that the immediate program must therefore be elementary agrarian reform and the introduction of political democracy.

3. They are nationalists. In more than 7 years of bitter fighting against a foreign enemy the primary emotional and intellectual emphasis has shifted from internal social revolution to nationalism.

4. They have begun to come into power. As has been the experience in virtually all successful revolutionary movements, accession to power is bringing a sobering realization of responsibility and a desire to move cautiously and moderately.

Chinese Communist moderation and willingness to make concessions must not be confused with softness or decay. The Communists are the toughest, best organized and disciplined group in China. They offer cooperation to Chiang out of strength, not out of weakness.

JOHN DAVIES.

YENAN, November 7, 1944.

## WILL THE COMMUNISTS TAKE OVER CHINA?

The Chinese Communists are so strong between the Great Wall and the Yangtze that they can now look forward to the postwar control of at least north China. They may also continue to hold not only those parts of the Yangtze Valley which they now dominate but also new areas in central and south China. The Communists have fallen heir to these new areas by a process, which has been operating for 7 years, whereby Chiang Kai-shek loses his cities and principal lines of communication to the Japanese and the countryside to the Communists.

The Communists have survived 10 years of civil war and 7 years of Japanese offensives. They have survived not only more sustained enemy pressure than the Chinese Central Government forces have been subjected to, but also a severe blockade imposed by Chiang.

They have survived and they have grown. Communist growth since 1937 has been almost geometric in progression. From control of some 100,000 square kilometers with a population of one million and a half they have expanded to about 850,000 square kilometers with a population of approximately ninety million. And they will continue to grow.

The reason for this phenomenal vitality and strength is simple and fundamental. It is mass support, mass participation. The Communist governments and armies are the first governments and armies in modern Chinese history to have positive and widespread popular support. They have this support because the governments and armies are genuinely of the people.

Only if he is able to enlist foreign intervention on a scale equal to the Japanese invasion of China will Chiang probably be able to crush the Communists. But foreign intervention on such a scale would seem to be unlikely. Relying upon his dispirited shambling legions, his decadent corrupt bureaucracy, his sterile political moralisms, and such nervous foreign support as he can muster, the generalissimo may nevertheless plunge China into civil war. He cannot succeed, however, where the Japanese in more than 7 years of determined striving have failed. The Communists are already too strong for him.

Civil war would probably end in a mutually exhausted stalemate. China would be divided into at least two camps with Chiang reduced to the position of a regional warlord. The possibility should not be overlooked of the Communists—certainly if they receive foreign aid—emerging from a civil war swiftly and decisively victorious, in control of all China.

Since 1937 the Communists have been trying to persuade Chiang to form a democratic coalition government in which they would participate. Should the generalissimo accept this compromise proposal and a coalition government be formed with Chiang at the head, the Communists may be expected to continue effective control over the areas which they now hold. They will also probably extend their political influence throughout the rest of the country, for they are the only group in China possessing a program with positive appeal to the people.

If the generalissimo neither precipitates a civil war nor reaches an understanding with the Communists, he is still confronted with defeat. Chiang's feudal China cannot long exist alongside a modern dynamic popular government in north China.

The Communists are in China to stay. And China's destiny is not Chiang's but theirs.

JOHN DAVIES.

YENAN, November 7, 1944.

Mr. SERVICE. We are going to hear it?

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want to comment on it?

Mr. SERVICE. I don't know what is in it, what it is.

Senator TYDINGS. If you did not write it, I do not know what your comment would be.

Mr. MORGAN. I think the question was asked, Mr. Chairman, as to whether or not Mr. Service's ideas coincided with Mr. Davies. He answered the question, and to that extent—

Senator TYDINGS. There would be some propriety.

Mr. MORRIS. I think the decision the other day was that, after we made reference to these various reports by Mr. Service, that they would be introduced in the record.

Mr. MORGAN. As I understand it, the decision was that those reports from which extracts were read into the record, in such cases, the full report was to be incorporated in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. All right, they will be incorporated in the record.

Have you any comment, Mr. Service, to make? Please come to the point if you can, and let us get along. Go ahead. What is your comment?

Mr. SERVICE. I would like to point out this was written during a period when I was not in China, and I do not remember when I saw this for the first time. When I said that I had general agreement with Mr. Davies, I was thinking of our general philosophy of the whole situation, and the best means of dealing with it.

That line of thinking, which we shared, is most conveniently summarized in annex 47 of the China white paper, which has excerpts from both of our reports, and I would like to refer you to that.

Mr. MORRIS. I have read that.

Mr. SERVICE. I was thinking particularly of certain papers which Mr. Davies had written, which I was familiar with, which are incor-

porated, or excerpts from it are incorporated, in the transcript of the hearings of the Loyalty Board, where Mr. Davies testified, but those are rather lengthy and, perhaps, you would not wish to have them read here.

Senator TYDINGS. Except to comment on it generally. It is not your comment; it is Mr. Davies'. Let us get on.

Mr. RHETTS. In that connection, Senator, I certainly have no disposition to extend this. I do have a feeling, however, that if Mr. Service's views are to be associated as coinciding with Mr. Davies in some isolated paper written by Mr. Davies, which is to be put in the record, I have a feeling that it is only proper to—

Senator TYDINGS. You would have to take all of his papers and all of his views, and take them together and associate them to be useful. It is just the same principle as letting in one paragraph of a document instead of the whole document.

Mr. RHETTS. That is, at least, why I would like to refer the committee—I would like to request that these writings also be made part of the record, as has just been made of this paper.

Senator TYDINGS. I think Mr. Service is in a position where he wrote a hundred and some reports, and they ought to be judged pretty well on what he wrote himself, not to give his opinion on what somebody else's philosophy is.

Mr. MORGAN. There was one word that Mr. Service used, although I do not want to get into the question of semantics. That word sometimes has connotations today that may not be those of normal times.

You used the expression, I believe, that you and Mr. Davies had a similar "philosophy" with respect to the situation. What did you mean by that?

Mr. SERVICE. We shared a generally similar outlook on the long-range problems that faced the United States, the problems of the balance of power in the Far East, and the means which our policy should seek to follow to maintain United States position in the Far East, and to keep China from falling entirely into the Russian orbit, which we saw as early as 1943 was the great danger.

Mr. MORGAN. Thank you.

Senator TYDINGS. All right, go ahead, Mr. Morris.

Mr. SERVICE. May I also make some comment on this: Reference was made to Mr. Kennan recently, and I would like to read from the transcript of our hearings before the—

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead and read it.

Mr. SERVICE (continuing). State Department Loyalty Board. Mr. Kennan was asked:

By the way, Mr. Kennan, will you state to the Board whether you are acquainted with Mr. Service?

Mr. KENNAN. I have never met Mr. Service before he returned on this occasion, and I have never spoken with him excepting concerning the technique or arrangement for my appearing here. I purposely did not discuss anything that I thought I was going to say on this occasion with him or with anyone that I thought might be in communication with him, and have never discussed the contents of his reports. I had also not read the reports before this except insofar as they contained in the white paper; so that they came to me fresh.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. I have a letter signed by a man named "Julian", addressed to "Dear Jack," which was found in your possession. I wonder if you will identify this. It is Q-404.



(The letter referred to is as follows:)

DOCUMENT S-67  
Q-404THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION,  
May 14, 1945.

DEAR JACK: I met your wife the other evening, and your delightful children as well. Phil had arranged with Carolyn to bring Messrs. Tung and Chen to Berkeley, and we had dinner together, along with Martin Wilbur. During the course of conversation, Carolyn mentioned her need of a washing machine in Washington. I told her that if worse comes to worse you might be able to have my family's machine which is now up on Long Island. Carolyn got all excited about this suggestion, and she said that she would write you about it. If you have been looking for one in Washington, I suggest that you continue to do so. You should also inquire about the possibility of new machines coming on the market in the near future. If your efforts in Washington all lead up a blind alley, then it would be practical to consider shipping my family's machine—if you want it—from Long Island to Washington. I just thought that I should explain this to you in case Carolyn's letter discourages you from continuing your search for a machine.

The conference is rather dull, and I find it very depressing. I imagine that this conference may go down as one of the most reactionary international gatherings in history. The only consolation I can find is that the fantastic views on international organization—views which are in essence quite contrary to real and sound international organization—may contribute to breaking down such outmoded concepts as sovereign equality and nation-state system of international relations. But they offer nothing in place of these traditional elements of world affairs.

Phil is keeping the most disgraceful company these days. It is practically certain now that he'll return to Chungking as Minister Counselor and Hurley's houseboy. He is taking his job seriously and even shows some compassion over the inconvenience which members of the Chinese delegation occasionally have to endure. He is first-rate on seeing that T. V.'s car turns up at the right place at the right time.

John Carter has been introducing me around as the labor attaché for Chungking. The local liberal and labor groups have had me out for a party to meet the right-minded people. Saturday I was introduced to Tarasov, Soviet trade-union representative on the World Trade Union Council. He told that he didn't know that north China was called Communist China. He asked whether they were "Communists" or not. He stated that the Soviet Government favored unity in China and that the United States and Soviet Union should cooperate in bringing about such unity. I am planning to bring John Carter together with Tarasov and another Soviet trade-union leader, Kuznetsov (who is the head of the Soviet trade-union movement and an important figure in Soviet high policy). We may not learn much, but we might get some better line on Soviet psychology on the Pacific, specifically, the China question.

Not much else to say. I won't go into detail about the conference. It isn't too difficult to read between the lines in the press to see what is happening here.

Best regards,

JULIAN.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you will look at that letter and identify the writer and the addressee.

Mr. SERVICE. Well, I had forgotten all about this letter until it was shown to me by the Department of State loyalty board. I assume that the writer must be a man named Julian Friedman, who was an employee of the Department of State at that time, and was at San Francisco, I think, as a liaison officer of some sort.

Mr. MORRIS. And he was writing to you?

Mr. SERVICE. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. Speak the least bit more loudly, please.

Mr. MORRIS. And the John Carter referred to in this letter was, I take it, John Carter Vincent?

Mr. SERVICE. I assume so.

Mr. MORRIS. And he says: "Phil is keeping the most disgraceful company these days."

Who is Phil?

Mr. SERVICE. I assume he means Philip Spouse.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his assignment at that time?

Mr. SERVICE. He was also a liaison officer. His duties were liaison with the Chinese delegation, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. He says:

Saturday I was introduced to Tarasov, Soviet trade-union representative on the World Trade Union Council. He told that he didn't know that north China was called Communist China. He asked whether they were "Communists" or not. He stated that the Soviet Government favored unity in China and that the United States and Soviet Union should cooperate in bringing about such unity. I am planning to bring John Carter together with Tarasov and another Soviet trade-union leader, Kuznetsov (who is the head of the Soviet trade-union movement and an important figure in Soviet high policy). We may not learn much, but we might get some better line on Soviet psychology on the Pacific, specifically, the China question.

Was there ever any follow-up that you knew of on that proposal?

Mr. SERVICE. Not that I know of. Mr. Friedman was, as I remember, a labor economist, and was later assigned as labor attaché. I suppose that is the basis of his meeting with these Russian labor officials.

The interesting thing there, of course, is that Tarasov, whatever the man's name is, is reflecting the official Moscow line, which Molotov and Stalin had been giving General Hurley, which Mr. Kennan and the Embassy in Moscow, and in which I myself reporting to Chungking, thought was false.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you report that, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. I have here, for instance, a report which I wrote on February 16, 1945, just about the date of Yalta, of conversations with a man by the name of Vinogradoff, who was the press attaché, in which I report Mr. Vinogradoff making a statement such as this:

Senator McMAHON. October 1944?

Mr. SERVICE. No, this is February 16, 1945. This is Mr. Vinogradoff speaking:

Our policy is definite and clear. We, Russia, will certainly have a voice in the affairs of the Far East, but we will do nothing to assist, support, or encourage the present Government of China.

That is a very different line which I was getting from Vinogradoff and reporting, very different line from the high level Moscow line at that time, that they were all for better relations in the Central Government.

Senator McMAHON. What line was General Hurley taking?

Mr. SERVICE. General Hurley was saying continually that he had been assured by Moscow, by Molotov and Stalin, and he says here at the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and I quote from page 31—this is December 1945, hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

Russia has said from the beginning that the Chinese Communists are not, in fact, Communists at all; that Russia has not supported the Chinese Communists; that Russia does support the National Government of the Republic of China, and the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek; that Russia desires closer and more harmonious relations with China.

This attitude was the attitude of General Hurley, and there are numerous quotations from General Hurley as to where he says the same thing.

Senator McMAHON. Is he reporting the fact or is he reporting his belief in the truth of that fact?

Mr. SERVICE. I think if you read the hearings and you read the white paper, that he believed those, and he was cautioned by the State Department not to put too much weight in them, and that was one of his complaints in the State Department that they changed his instructions, as he said, on the basis of State Department Embassy Moscow unwillingness to accept the assurances of Stalin and Molotov.

Senator McMAHON. And your point is, if I understand you correctly, that you did not believe this line that was coming out of Moscow?

Mr. SERVICE. That is correct.

Senator McMAHON. Because you were being told something different in the field, which you reported to the State Department.

Mr. SERVICE. A, because it was not logical and did not make sense; and, B, because my opinion was confirmed by Communist officials, Soviet officials, in Chungking.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you ever report that, Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. I read you excerpts from a report which I wrote on February 16, 1945.

Mr. MORRIS. In support of that conclusion?

Mr. SERVICE. Yes; I quote Mr. Vinogradoff in saying, "We are not going to support or encourage the present Government of China."

Mr. MORRIS. I know that, but you just quoted him; you did not give your own opinion at that time?

Mr. SERVICE. In a report which I wrote on the next day, February 17, 1945, commenting on the Soviet statements on Chinese hopes of making a deal with Russia, I point out in conclusion—

The Russians in Chungking are being frigid toward a central government and talking freely of their low opinion of it, and correspondingly high opinion of Yen-an. Furthermore, there is not much exchangeable quid pro quo—

I had been discussing the early part of the report of the inducements which the Chinese could offer the Soviets to make a treaty—

The Chinese are not likely to make concessions in Sinkiang, outer Mongolia, or Manchuria. Finally the objective circumstances are not favorable. The Central Government and Chiang are weaker than France and DeGaulle. The Chinese Communists are stronger than the FFI—

French Forces in the Interior—

and getting stronger rapidly. Both Russia and the Chinese Communists can do very well, therefore, by sitting tight and waiting.

In other words, I did not see that it was to Russia's interest—

Senator TYDINGS. All right, the next question.

Mr. SERVICE. This may be off the subject a little bit, but in connection with the views of Mr. Davies and myself concerning the Chinese Communists, I think we ought to refer to such statements as this made to the press at a press conference had by General Hurley on April 6, 1945.

Mr. MORGAN. What is that you are reading from?

Mr. SERVICE. This is from the text, stenographic text, of the press conference, radio and press conference. I am sorry, the date was

April 2, 1945, with Ambassador Hurley meeting the press, and I quote. Mr. Hurley says:

You gentlemen should know, though I believe you all do know, that it is a matter of common knowledge that the Communist Party of China supports the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. That was generally referred to as the people's three principles of China.

Senator TYDINGS. Sun Yat-sen? You mean the great Chinese leader for democracy and liberation?

Mr. SERVICE. That is correct.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead.

Mr. SERVICE. Mr. Hurley continues:

The three principles are government of the people, by the people, and for the people. All the demands that the Communist Party has been making have been on a democratic basis. That has led to the statement that the Communist Party in China are not in fact real Communists. The Communist Party of China is supporting exactly the same principles as those promulgated by the National Government of China.

I mean I can quote at great length from General Hurley.

Senator TYDINGS. I think you ought to put the whole thing in the record.

Mr. SERVICE. There is a great deal of this contained in the transcript of hearing before the Loyalty Board, but I have not wanted to protract things unnecessarily here.

Senator TYDINGS. Can't you put in the record those parts of General Hurley's releases which are on all fours which you have just read to show there was a general point of view shared by many people of a wide variety of political beliefs at that particular time?

Mr. MORGAN. Do you know how General Hurley used the word "democratic," Mr. Service?

Mr. SERVICE. No, I don't except that he has associated with those principles of government the principles "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead. We will put those in. Let us go ahead, Mr. Morris, unless you have got some more, Mr. Service.

Mr. SERVICE. Would you like more of it, sir?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes, if it is not too long.

Mr. SERVICE. The next question is:

Sir, I am not sure that I understood that last sentence. You said the Communist Party is supporting the same principles as the National Government of China?

General Hurley's answer was: Yes.

Question. Could you tell us what is the divergence between them? How do they differ?

Answer. Well, as a matter of fact, the divergence between the parties in China seems to be not in the objective desired because they both assert that they are for the establishment of a government in China that will decentralize authority and conduct itself along democratic lines, employing democratic processes; the divergence between them is the procedure by which they can be achieved. To go a little further, the Communist Party would like for the National Government to inaugurate certain reforms immediately, and to do that they have suggested a bipartisan coalition government.

Senator McMAHON. Was he for that? Was Hurley for the coalition, the bipartisan government?

Mr. SERVICE. Certainly, sir, that was one of his basic directives.

Senator McMAHON. Did he indicate personal agreement with that objective?

Mr. SERVICE. Certainly.

Senator McMAHON. Have you got the excerpts which you can put in the record?

Senator GREEN. Are we proceeding?

Senator LODGE. Are we making progress?

Senator McMAHON. As far as I am concerned we are making progress, because I want to know what this man Hurley was doing.

Senator TYDINGS. I was going to suggest this, Senator McMahon: Evidently in order to make a compilation with any degree of comprehension, we ought to give the witness a chance to supplement his remarks by putting it in the record later when he can hunt it up.

Senator LODGE. I suggest that the witness be given every opportunity to prepare a statement, and let it be submitted to us, and then be made part of the record.

Senator GREEN. Every opportunity in addition to the present.

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Senator McMAHON. Let me make it clear as to what I want: I want Hurley's philosophy, Hurley's views, and I want the documentation of those views.

Senator LODGE. That is perfectly all right with me.

Senator TYDINGS. We do not want them next year, we want them soon.

Mr. RHETTS. We will be glad to prepare that out of the material we have here, including the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee transcript.

Mr. MORRIS. I think also that we should have General Hurley's testimony.

Senator TYDINGS. I have been in touch with General Hurley several times, and the most recent time was several days ago.

He does not want to testify. He tells me he has nothing to contribute to the testimony that he has contributed before the Foreign Relations Committee; I have so stated to the committee, in a message, and so stated in the press.

I urged General Hurley to come and testify, but he does not want to come because he says he cannot bring out anything that we do not already know.

Senator GREEN. When was that?

Senator TYDINGS. That was about—

Mr. RHETTS. December 5, 6, 7 and 10, 1945, Senator Green.

Senator GREEN. I remember that; I took part in it. I would like to refresh my recollection on my cross-examination.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have here a list of names that appeared in Mr. Service's address book. Now, I think for the sake of expediency, I would like to give the list to Mr. Service and ask him to go through the list and tell us briefly what his associations have been with the particular people, and who they are.

Senator TYDINGS. May I ask you what the point of this interrogation is?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, a man's address book, Senator, presumably contains a list of his associates.

Senator TYDINGS. Granted.

Mr. MORRIS. I think who Mr. Service's associates are is something that is pertinent to this inquiry.

Senator TYDINGS. Well, didn't he identify them the other day for you?

Mr. MORRIS. He did not.

Senator TYDINGS. He did not?

Mr. MORRIS. I selected 10 or 12 from the list the other day. I did not want to go into it any further then because—

Mr. SERVICE. Whom did we discuss the other day?

Mr. MORRIS. We had Lattimore, Duncan Lee. We had Sol Adler. There are three on the first page.

Senator TYDINGS. I would say that if they are in Mr. Service's addresses, obviously he has some kind of an acquaintanceship with them. That is conceded. What more proof do you want than that?

Mr. MORRIS. A complete identity is not here.

Senator TYDINGS. Does that show disloyalty to the State Department? Does it have some relevance to Mr. Service's disloyalty, as a disloyal citizen?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, as I pointed out the other day, some of these people have been identified before congressional committees as Soviet agents.

Senator TYDINGS. That is not necessarily so. Some of them have been designated as Soviet agents, but that does not make them so.

Mr. MORRIS. I submit that if we have testimony before a congressional committee and I also understand—

Senator TYDINGS. I am not a very strong believer in that sort of testimony to hang people on, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. I am not hanging anyone on it, Senator, I am submitting—

Senator TYDINGS. I have no objection to its going in and having Mr. Service making any comment that you want him to make.

Mr. MORRIS. I think in all fairness, rather than use the expression "hang someone on it," I think it is a very unfair term. I think that is something we should take into consideration for future study.

Senator TYDINGS. All right, go ahead.

Senator GREEN. How many of them are there altogether?

Senator TYDINGS. We are getting pretty far afield. What you want are acts, not people he knows.

I now know Mr. Browder. I met him the other day, and what's this other fellow—

Mr. MORRIS. That is not in your address book; this is something else.

Senator TYDINGS. I may be in his address book, and that might make me guilty.

Mr. MORRIS. If I am going too far afield—

Senator TYDINGS. I think you are. It may be somewhat captious. You may put it in the record, but I do not think you ought to draw any conclusions.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I draw no conclusions from this at all.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, let us get along.

What is the question?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Senator, as I say, if you think it is not pertinent, and you do not think we ought to go into it—

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I think we should let Mr. Morris ask the questions.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Service, just take them up one at a time and tell us who they are.

Mr. SERVICE. The first name is Terrell, a British diplomat who was stationed in Washington for some time. I had known him and had been a neighbor of his in Shanghai and saw him for supper.

The name Jones is Col. Paul Jones, who had previously been public-relations officer, China-Burma, India theater.

The next name, I believe, is copied incorrectly. It should be Reichner. I believe she was a woman working on biographic information for OSS, with whom I had agreed to offer—to whom I had offered to make available my knowledge, particularly regarding Communist personalities. I spent several afternoons with her in OSS being interrogated regarding specific people.

The next man Weaver, I believe, is a captain working in Army Intelligence.

The next name Rose Ellen refers to a Yardoumian, and Ellen Atkinson.

Rose Yardoumian, as I testified, was the secretary of the Washington office of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Ellen Atkinson was employed in the War Department, MIS, as a researcher on the Far East.

This engagement refers to the party on the 29th of May which I attended which they gave in honor of Lieutenant and Mrs. Roth.

The next name, Senator Pepper, needs no explaining.

The next name is Rankin. He was a lieutenant colonel, had been in Chungking as assistant public-relations officer, and at this time was in Washington temporarily. I saw him for lunch.

The next three entries have to do with a week end at the Lattimores'. The entry for 12 noon on June 5 is a mistake in copying. It should be Linebarger, who had formerly been professor at Duke University. During the war was in Military Intelligence, and during the war was a member of the staff at G-2 in Chungking, and was back in Washington attached to the Psychological Warfare Branch.

The next one was Ray Burns.

The next name is Gebb. I don't remember Mr. Gebb, but it is written right after his name "OSS" here, meaning that he was coming to my office.

There were a good many research specialists in the other agencies who were continually contacting me with respect to some particular line or field of work in which they were engaged where they thought that I might be able to give them some help, and this was undoubtedly such a man.

The next name is Duncan Lee, concerning whom I have already testified. He had arranged to lunch with me.

Now I come to the address book proper.

Mr. MORRIS. The name "Adler" begins the address book.

Mr. SERVICE. I am sorry. I come to the address book proper. This was a new address book, as I remember it, just concerning this particular period. The first name is Adler, whom I have already testified concerning.

The next name is Arneson, Elizabeth Yard. I did not know Mr. Arneson well. He was at that time employed with OWI, I believe. He was a native Icelander, naturalized American.

Elizabeth Yard, his wife, was my friend. She was the daughter of missionaries in west China, the same age as myself, and I had grown up with her and kept contact with her. I had seen them, they lived over in Arlington.

Brooks Atkinson, correspondent for the New York Times, and probably my closest friend in China.

Carl Arnold was General Stilwell's aide.

Lt. Emil Brown—that is a mistake, it should be Lt. Emily Brown—was an old friend of my wife's. She was at that time in the WAC. She had been a college friend of my wife's and myself, too, for that matter, but I had never known her very well. She is a newspaper woman, was a newspaper woman before the war, and is now with the United Press in the Far East.

Barnett is Robert Barnett. At that time he was in the Army, and presently with the State Department.

Carr, I don't remember what Carr that is.

Mr. MORRIS. Could that be Drew Pearson's assistant?

Mr. SERVICE. It might be, it might well be.

Colling was a young captain in the OSS, who had been a member of the observer group at Yenan. He was, what you would call, a sort of guerrilla-warfare man, a demolitions man, and he had just recently returned to Washington to make his reports to OSS, and brought back a lot of films, and they were trying to put together a picture of Chinese Communist guerrilla operations, and I went over to OSS and saw those films several times, consulted with them on it.

John Caldwell was a friend whom I had known since we were boys together in China. He was with OWI, was with me in China, and was back with me in China on the China desk of OWI.

Cowan was an officer in the headquarters at Chungking who happened to be back here temporarily in the War Department.

Dan Davis—that should be Don Davis, is a copying mistake—he was at that time an officer in Naval Intelligence. Marty refers to C. Martin Wilbur, who was head of the Political Branch of the Far Eastern Section of Research and Analysis, which is OSS, formerly a China boy; also a professor and curator in the Field Museum, and came into the OSS during the war.

Dennison refers to a man whom I had known out in China with the National City Bank. I think it was the National City Bank or possibly the Chase Bank, and he was back here with the RFC during the war. His wife had been a college friend of my wife and myself.

Drumright was Everett F. Drumright, an American Foreign Service officer, who was Assistant Chief, Division of Chinese Affairs, State Department.

Emmerson is a fellow service officer, Japan expert, who had been one of the four Foreign Service officers attached to General Stilwell's staff.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the four, by the way?

Mr. SERVICE. John Davis, Raymond P. Ludden, John Emmerson, and myself.

Lee Engdahl was the widow of a Foreign Service officer who had served with me at Shanghai, and whom we had known very well.



Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. SERVICE. His name was Russell Engdahl. He was killed during internment in Hong Kong during the early part of the war. She was employed by the State Department at this time on some sort of a visa review board. She is now vice consul in the Foreign Service and stationed at Tehran.

The next name I think is a mistake in copying. It should be Fickan. He was a man who was a house mate of mine at college. He was a mathematician, had been a professor and was employed during the war by the Navy.

John Fairbanks, now professor of oriental history at Harvard University, during the war was head of far eastern operations for OWL. At this time he was in Washington for employment with OWL.

Hon. C. E. Gauss, of course, was former Ambassador, and my former chief in China.

The next name is Mark Gayn.

Griffiths refers to Col. Samuel P. Griffiths, United States Marine Corps, who had been a Navy language officer in Peking, studying Chinese at the same time I was in Peking in 1936 and 1937. I had kept up my friendship with him.

Gentile is, so far as I can remember, one of those research specialists in OSS who came over to see me on some particular project that he was working on where he hoped that I could give him some advice.

Now, the next item, Garrisonville, Va., "Ask for Tom Waller," does not ring any bell right now. I don't know who Tom Waller is. That might be a mistake in copying. I mean there are so many mistakes in copying.

The next name is Hutchinson. He was a lieutenant colonel in OSS in one of their more secret branches, who had been out in the Far East, and with whom I had consulted on a number of projects which they had contemplated undertaking.

Hitch was an assistant naval attaché in Chungking during part of my period there. He had returned to Washington and was on duty here.

Christine Homan was the wife of an economist who was working for some Government bureau. I think he is employed at present with the President's Council of Economic Advisers. I had known the Homans first in Peking. They had visited there in 1936 or 1937. I had become acquainted with them there, and I was invited to their house for dinner or something here in Washington.

Captain Harris was a young man over in MIS, a researcher in the social branch of or a special branch of something of the sort there who had been present at some interrogation, and had come over to consult me further on some points he was interested in.

Hatem is Corp. J. W., who is a brother of an American doctor who had gone out to China about 1936 or 1937, and had stayed with the Chinese Communists. This doctor in Yen-an had asked me to write a letter to his family back here and let them know he was well, and this man Hatem, his younger brother, had come up to see me.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Dr. Hatem a Communist?

Mr. SERVICE. I suppose he must have been to stay there all that time, but I don't know whether he was actually a party member or not.

Harold Isaacs, of course, was at that time correspondent in China of Newsweek, and he had recently returned to the States and was living in New York.

Phil Jaffe we have already discussed.

Col. Paul Jones, his name I already mentioned. His name appears on my date pad.

Herbert Little had formerly been with the Chinese Maritime Customs in China. Since the war he has been the senior foreigner with the Chinese Customs Service. During the war he was returned from internment, I think, and he was with the OSS, and I saw him here in Washington on OSS business.

Freddy Lyon, of course, was the security officer of the Department of State.

Ludden is Raymond P. Ludden, whom I have discussed.

Lattimore I have discussed.

Mrs. W. W. Lockwood is a widow of an old friend of my mother's and father's, who was associated with them, an associate of theirs, out in the YMCA in China.

Capt. Paul Linebarger I have already mentioned. I think that his branch was the Morale Branch of MIS.

Colonel McHugh had formerly been naval attaché in China for a good many years before and during the war. At this period he had been assigned to OSS and was here in Washington.

Colonel Mayer had formerly been military attaché in China and at that time was, I don't know what the term was, Far Eastern specialist in MIS, and he asked me to come over and talk to him and to General Bissell on one occasion.

Mr. RHETTS. Who is General Bissell?

Mr. SERVICE. He was Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, for the United States Army, in charge of intelligence.

Mertsky was a woman who had formerly been on our staff with the consul general in Shanghai. After marriage to a man named Coleman, she left the Foreign Service and was living in New York.

She had been my stenographer for a while in the consulate general in Shanghai.

Colonel McNally was a man I had known in China as a language student, had known him during the war. He went out to China originally in 1934, as aide to General Hurley, returned to Washington thereafter, and was at that time stationed at MIS.

J. K. Penfield is Mr. James Penfield. I gave his address at this time as CINCPAC, commander in chief of the Pacific.

Phoebe Reichner is this woman in OSS who was writing a biographic series, biographic data, whom I was assisting.

Lieutenant Colonel Roberts, his name appears in my pad. He was assistant public relations officer in Chungking.

Lt. Andy Roth we had mentioned.

Ray is a man who had been working for lend-lease out in China, and I had seen him off and on. He had made numerous trips to China, and was here in Washington with FEA.

Snow is Edgar Snow.

Next is Mrs. Harley Stevens. I am trying to think of a Mrs. Harley Stevens. The name does not mean anything to me now, but is an address with OSS, so it must have been somebody working in OSS, somebody in the Research Branch, who had got in touch with me.

Guenther Stein was a correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor and the Manchester Guardian.

Phil Sullivan was in Shanghai, and went to St. John's College. He was employed by the Department of State in the labor end.

Gen. J. W. Schulz is Brig. Gen. John Wesley Schulz, the brother of my wife's father. At that time he was a member of the engineering board. I think the head of the engineering board at Fort Belvoir.

R. M. Service is my younger brother.

George Taylor is a man I had known out in China, where he had taught at Yenan University, was in the University of Washington, and during the war was employed by OWI on Far Eastern operations, and I had had some contacts with him.

Terrell, I have already mentioned, was the British diplomat who was stationed in Washington, attached to the British Embassy, and I had known him out in China.

The next name is a mistake in copying and should be Tolstoi. He was at that time Major Tolstoi, an OSS officer I had met first in the extreme northwest of China in Lanchow. One of my reasons in going to Lanchow was to carry funds for him, and another officer, who had come from India through Lhassa, up to Lanchow. I saw a good deal of him subsequently in China, and at this time he was back in Washington.

Vino Gradoss, of course, I have already mentioned, was press attaché in Chungking at the Embassy.

Wilbur, I have mentioned as C. Martin Wilbur, at that time attaché to the Research and Analysis Branch of OSS.

Dick Watts is Richard Watts, who was for many years drama critic of New York Herald Tribune. During the war he was in China first for the New York Herald Tribune and later for OWI. I saw a good deal of him in Chungking, and at this time he had returned to the States.

Captain Weaver, as I mentioned, was a research analyst whom I had met.

Senator LODGE. Are you still in touch with Richard Watts?

Mr. SERVICE. No; I have not seen him since 1945.

Senator LODGE. How often had you seen him before that?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, I suppose in Chungking I saw him fairly frequently. I think I saw him once in the spring of 1945 very briefly. I have not seen him since.

Thelma Wolfe—the name does not mean anything to me now.

The last name is apparently a copying mistake. It should be Yardoumian, Rose, whose name I have already mentioned.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no other questions.

Senator LODGE. I have no questions of Mr. Service. There are some questions I would like to ask of Mr. Morgan, due to the fact that Senator Green and I were away as a subcommittee of two, and the rest of the subcommittee very properly went ahead with the development of this case, and I have some points I would like to have cleared up.

I have had a chance to go through the transcript that was developed while Senator Green and I were away, and I have jotted down some questions I would like to ask you.

This first group can be answered "Yes" or "No" if you want to. You do not have to if you do not want to.

Does the subcommittee, or do you as the chief counsel of the subcommittee, feel that you have obtained clear-cut and convincing answers to the following questions:

Why was Jaffe permitted to plead guilty in a brief and almost unnoticed trial, and let off with a fine of \$2,500?

Mr. MORGAN. I would like to ask Mr. Service a couple of questions, first.

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Service, the question I am going to ask you now is, of course, one that probably calls for a self-serving answer, but it is one that I like to see any man in a similar situation place on the record, and that is this: I believe you have testified you have never been a member of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. SERVICE. That is correct. I have never been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORGAN. Have you ever knowingly associated with members of the Communist Party apart from the association in your official capacity with the Chinese Communists?

Mr. SERVICE. I have never knowingly associated with any Communists other than Chinese Communists in connection with my work in China. I am sorry, I have never knowingly associated with any Communists other than Chinese Communists and Russian diplomatic officials in connection with my official work.

Mr. MORGAN. If you care to, you may, I am sure, at this point indicate on our record your attitude and philosophy with respect to communism. I do not put that as a question. I thought, perhaps, you might want to indicate in our record your sentiments in that respect.

Mr. SERVICE. I am not used to talking about my personal intimate beliefs, but I will try to summarize them.

One has to start with some faith and, I believe, that life was not an accident, that there was a divine purpose, if you call it that, in creation, and particularly in creating man, as the highest and unique type of life.

What makes man unique is his spirit, his mind, his ability to reason; that our task, our mission, our responsibility, call it what you will, is to seek to realize our full potentialities as human beings; that we have had a few insights as to what these potentialities are through people like Jesus Christ.

This philosophy, if you call it that, is, of course, based on the deepest and fullest conception of the rights of the human individual and the dignity of man.

I think that the most important thing in the world is to give the fullest opportunity for us to improve ourselves and to realize our potentialities as human beings and as individuals.

Politically this philosophy, of course, is expressed in democracy, which is based on the rights of the individual, and the dignity of man. It is the exact antithesis of communism, which subordinates a man to the state which denies human rights, and which tries to fit it into a mold, according to a set dogma, which we know is false because it ignores the human spirit, based purely on economic terms.

I think that that is a brief expression of my beliefs.

Mr. MORGAN. Have you ever knowingly at any time submitted, as an officer of the Foreign Service of the State Department on your de-

tached duty, reports other than those which were, insofar as you were concerned, your honest conviction of the true facts?

Mr. SERVICE. I never have submitted any report at any time which was not my conception of the truth, of the true facts at the time.

Mr. MORGAN. Did you ever at any time seek to undermine the policy of this Government, as you knew it and understood it?

Mr. SERVICE. I never sought to undermine the policy of this Government as I understood it. In fact, I think I can conscientiously say that I always sought to further the achievement of this Government's policy.

Mr. MORGAN. I believe those are the only questions I have.

Senator LODGE. Will you give your definition of the word "Communist"?

Mr. SERVICE. A Communist, to my way of thinking, is a person who believes in the infallibility of Marxism, by which I mean a strictly materialistic interpretation of history; the dialectic of Marxism derived from Hegel, who submits himself to rigid party discipline, who adheres wholeheartedly to that dogma to which he is willing to sacrifice his own personal interests in the interest of following orders of the party.

Senator LODGE. Will you define for us the words "Soviet agent"?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, a Soviet agent does not necessarily need to be a Communist. I would say that he has to be so close to communism, however, that he is willing to forego or to abandon his own family, his own life, his own country, in the interests of serving the Soviet Government and the Communist Party.

Senator LODGE. I notice in your definition of "communism," you make no reference to its impact on religion or to its connection with Russia. Is there anything significant in that?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, economic materialism is a denial of religion. I did not tie up with Russia completely because I was thinking of communism in the broad sense as a theory.

Senator LODGE. I am talking about an active modern Communist today, 1950.

Mr. SERVICE. Well, here again we run into complications which, I think, confuse the issue. You could be a Yugoslav and be a Titoist, and still be theoretically a Communist with all the devotion to the dogma and the cause of Marx and all the economic materialism, and all the rest of it.

Senator LODGE. I am asking you to give me your definition of these things. I mean, you must have a definite idea in your mind of what the word "Communist" means to you. Let us take an American Communist, what is the relationship?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, an American Communist is certainly committed to the recognition of the overpowering interests of the Soviet Union. I have absolutely no doubt of that, and relating my definition to me, as an American, I would say that a Communist would have to be one who is committed to supporting the interests of the Communist motherland, the leading party of communism, which is the Russian Communist Party.

Senator LODGE. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. May I ask a question? Mr. Service, while you shared an apartment with Adler over the course of a year, as you testified, did

you find his views and his conversations and his outlook on life anti-theoretical to yours?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, we did not argue very much. I don't remember discussing American affairs with him a great deal. I did not always agree with Mr. Adler or follow him on economic discussions, since his knowledge of economics was detailed and specialized, whereas mine was not.

Mr. MORRIS. How about his political views?

Mr. SERVICE. Well, as I say, we were so wrapped up in China, the Chinese theme, that I don't remember much discussion about the United States. Certainly, on China we agreed generally.

Senator GREEN. Are there any other questions?

Senator TYDINGS. I would like to request of you and your counsel that these things you have been requested to put into the record by Senator McMahon while he was here, and perhaps by others, while I do not press you after the ordeal you have been through down with the other hearing, and this one, I would still, however, while your testimony is current, like to get it with a fair amount of promptness so that we can put it in. When do you think you could give us that, Mr. Rhetts?

Mr. RHETTS. We will prepare it. Since we have these materials essentially assembled, it will be a question of putting them together. We will prepare them tonight, and it is a question of getting them mechanically produced.

Senator TYDINGS. That is all right.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator TYDINGS. I have no further questions. If there are no other questions, we will take a recess, and I would like to have the committee members to stay a minute.

Mr. RHETTS. Before we leave, sir, I would like to offer for inclusion in the record at this time a letter addressed to you, Senator Tydings, and which was transmitted to Mr. Service, from Dr. H. C. Mei.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF CHINA,  
Shanghai, China, April 18, 1959.

Hon. MILLARD E. TYDINGS,

Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Investigating Subcommittee,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: As an American-born Chinese I have known for some 30 years Mr. and Mrs. Robert Roy Service, parents of Hon. John Stewart Service, and also the latter for over 10 years both in the United States and in China.

The late Mr. Robert R. Service was for probably two decades a secretary of the International Committee of Y. M. C. A.'s (headquarters in New York) and served most of that time as a Y. M. C. A. secretary in west China and Shanghai. He had traveled widely in all parts of China, beloved by thousands of Chinese of all classes, Christian and non-Christian. My family and I have been for many years intimate associates of the Service family in Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., church, Rotary and Masonic activities in China. In all those organizations the Services, both father and son, always showed sympathetic understanding and had a genius for friendship with the Chinese people, especially with the underprivileged. These qualities characterize the whole Service family. I had come to know Robert and John Service quite closely in community church and Masonic lodges, and admire them for their genuine humanitarian spirit, their devotion to the Protestant missionary enterprises in China and their love of the Masonic craft.

I write this unsought testimonial, sir, not merely as a gesture of confidence in a brother Mason, nor yet as a friend of Mr. John S. Service and his truly Christian family, but fundamentally as one who keenly appreciates his char-

acter to be utterly alien to anything approaching Communist leanings. Whoever possessed of such a proud educational, cultural, and religious background cannot easily stomach communism, and I am firmly convinced that Mr. Service's professional career negates everything communism stands for. I feel it is due to Mr. Service, as well as to your subcommittee interested in ascertaining the facts of his background, that I address you, for it speaks louder than words his loyalty to his country and the Protestant faith of which all the Services have been such outstanding exponents all their lives.

Very respectfully,

Dr. H. C. MEL.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned for the purpose of taking up other matters.)

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE  
LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1950

EXECUTIVE SESSION

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTED UNDER SENATE RESOLUTION 231,  
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, following adjournment of the investigative session, at 4:30 p. m. in room G-23, United States Capitol, Senator Millard E. Tydings (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Tydings, Green, and Lodge.

Also present: Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel for the committee; Mr. Robert Morris, assistant counsel.

Senator LODGE. I can begin now by saying that Senator Green and I were out of the country for 11 days in connection with a subcommittee of two, of which we were members, and during that time the rest of the subcommittee very properly—

Senator GREEN. Are you counting the 11 days from when we went across the Atlantic and came back again?

Senator LODGE. No; that is 12.

During that time, the subcommittee very properly continued with that investigation, and I have now had occasion over the week end to read the transcript of the testimony that was taken while we were away, and I have jotted down some questions which I would like to ask Mr. Morgan, and he can answer them "yes" or "no" if he wants to, or he could answer them more in detail if he wants to.

Does the subcommittee feel that it has clear-cut and convincing answers to the following questions:

1. Why was Jaffe permitted to plead guilty in a brief and almost unnoticed trial and let off with a fine of \$2,500?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator LODGE. You think you have a clear-cut and definite answer to that?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator LODGE. Why were charges against Lieutenant Roth, who had been indicted by the Federal grand jury, dismissed by the Government?

Mr. MORGAN. You mean insofar as the Department of Justice was concerned?

Senator LODGE. They did not prosecute Roth.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. So far as the Navy is concerned, we are trying to get a statement with respect to them.



Senator TYDINGS. Senator Lodge, if you will allow me to interject there, I have written to the Navy Department asking them why, notwithstanding the Department of Justice, did they not do anything. The letter has come into my office this afternoon, but I have not seen it.

Senator LODGE. In the case of Jaffe, is it because the evidence was polluted; is that briefly the reason why?

Mr. MORGAN. In answering the question as I did, Senator, we have obtained a full and complete explanation from the prosecuting officials who handled the case as to why they permitted the case of Jaffe to be disposed of as it was.

To my mind, all that we could hope to obtain on that score is now in our records.

Senator TYDINGS. We could criticize them, but we have got everything.

Senator LODGE. As I understand it, the question of tainted evidence is a question on which lawyers disagree among themselves, and not being a lawyer myself, I feel justified in making the suggestion—

Mr. MORGAN. I will be glad to answer your question.

Senator LODGE. For whatever it is worth, that an outside legal opinion be obtained as to whether evidence was tainted, even though it is obtained pursuant to a search warrant and everything else, which, I understand, was true in the case of the Amerasia documents.

Mr. MORGAN. The handling of the disposition of it insofar as Jaffe is concerned, yes; that was the prime consideration so far as the Justice officials were concerned.

The fact that they regarded the case to be fraught with a taint from beginning to end, which was exposed by reason of an affidavit by Mr. Larsen—

Senator LODGE. And the fact that they obtained a great many documents in a perfectly legal way does not, in your opinion, alter the fact that everything was tainted?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, in that regard, Senator, there is quite a story that we can go into on that, but I will handle it briefly in this way by saying that, as I understand, the Department of Justice's explanation and, of course, that is all we have, there were entries made of the premises which served as the predicate for the acquiring of the legal process employed in entering under a legal guise, and that, as a result of the prior illegal entries, they therefore vitiated the legality of the so-called legal entry. That is their position.

Senator LODGE. I would just like to suggest to you one thing.

Senator TYDINGS. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator LODGE. On the record, do not your investigations disclose that they made a number of legal entries into the Amerasia offices?

Senator TYDINGS. No.

Senator LODGE. Does not the record show that they obtained a great many documents by perfectly legal methods?

Mr. MORGAN. The record shows that the searches made in Amerasia headquarters were made incident to an arrest warrant calling for the arrests of Jaffe and Mitchell, let us say those two there.

Those warrants—and I am giving you now the version of the prosecuting officials—those warrants were based on evidence which, in their opinion, was not legally obtained and legally admissible, and inas-

much as the warrants were based on illegal considerations, the warrants themselves were not valid.

Now, going on, the Department of Justice, according to the testimony of officials who have here testified, authorized the prosecution of these defendants, knowing those facts on the theory, I presume, that what the defendants did not know would not hurt them. The case went on on that theory until one of the defendants, Larsen, found out what had happened, and filed a motion to quash. That motion, filed by Larsen, was the predicate for the action that was taken with respect to Jaffe and with respect to Larsen.

Senator LODGE. Not being a lawyer, I am aware of the fact that lawyers disagree violently as to whether or not it is true that the fact that some evidence is obtained illegally vitiates all the rest of it, and I suggest that we be in a stronger position if we had a committee of lawyers who are in active practice of the law, to pass on that question.

Mr. MORGAN. In that connection, Senator, when I refer to having in our records the story, I do not mean that they necessarily were right; I mean that we have the conditions and considerations which they say was responsible for the action which they took.

Senator LODGE. Have you got the answer to the question of why Larsen was let off with a "slap on the wrist?"

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; we have the answers to that.

Senator LODGE. Have you got the answer to why the charges against those involved in the Amerasia case changed from conspiracy to violate the espionage statutes by stealing highly confidential Government documents to a simply charge of conspiracy to remove Government records illegally?

Mr. MORGAN. We have that evidence in great detail.

Senator LODGE. Have you the answer to what methods were used to extract secret documents from the files of the State, War, and Navy Departments, the OSS, and the Office of War Information?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe, pursuant to a specific question propounded by Senator Tydings, we have the FBI's complete version of it.

Senator LODGE. Have you got the answer to the question of what evidence was presented to the two grand juries?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. We have completely reviewed the proceedings of both grand juries; and in that connection, somewhere along the line someone has suggested that the proceedings of the first grand jury were missing. That is in error. We have reviewed the complete record of both grand juries.

Senator LODGE. Why was the first grand jury dismissed and the case taken before a second grand jury, despite the fact that Federal grand juries frequently are extended over their regular terms for uncompleted business?

Mr. MORGAN. We have a complete answer with respect to that, if you would like for me to give it to you.

Senator LODGE. Was that the answer that Mr. Hitchcock gave, that the weather was insufferably hot?

Mr. MORGAN. We have the answer of Mr. Hitchcock and also the answer of Mr. McInerney.

Senator LODGE. Well, the weather was pretty hot out in the Philippines where the soldiers were fighting.

Have you got the answer to the question as to why the Department of Justice felt that it had sufficient evidence to go before the Federal grand jury and move for an indictment against the six arrested defendants, and then subsequently decide that it did not have the evidence to prosecute the three defendants indicted to the fullest extent of the law?

Mr. MORGAN. The answer to that is part of my previous answer that they were proceeding obviously on the theory of what the defendants did not know would not hurt them.

One of the defendants, however, found out, which, according to the statement of the Department of Justice, destroyed their case.

Senator GREEN. You said what the defendants did not know would not hurt them.

Mr. MORGAN. Perhaps I should have said would not hurt the prosecution.

Senator LODGE. Do you know why the trial of Jaffe and Larsen was held in an unusual Saturday morning court proceeding without any newspapermen being present?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; we have that.

Senator LODGE. Have you the answer to why no evidence was presented to the presiding judge at Jaffe's trial with respect to Jaffe's notorious and well-known Communist affiliations?

Mr. MORGAN. We have the explanation of the responsible officials.

Senator LODGE. Does it satisfy you?

Mr. MORGAN. That is part of an ultimate conclusion that we will have to make, Senator. I think on the basis of the record I will be able to make a conclusion; yes, sir.

Senator LODGE. Why did Special Assistant Attorney General Robert Hitchcock permit the lawyer for Jaffe to make the statement of facts in the court? Is it not true that ordinarily in a guilty plea this is the job of the prosecutor?

Mr. MORGAN. In that regard, as I understand it, Senator, on the day prior to Jaffe's plea, every effort was made to prevent Jaffe's knowing of the fact that Larsen had filed a motion to quash.

As the result of this fact they, the Department officials, contacted Mr. Jaffe through his attorney, and recalled to the attorney's mind the fact that he had suggested several times, in discussions at least, the possibility of a plea, so Jaffe thereupon, with his attorney or, I believe it was just his attorney at this point, proceeded to the Department of Justice. There were Larsen in one room and Jaffe's attorney in another room, and the latter not being acquainted with what Larsen had done. The attorney for Jaffe committed himself positively to plead his client or the defendant Jaffe guilty, with the understanding that the Department of Justice would recommend a substantial fine.

Now, as I understand briefly the position of Mr. Hitchcock in this regard, he did not feel that he could make an arrangement or a commitment, as was made in that case and still go before a judge and literally attempt to "throw the book" at Jaffe, if you see what I mean. That is his position.

Senator LODGE. That they had made a bargain?

Mr. MORGAN. Substantially that; and, of course, I do not know whether you want my observation or comment on that, but arrange-

ments are made certainly every day between United States attorneys and defendants' counsel.

Senator LODGE. Well, with respect to that, during the war, of a United States attorney making a deal with a known Communist like Jaffe, will shock some people.

Mr. MORGAN. That is their explanation.

Senator LODGE. Do you know why Mr. Hitchcock told the court that he could complete the case in 5 minutes?

Mr. MORGAN. We know what Mr. Hitchcock had to say about it.

Senator LODGE. Do not worry, Mr. Chairman, I have not got much more.

According to a Scripps-Howard dispatch dated May 4, 1950,

Louis F. Budenz has notified the Tydings committee that he is prepared to testify about a series of frantic meetings called by the top leaders of the Communist Party after the Amerasia arrests,

and that Budenz specifically mentioned the name of Robert W. Weiner, formerly national treasurer of the Communist Party, as one who attended these meetings and proposed that the Communist Party raise funds for the Amerasia defense.

1. Is Budenz' letter a part of the record?

Mr. MORGAN. Budenz' testimony is part of the record, and I received a letter from Mr. Budenz in which he told me in the letter that Mr. Weiner apparently had a hand in endeavoring to arrange or to assist in financing the defense of Jaffe. That is all I have from him, which we can incorporate in the record at any time.

Senator LODGE. Does not the record also show that Jaffe paid Larsen's fine?

Mr. MORGAN. Larsen's fine?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. I believe that is Larsen's testimony.

Senator TYDINGS. Larsen testified to that effect.

Senator LODGE. Has the subcommittee called Weiner in connection with the handling of this phase?

Mr. MORGAN. It has not.

Senator LODGE. Do you think we ought to?

Mr. MORGAN. I think, Senator, the determination of that question will rest simply on this basis: We know Jaffe was a Communist; we know it would be logical for the Communist Party to try to help him in this defense. Weiner, being an active Communist, I do not think you would get "boo" out of him.

Senator TYDINGS. I would be willing to concede that he did try to raise money to try to help Jaffe.

Senator GREEN. If he did, you could not believe him.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Senator LODGE. Is it true that at one of these meetings that Budenz refers to, that the suggestion was made that the Communist Party turn on Jaffe and accuse him of spying for Japan? Have you heard that?

Mr. MORGAN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Didn't Budenz testify to that?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe, Mr. MORRIS, whether it was in his testimony or in his conversation, I believe Mr. Budenz did mention that the Communist Party was trying in every way to disassociate itself from Mr. Jaffe. I think that was substantially it.

Mr. MORRIS. Their first strategy was to say that Jaffe was a Nazi agent or Jap agent.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And then to disclaim him. But then they thought it over and decided to change their tack.

Mr. MORGAN. As I said, Senator, I personally would be convinced that the Communist Party would break its neck to do everything it could for Jaffe. I have no doubt about it. I have no doubt about Jaffe's being a Communist, and I have a pretty good idea that Mr. Jaffe is an espionage agent.

Senator TYDINGS. It would be hard to prove, but I am inclined to agree with you.

Senator LODGE. Something is wrong somewhere, either in the enforcement of the law or the writing of the law, when in the middle of a war we have got to make a bargain and a deal with a character like Jaffe.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator LODGE. On the record, has Jack Stachel, one of the eleven convicted Communists in New York last year, been contacted with respect to his knowledge of the Amerasia case?

Mr. MORGAN. When Mr. Budenz testified he suggested the calling of Browder, Field, and Stachel, with a view to going into the question of Mr. Lattimore's having Communist connections.

We subpoenaed all three of them. Field and Browder, as you know, both testified, and, in pertinent parts of their testimony, declined to answer questions.

With respect to the Stachel subpoena, his doctor certified to the court that he has a very bad heart attack, confining him to his home. Now, of course, I do not know how much credence we can place in that. All the Communists up there sought to obtain permission from the court to make a Nation-wide tour, of those that were prosecuted successfully, and incidentally, I submitted an affidavit in which I stated that Stachel has said that he had been confined to his home, and I understand that was part of the reason for the court's denying the request to permit them to go about the country.

Now, insofar as Stachel himself, as a witness here is concerned, I think, Senator, that he has probably been the leading Communist in the country, at least openly, the most effective one, and I do not think we have any hope of getting anything from him. I personally would recommend against calling him or insisting upon compliance with the subpoena.

Senator LODGE. Have you seen Budenz' testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, that Lieutenant Roth was instructed to contact Alger Hiss to see if the latter could use some influence in the case? Has the subcommittee looked into this angle of the case?

Mr. MORGAN. That is testimony of Mr. Budenz?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. I had not seen it, and if there is such testimony, I certainly would like to get it.

Senator TYDINGS. We will get it.

Senator LODGE. I suggest you look it up.

Mr. MORGAN. May I ask, for my guidance and assistance, do you know anything about it, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Mr. MORGAN. I am not prying, but what is the source of this?

Senator LODGE. My assistants developed this. Ask them.

Senator TYDINGS. The House Un-American Activities Committee.

Senator LODGE. According to Budenz' testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Lieutenant Roth was instructed to contact Alger Hiss to see if the latter could use some influence in the case.

Why have we not called General Donovan to tell what he knows about the case?

Mr. MORGAN. I will answer it to this extent, Senator. Two of the members of our staff interviewed General Donovan concerning the Amerasia case, and the general advised them, asked them if they had talked to Mr. Van Buren, and they said they had not. He said that they should talk to him, that he knew about it as much as he, General Donovan, did. We did call Mr. Van Buren.

Senator TYDINGS. He did not know anything.

Senator LODGE. I read his testimony.

Mr. MORGAN. We have the complete memorandum concerning the interview of General Donovan, which I want to put in the record before our proceedings are concluded.

Senator LODGE. Is that illuminating? Is there much in it?

Mr. MORGAN. Very little, Senator.

Senator LODGE. Why have we not asked J. Edgar Hoover for his opinion respecting the evidence in the case, and for confirmation of the reported statement that he felt that the FBI had an airtight case?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, with respect to the matter of opinion, of course, I would be very happy to see Mr. Hoover appear at any time, but I think, consistent with the rather settled policy of the FBI, he would decline to express an opinion with respect to legal matters affecting a case in which his men had developed the facts.

I think that is rather a consistent policy, and probably a rather good one.

Now, with respect to this 100-percent airtight matter, all I know about that, of course, is the letter which Mr. Peurifoy read into our record, in which Mr. Hoover, according to the record, is supposed not to have made this statement.

Now, if it is regarded as of paramount significance, and the committee wants Mr. Hoover, my feelings would be purely in the middle on that. We know all the facts about the case, and irrespective of any man's opinion as to what it might be, and Mr. Hoover's opinion would certainly be a good one, of course, I think we, having the facts as we do, certainly ought to be able to pass judgment on those facts.

Senator LODGE. Well, it seems to me that the Amerasia case, everyone must admit, the Amerasia case, marked a failure in a great many respects, and Mr. Hoover's opinion as to why the failure existed in certain respects, would be interesting and, of course, I would be tremendously interested to know Mr. Hoover's opinion as to the credibility of some of these people.

Senator TYDINGS. He would not give it to you, I believe.

Senator LODGE. Now, the credibility of Budenz' opinion on that, what his credibility is. I do not know what basis he would have for expressing an opinion on that.

Mr. MORGAN. Incidentally, we requested an estimate of Mr. Buzenz' credibility from the Department of Justice, and they have replied that a man's credibility or a witness' credibility must be determined incident to each particular proceeding; in other words, they would not pass judgment on that, and that, of course, would not indicate that he was not a highly creditable and credible witness at all, but that has been their position, I am quite sure it is rather consistent with their policy.

Senator GREEN. It would be unfortunate to call him and not get any information from him at all, a declination of one kind or another.

Senator LODGE. Well, I am not going to admit that that is what would happen. I think if he came up here he would be obliged to inform us.

Senator GREEN. That is the policy of the Department, we have been told over and over again.

Senator LODGE. I have been told that the policy of the Department is not to make any conclusions.

Mr. MORGAN. As to the picture here, I think all matters relating to situations of this kind are clear. I think Mr. Morris approached the FBI on some questions, and I believe they had to clear them with the Department of Justice, and then get the release, so on that score I think the position has been very consistent, I believe. I do know it was for the 8 years I was with the FBI, that the Bureau, by reason of the fact that it is an investigative fact-finding body, declines to assume to pass judgment upon those facts, saying that is a responsibility of the prosecuting officials. They have always insisted that the very minute they assume to pass judgment on facts they become not an investigative agency, but a body that might conceivably be fraught with some of the aspects of a gestapo, which Mr. Hoover has certainly tried to avoid.

Senator LODGE. I do not want him to be a gestapo, but I think there is something less than satisfactory—

Senator GREEN. That is the distinction. One draws the facts, and the other prosecutes.

Senator LODGE. I have never studied the set-up of the gestapo, I am not an expert on it, and I do not know anything about it. But I certainly think there is something less than a satisfactory handling in reading these files, and finding this serious allegation of the person, and reading through the file, and there is no confirmation of it. I think they could confirm some of these facts without becoming a gestapo.

Mr. MORGAN. Are you referring now to the Amerasia situation or the loyalty files?

Senator LODGE. I am off that.

Now, the record indicates, as I read it, that immediately after the Amerasia raid there was this apparently concerted outbreak in certain newspapers by certain writers that the issue involved was the freedom of the press, and it came very quickly and with apparent unanimity, indicating some sort of teamwork. Have you looked into that?

Mr. MORGAN. You mean about the press coverage of the Amerasia case?

Senator LODGE. About the unanimity of the argument, and the unanimity of timing.

Mr. MORGAN. Senator, I have not the slightest doubt but what every leftist publication or every pinkish publication in this country went all-out to try to present this case in the least significant light.

Senator LODGE. And that they were tipped off from a central source?

Mr. MORGAN. You mean after the arrests were made?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. I have not sought to make any inquiry with respect to the press coverage, but I would not have the slightest doubt but what they would try to play it down in every conceivable way.

Senator LODGE. Have you found out who was responsible for permitting Roth to obtain a commission in the United States Navy?

Mr. MORGAN. That is what we were trying to find out.

Senator TYDINGS. I called the Secretary of the Navy today and told him I had had an inquiry down there for 2 weeks, and I was very disappointed. We are getting along with our hearing very well, and I wanted to get it in. He said, "It is a funny thing; it is on my desk now, and I wanted to make sure that we answered your queries thoroughly and comprehensively, and that has caused the delay." He said, "It will be up there today."

Senator LODGE. Have you got any information concerning Roth's connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. MORGAN. We have in the record—it is incorporated by reference in the record—the FBI testimony indicating the nature of Roth's affiliation with Communist groups and organizations.

I think you will also find, Senator, that in the Hobbs' committee testimony an indication of the fact that a man's having Communist connections at the time of the war was not a bar, strange as it may seem, to his obtaining a commission in the Navy.

Senator LODGE. Have you obtained yet that military evaluation that I requested several weeks ago of the importance of these Amerasia documents?

Mr. MORGAN. No; we have not obtained a military evaluation of them, Senator. The staff, however, has reviewed every one of them.

Senator LODGE. Well, what I wanted, when the Department of Justice came in here and made the astounding statement that in their opinion these documents were nothing more or less than teacup gossip, and they were silly, I requested that we obtain naval opinion from the Navy on the naval documents, and Army opinion on the Army documents to see whether they were silly or not, and I think it is very pertinent in view of the fact that the Department of Justice took it upon itself to pass expert judgments on military matters.

Mr. MORGAN. Senator, if I may be pardoned an explanation here, I would like to give it as to that.

The crime which these people were charged with was a conspiracy under section 88 of the code. The punishment for conspiracy, the maximum punishment under the law, is 2 years which, incidentally, happens also to be the maximum punishment for conspiracy to steal national defense documents.

Now, any conspiracy to violate any Federal law, no matter what it is, is 2 years.

Under the one statute they had to prove as an element of proof that these documents related to the national defense.



They had another statute under which they did not have to undertake this burden of proof, and yet under either statute they could secure the same punishment for the defendant.

They, therefore, laid the predicate for their prosecution on that statute which did not require the element of proof with respect to the character of the documents. In other words, they just sidestepped the problem of having to make that additional order of proof, and that was done, as I understand it, by reason of their feeling that in all probability there were a great many of these documents which they could not sustain as national defense documents in the mind of a court or in the mind of a jury. That is the only way, as I understand it, in which this question of the character of the documents enters the picture, because I think everybody admits that Jaffe et al. had no business with the documents.

Senator LODGE. Well, I think, leaving out the legal technicalities, it must be obvious to everyone that it is a matter of the utmost importance as to whether these documents were important documents or whether they were silly teacup-gossip documents.

It seems to me that is fundamental in this whole thing, because if they were silly, we are wasting our time, because at the very opening of this meeting, Mr. McInerney made that statement; it was extraordinary statement to make because it, in effect, says "That we in the Department of Justice are better qualified to pass on military documents than the military."

I think it is very important to get military statements on these documents to see whether they are important or not.

Mr. MORGAN. You see, the only consideration from the prosecuting standpoint that entered into the Department of Justice's view of the case was whether or not these documents related to the national defense. Now, the case of Goren versus the United States has laid down what a document is which is related to the national defense, and by that standard, with which the Department of Justice was confronted, they felt they could not sustain a substantial number of these documents, as such. For that reason they laid the predicate for the prosecution without having to go into it.

Senator TYDINGS. The burden of proof.

Senator LODGE. Why did he come in here the first day and presume to belittle it?

Mr. MORGAN. He did so, Senator Lodge, in the light of the requirement of the law that they be national defense documents. I think that is what he was doing, and that was what Mr. McInerney, I am sure, was talking about. It is what he so said today.

Senator LODGE. When the law lays down a criterion as to what is a national defense document—

Mr. MORGAN. The law requires that the documents, to come under that particular portion of the statute, must relate to the national defense documents. Whether they are or not documents relating to the national defense, as the statute requires, is a question of fact to be determined by a jury or by a court sitting without a jury. The case of Goren versus the United States is, perhaps, the leading case on what it takes to constitute a national defense document and, I think, Senator, upon reading that case you will find and agree that a very great many of these documents, while significant, could not be sus-

tained as national defense documents—as documents relating to the national defense.

Mr. MORRIS. Even if some of them were?

Senator GREEN. Yes. Why was it necessary to prove all of them were?

Mr. MORRIS. If some of them were, that is enough.

Senator TYDINGS. What Mr. Morgan is commenting on is not that some of them were not.

Senator GREEN. If any of them were that would have proved a case.

Senator LODGE. If the War Department had decided that a document ought to be top secret would that not tend to persuade the average member of the jury?

Mr. MORGAN. In Goren versus the United States the court pointed out quite clearly that the fact of the classification did not ipso facto make the document one relating to the national defense. You see, that is something that has to be established by independent proof and, as I have said, the Department of Justice sought to avoid having to make that additional proof when they had two statutes under each of which there could be meted out the same punishment to the defendant. That is what I am trying to say.

So, in contemplation of the punishment possible, the question of the documents becomes in that sense an academic one because the punishment would have been the same in either event.

Senator LODGE. Why does he want to run down the importance of the documents?

Mr. MORGAN. I am not here to defend Mr. McInerney, but he was doing that to explain to us just why it was that they changed the predicate of the prosecution from one section, section 31, to the section dealing with embezzlement, because the first section required the establishing as an independent element that the document related to the national defense.

Senator TYDINGS. And the penalty was the same no matter which one of those statutes they were tried under.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. McInerney not being here, in fairness it should be said that his answer was right in line with the question we asked. Why was it that they shifted from the conspiracy to commit espionage under section 31, to conspiracy to embezzle documents, and that was part of the testimony in explaining why he did it.

Senator LODGE. I certainly would like to get a military judgment on those documents.

Mr. MORGAN. I personally, Senator, am willing to concede for the purpose of our present discussion that every one of them might have been a military document.

Senator LODGE. All through that record you can see page after page after page—I have jotted it down wherever it occurred—almost every witness except Mr. McInerney says that these documents were important.

Mr. MORGAN. It is all through the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MORGAN. From reading the grand jury testimony apparently Mark Gayn made quite a point of the fact that it was a common practice to pass on information of this kind. As I understand it, the grand jury was apparently impressed with that, at least they did

not indict him, and I think that they—probably if the grand jury had the job of also taking those documents and making the additional finding that they related to the national defense in contemplation of such testimony, that it might have been difficult securing the indictments that they did secure. I do not know that to be true, but it is merely in consideration of the question you just asked. Of course, I do not know that, it is only a thought.

Senator GREEN. Then it was a mistake in bringing the first indictment.

Mr. MORGAN. No. You see, there was no first indictment. At the time the complaints were filed for the warrants of arrest, they were filed charging conspiracy to violate that section, conspiracy to purloin documents relating to the national defense.

At that time they felt that was the theory of the case they wanted to proceed on. As they studied the documents subsequently, they felt they wanted to avoid taking on that burden.

Senator TYDINGS. And the penalty was the same in both cases.

Senator LODGE. So far as I am concerned the thing was terribly important. It is important in two things. I think most of the documents themselves are intrinsically important and could have involved life and death.

Mr. MORGAN. There were important documents; no question about it.

Senator LODGE. There was no earthly reason for coming up here and telling us that they were not important.

Secondly, the thing was important because it opened up probably the most used source for obtaining documents for foreign governments, and it gave the other departments leads that were useful to them in preventing the purloining of documents for foreign governments in the future; so I think the thing is very important, and no good purpose is served by trying to pretend that it is not.

On May 26 Hitchcock testified that Gayn, one of the six that were arrested in the Amerasia case, had received Government documents from two Government employees identified as George Edward Taylor, Deputy Director of Area 3, OWI, and from Taylor's subordinate, Elizabeth Downing Barker.

Hitchcock also said at the time Gayn was arrested, the FBI seized 60 items, of which 22 were Federal Communications Commission reports and about 20 were copies of State Department papers.

Has the subcommittee further pursued this line of inquiry, particularly with reference to the two Government employees named, with a view of determining whether any leads into the State Department could be established?

Mr. MORGAN. Both of those parties testified before the second grand jury, and we have reviewed their testimony. Mrs. Barker testified that she did give those documents, OWI documents, to Gayn, declassifying them as she did.

The other documents, according to the evidence, Gayn probably obtained from Jaffe. I do not think there is any question that she gave him copies of the others.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Taylor?

Mr. MORGAN. Taylor, there is a discrepancy in the record. Taylor indicated he did not extend such authority to Mrs. Barker, and Mrs. Barker said that he did. Manifestly, of course, the grand jury had

them before it, and apparently chose to believe Mrs. Barker because they did not return a true bill against Gayn.

Senator LODGE. Taylor and Barker are still in the Government?

Mr. MORGAN. Not to my knowledge either way; I do not know.

Mr. MORRIS. There is some testimony today about George Taylor.

Senator LODGE. Does it not seem to you that we ought to call Mrs. Blumenthal, who was mentioned several times during the testimony, and who purportedly typed for Jaffe the Government documents?

Mr. MORGAN. I think we have the testimony of Inspector Gurnea on that to the effect that it was admitted that Mrs. Blumenthal did type the documents, but it was felt she would probably be better in the capacity of a helpful witness rather than a defendant. We have that available to us.

Senator LODGE. Have you tried to find out why Lieutenant Roth was not court-martialed by the Navy for his complicity?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes; I have asked for it. It is all in this letter. I wrote 2 weeks ago and asked them why they had been taking all this time.

Senator LODGE. There were thousands of people who were court-martialed for infinitely less.

Senator TYDINGS. He should have been court-martialed whether he was guilty or not.

Senator LODGE. When Larsen's motion to suppress was served on the Department of Justice, has the subcommittee determined whether the FBI was asked to prepare a report of the facts concerning the seizure of the documents for the use of the Department of Justice in litigating this question?

Mr. MORRIS. May I at that point say, Senator, that I have addressed an inquiry to the chairman of the committee, and I understand the inquiry has been passed on to the Justice Department. I have renewed it three times that we get the FBI memorandum which was a refutation of the affidavits set forth by Larsen's attorney.

Mr. MORGAN. Well now, my recollection of that, Mr. Morris, is that it was a refutation in this sense: In his affidavit Larsen charged FBI agents with certain conduct which, if true, would be improper on the part of agents effecting an arrest.

The memorandum which the FBI had submitted, as I recall, was a memorandum designed to show the true facts, to show that the acts of the agents were proper under the true facts, and it was not a memorandum directed to the legal sufficiency of Larsen's motion to quash.

Mr. MORRIS. It was directed to the facts—

Mr. MORGAN. It also went into the question, also pointed out, of course, the fact that Larsen had moved from one apartment to another, but I repeat, Mr. Morris, that the FBI's memorandum was directed to facts, with respect to the performance of its agents rather than to the question of the legal sufficiency of Larsen's motion.

Now, I am sure if we make an effort, Mr. Chairman, we can get that memorandum without too much difficulty.

Senator TYDINGS. Of course, I agree with what you said, and we have, in addition to that, the statement of the Department of Justice, which is the FBI, showing the number of times they went into these various places, so that the facts were pretty one-sided on that score.

Mr. MORRIS. But an entrance there; Senator, is not necessarily illegal. That is one of the determinations we have to make here. An entry into a house or into premises by the FBI is not necessarily illegal.

Senator TYDINGS. Without a warrant?

Mr. MORRIS. Without a warrant it is not. If they go into the premises in order to determine the scope or the direction of enemy agents and what they are doing, that is one thing. If they go in to collect evidence to be used in prosecution, that is a second thing. I think that is the distinction.

Senator TYDINGS. I think I will be able to give you in our final testimony a complete picture of all of that, which I am not in a position to give you today because I have not it complete, but I am having that complete picture perfected and it will be right in the middle of the record.

Senator LODGE. Of course, it is customary for the FBI to prepare a report on the occurrence of such a thing.

Mr. MORGAN. I have not seen this complete report except that my understanding of what it is, because I have been told—

Senator LODGE. It does exist?

Mr. MORGAN. But, as I understand it, it was a memorandum of the FBI which it would certainly always want to do if any of its agents was charged by anyone by having indulged in or engaged in improper conduct. I think our problem will be resolved when we get it, as we will.

Senator LODGE. You will have a chance to study it.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator LODGE. Let me ask you this. It is apparent to me from reading this record that the attorneys for the Department of Justice in their heart of hearts thought that Jaffe was guilty, but they thought the evidence was tainted for some legalistic reason. Why did they proceed to go before two grand juries with this evidence in an attempt to obtain this indictment if they thought the evidence was tainted?

Mr. MORGAN. That is what I am trying to tell you. If I understand the testimony, pursuant to a specific question I asked Mr. McInerney, apparently they were operating on the principle, whether rightly or wrongly, that what the defendants did not know about the prior entries would not hurt the prosecution.

When one of the defendants did find out about what happened, then it was quite a different matter.

Senator LODGE. If they had this feeling in their bones, as apparently they did, that Jaffe was guilty, why didn't they try to get him some other way? After all those of us who are not lawyers, we constantly see—take the case of Al Capone; they could not get him from bootlegging, so they got him on his income tax, and we know that when lawyers want to get somebody they have lots of ways.

Mr. MORGAN. Right now we have a way to get Jaffe if all of you gentlemen will sign that contempt citation.

Senator LODGE. It may. Why did they not make any effort to get him on his income tax, do you know? Does the record show?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not know that they deliberately set out to get Jaffe after the case was disposed of, as it was.

Senator LODGE. If they felt, as Mr. Hitchcock apparently does feel, from reading the record, why didn't they try it? There was a war on, after all, and fellows were being killed.

Mr. MORGAN. Of course, I do not know that the prosecuting officials of the Justice Department, when a case is disposed of not to their liking, I do not know whether they try to set out to get a guy.

Senator LODGE. Look, what they did to Al Capone. There was not even a war on. They got him on his income tax. He had not done anything as bad as these fellows?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know.

Senator LODGE. I am asking you.

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know, Senator, why they did not go after him in some other fashion. I do not know whether Mr. Jaffe violated the income-tax laws, and I do not know whether they would have been constantly checking on him.

Senator LODGE. I think they would have told us if they had, don't you think?

Well, the record shows that Jaffe bribed Larsen to get the documents. Why didn't they go after him on a bribery charge? It is illegal to try to bribe somebody.

Mr. MORGAN. As I understand the record, Senator, it would be a characterization of the testimony to say that Larsen was bribed. Larsen has said consistently and insistently that he received no money from it. It is known that Mrs. Larsen typed at Larsen's apartment the documents for which Jaffe gave her money amounting to as much as \$75, \$100 a month.

Senator LODGE. There you are, and certainly it must be against the law to bribe a man who is working in a Government department. Why did they not go after Jaffe for that?

Mr. MORGAN. I doubt, Senator, very much on the basis of the evidence and, of course, it would require a check from the particular standpoint of the bribery statute—I doubt very much if the bribery evidence in this particular case would sustain a bribery count.

Senator LODGE. You certainly will not accomplish anything if you do not try. If you take counsel with fears and try to see all the obstacles, why, of course, nothing is ever accomplished. Thank you.

Mr. MORGAN. Correct.

Senator GREEN. I would like to have a discussion off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

(Whereupon, at 5:25 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE  
LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1950

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTED UNDER SENATE RESOLUTION 231,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met, at 2 o'clock p. m., in room G-23, United States Capitol, pursuant to adjournment Monday, June 26, 1950, Senator Millard E. Tydings (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Tydings, Green, McMahon, Hickenlooper, and Lodge.

Also present: Mr. Edward P. Morgan, chief counsel of the subcommittee, and Mr. Robert Morris, assistant counsel of the subcommittee.

Senator TYDINGS. We have had prepared citations for contempt with respect to Browder, Field, and Jaffe which will be reported to the full committee for action, with our recommendation that the full committee put them in the hands of the proper officials of the courts for prosecution.

Shall the record show that it is the sense of the committee that that action be taken?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Senator GREEN. I make that motion.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you second it, Cabot?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. It has been moved and seconded that the three citations enumerated be approved as the sense of the committee and the full committee be asked to take appropriate action thereon.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Now I have something I want to say.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want to vote on it first?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. No. I want to make a statement before we vote. I think such action should be taken. I am not hostile to it. The only point I want to raise is that the citation, drawn by counsel, was submitted to me the other day, and I didn't sign it at that time because I said I merely wanted to discuss the adequacy of the citation. Now there are only two or three things in there which are referred to, and I wanted to raise the question, because I am not familiar enough with the citation, as to whether or not we should certify the whole record of these people or just hang our hat on one of two things.

Senator TYDINGS. What is your thought?

Mr. MORGAN. The answer to that, Senator, is this. In the body of our report relative to the citation, we certify the entire record and the portions of the testimony quoted by it are illustrative of the predicate which we feel properly lies in their cases. In other words, the entire record is certified, and the United States attorney's office will have it all available incident to prosecution.

Senator TYDINGS. Are the pleadings sufficient?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That is exactly what I am raising. Is the citation for contempt limited solely to the things you set out in our certification as the things we are supposed to sign, which I am perfectly willing to sign if they are adequate, but I merely wanted to be sure that counsel is of the opinion that we are not circumscribing ourselves by only referring to these things by way of illustration.

Senator TYDINGS. Is the citation so drawn that the entire testimony is a part thereof for the purpose of pleadings?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. There can be no question about that under the law.

Senator TYDINGS. That is the answer.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That was the only thing I wanted to be sure was in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. Where are the signatures you want?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I would like the record to show that we are not limiting ourselves to two or three specific illustrations or citations.

Senator TYDINGS. Let's move along. What is your next problem?

Senator GREEN. We haven't put the motion to a vote yet.

Senator TYDINGS. All those in favor will signify by saying "Aye."  
(Chorus of "ayes.")

Senator TYDINGS. Opposed?

(No response.)

Senator TYDINGS. Present are Senators McMahon, Green, Lodge, Hickenlooper, and Tydings. All votes are in the affirmative.

Mr. MORGAN. Pursuant to various requests we have made of different agencies of the Government, we have received certain replies, most of which are addressed to you as the chairman of the committee. I think that this material all has relevancy to these proceedings and, with your permission, I would like to indicate, one by one, what they are and, if agreeable, incorporate them in the record.

Pursuant to a request made of the Department of Justice by the chairman relative to some conflicting information which we have concerning the entries and the character thereof made by representatives of the Department of Justice in the course of the Amerasia investigation, we now have a reply, dated June 13, 1950, to the chairman, indicating the occasions upon which the premises of Amerasia, Mark Gayn's residence, the apartment of Kate Louise Mitchell, the apartment of Philip Jaffe, the apartment of Larsen and Andrew Roth were entered.

(This letter is retained in the confidential files of the committee.)

Mr. MORGAN. At one point in our record, an inquiry was made by one of the members of the committee—as I remember, it was you, Senator Lodge; correct me if I am wrong—concerning the departmental observation relative to the credibility of Mr. Louis F. Budenz.



We have a letter, dated May 16, 1950, addressed to the chairman, as follows:

Reference is made to your letter of May 5, 1950, to the Attorney General requesting the Department's observations concerning the credibility of Louis F. Budenz as a witness.

It is the Department's view that the tribunal before which a witness appears is and should be the complete judge of the credibility of the witness, since this judgment is based upon the evidentiary matter involved and the numerous elements involved in the confrontation process.

You will, I believe, completely understand the Department's regret that it cannot be of assistance to you in your evaluation of the testimony of Mr. Budenz.

PEYTON FORD,

*The Assistant to the Attorney General.*

Senator LODGE. I do not understand it at all. I think it is a most unhelpful answer. I don't agree with it, and I think it is a great pity we can't have J. Edgar Hoover before us. I made the statement many times and I repeat it now: I regard that letter as most uncooperative.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I might say it is a remarkable thing that the Department of Justice will put this man on the witness stand and say to the jury that this man is to be believed as a part of the prosecution of this case and then say in a letter that they will not pass on his credibility.

Senator TYDINGS. I understand it is a time-honored custom of the Department of Justice not to pass on the credibility of any person who gives information.

Senator LODGE. Some customs are held a little too long. I think it is about time they changed that custom.

Senator TYDINGS. You have a point there, but I am just passing on to you the facts. They say they are an investigative agency, not a fact-finding agency. Go ahead, Mr. Morgan. Do you have all this to go through?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator TYDINGS. We had better get along, then. Go ahead.

Mr. MORGAN. Maybe we could expedite this if I would characterize the documents, unless there is an objection, and we will just let the reporter copy them.

Senator TYDINGS. All right, do that, then.

Mr. MORGAN. We have here a letter dated May 4, 1950.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Just before you go into that, did any of you gentlemen receive a copy of a letter, either from the prosecuting attorney in New York or one of them to Mr. Budenz or to somebody else, stating his belief as to the credibility of Mr. Budenz? It seems that I got a copy of it.

Senator TYDINGS. I haven't got any copy that I recall, but even if I had, it would only be opinion evidence. It wouldn't be a fact. His credibility here will have to be judged by us, not in some other case.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I am only talking with reference to this letter of the Justice Department. I have seen a copy of a letter from the prosecuting attorney.

Senator TYDINGS. To whom was it addressed?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I think it was addressed to Budenz. I think he sent me a copy of it and said he sent you a copy of it.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't recall getting it.

Mr. MORRIS. I think, Senator, in the distribution of it, that was the letter which was addressed to you.

Senator TYDINGS. Put it in the record, if you have it. I have no objection to it. Put it in the record, if any of you have it.

Mr. MORGAN. To make clear why this was read into the record, it was for the purpose of clearing up a specific request on the record relative to the Department of Justice. That, of course, is why I incorporated it, to clear that up.

Senator LODGE. It doesn't clear that up at all, I am sorry.

Mr. MORGAN. That is the best we could do.

I have here a letter from John Foster Dulles, making reference to certain testimony of Freda Utley relative to the employment of Alger Hiss at a time coincident with Mr. Dulles' association with the Carnegie Foundation, which he has requested that we incorporate in our record.

Senator TYDINGS. He has?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. Without objection, I assume that is satisfactory, Mr. Chairman?

Senator TYDINGS. We will read any document in full that you want, but unless you want them read, we will just designate what some of them are and let them go in.

Senator HICKENLOPER. Does this letter take issue with what she said?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. It is short. I will read it.

Senator TYDINGS. All right.

Mr. MORGAN. It is dated May 4, 1950:

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: I am informed that on May 1, Freda Utley in her testimony before your Foreign Relations Subcommittee stated that I had recommended the appointment of Alger Hiss as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at a time when I had been furnished with information that Hiss was a Communist.

That is untrue. The first intimation I received that Hiss might have Communist affiliations came to me after, not before, his election on December 9, 1946.

If you or any member of your subcommittee deems the matter of sufficient importance, I should be happy to appear personally and, under oath, to state the facts.

In any event you may, perhaps, put this letter into the record.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

Senator TYDINGS. That has nothing to do with this case. It is clearing up his own position.

Let us go off the record for a second.

(Off the record.)

Senator TYDINGS. On the record.

Mr. MORGAN. Next is a letter, dated May 19, 1950, addressed to Senator Tydings.

Senator LODGE. From whom?

Mr. MORGAN. From the State Department. It reads as follows:

In accordance with your request, this is to advise that the records of the Department have been thoroughly checked and it has been ascertained that the following individuals, whose names are included on the McCarthy list, have never been employed by or connected with the Department of State in any way.

Then I will give you the numbers corresponding to their names as they appear on the subpoena list of the so-called 81. They are numbers 29, 19 and 20. This letter is signed John E. Peurifoy.

Senator TYDINGS. How many of them are there?

Mr. MORGAN. Three. If you would like the names off the record, I will give them to you.

Senator TYDINGS. No, I don't think it is important, unless the committee wants them.

Mr. MORGAN. Pursuant to a request made of me by Mr. Morris relative to appearances of Lattimore before the Foreign Service Institute, I have a letter here, dated May 25, 1950, from the State Department, as follows:

DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: I understand that your subcommittee is interested in learning of any occasions on which Mr. Owen Lattimore has lectured for the Foreign Service Institute. Mr. Lattimore's only lecture at the Foreign Service Institute was one given on June 5, 1946 as part of the "Meet the Public" program of the Department's Office of Public Affairs, as referred to in my letter to you of April 17, 1950.

His only other connection with the Institute arose from the Department's contract with Johns Hopkins University in relation to the University's Mongol language project, which is also covered in the letter of April 17.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY.

I might say, in passing, that I have the letter of April 17, which I will incorporate here in a few moments. This letter I would like to have incorporated, without objection.

(The letter, submitted by Mr. Morgan, is as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, April 17, 1950.

The Honorable MILLARD E. TYDINGS,  
*United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: Following Senator McCarthy's statement on March 21 that a top Russian espionage agent, whom he privately identified as Mr. Owen Lattimore, was an employee or consultant of the State Department, I submitted to your subcommittee a brief statement of Mr. Lattimore's connections with this Department, as revealed by a careful check of our personnel records. Since Mr. Lattimore has been publicly identified and since there has been considerable public discussion concerning his relationship with the Department, it is now appropriate to give in greater detail the instances of connections between Mr. Lattimore and the Department. Without any intention of reflecting on Mr. Lattimore and for the purpose of setting the record straight, I believe I should state that Mr. Lattimore does not have a desk in the Department of State nor access to its files, and is neither an employee nor a top adviser of the Department. These are the facts:

On October 15, 1945, Mr. Owen Lattimore was appointed as an economic adviser to the United States Reparations Mission to Japan. He served with the mission until February 12, 1946. While on this assignment he was paid out of the Department's International Conferences funds.

Mr. Lattimore was one of 28 persons to lecture on a program known as Meet the Public, which was given at the Department's Foreign Service Institute. He gave one lecture on June 5, 1946. This program was initiated by the Department's Office of Public Affairs and was designed to bring before departmental personnel the viewpoints of various persons who were working on, or interested in, foreign affairs. In this capacity, Mr. Lattimore was not an employee of the Department and received no remuneration. The following were the speakers on this program:

Senator J. William Fulbright  
Mr. Ernest K. Lindley, chief of the Washington bureau of Newsweek  
Mr. Charles Bolte, chairman of the American Veterans' Committee  
Congressman Jerry Voorhis  
Prof. Owen Lattimore, director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University  
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College  
Mr. Herbert Elliston, editor of the Washington Post  
Mr. Eugene Meyer, president of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development  
Dr. Jacob Viner, professor of economics, Princeton University  
Dr. Harold Lasswell, professor of law, Yale University  
Mr. Wallace Deuel, editor of the Chicago News

Senator Wayne Morse  
 Mr. Thomas K. Finletter, vice chairman of Americans United for World Government, Inc.  
 Mr. James M. Landis, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board  
 Senator Warren Austin  
 Dr. Arthur Compton, chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis  
 Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, editor and research director of the Foreign Policy Association  
 Mr. Kermit Eby, director of education and research, Congress of Industrial Organizations  
 Mr. Hamilton Owens, editor of the Baltimore Sun (and Sun papers)  
 Prof. Frank Tannenbaum, Columbia University  
 Mr. Gardner Murphy, American Psychological Association  
 Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, vice president of Georgetown University and regent of the School of Foreign Service  
 Mr. David Lawrence, editor of the United States News and of the World Report  
 Mr. Robert Watt, international representative of the American Federation of Labor  
 Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
 Dr. Dexter Perkins, professor of Latin American affairs, University of Rochester  
 Congressman Mike Mansfield  
 Dr. James P. Baxter, president of Williams College

On October 6, 7, and 8, 1949, Mr. Lattimore, following preliminary correspondence with the Department of State, was one of a group of 25 private individuals participating in a round-table discussion arranged by the Office of Public Affairs for the purpose of exchanging views on United States foreign policy toward China. As a member of this group Mr. Lattimore was not an employee of the Department and received no compensation but was reimbursed for expenses. This round-table discussion followed a solicitation of written views on the same topic from a larger group in response to which the written views of 31 private individuals were received and analyzed. Some of the members, including Mr. Lattimore, were in both groups. Both the written views received and the transcript of the round-table discussions were made available as some of the background material for consideration by Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Mr. Everett Case, and Ambassador Jessup, who had been requested by the Secretary to review United States policy toward the Far East. The 31 who expressed views initially in writing were:

Former Consul General Joseph W. Ballantine, now at Brookings Institution  
 Prof. Hugh Borton, Columbia University  
 Former President Isaiah Bowman, Johns Hopkins University  
 Dr. A. J. Brumbaugh, American Council on Education, Washington  
 Former Ambassador William Bullitt  
 Former Under Secretary Castle  
 Former Consul John A. Embry  
 Prof. Rupert Emerson, Harvard University  
 Dr. Charles B. Fahs, New York City  
 Prof. John K. Fairbanks, Harvard University  
 Dr. Huntington Gilchrist, New York City  
 Prof. Carrington Goodrich, Columbia University  
 Former Under Secretary Grew  
 Col. Robert A. Griffin, former Deputy Administrator, ECA, China  
 Former Ambassador Stanley K. Hornbeck  
 Roger Lapham, former Administrator, ECA, China  
 Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette, Yale University  
 Prof. Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University  
 Oliver C. Lockhart, Export-Import Bank of Washington  
 Walter H. Mallory, Council on Foreign Relations  
 Prof. Wallace Moore, Occidental College, Los Angeles  
 Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer, Harvard University  
 C. A. Richards, Economic Cooperation Administration  
 Former Minister Walter S. Robertson, Richmond, Va.  
 Dr. Lawrence K. Rosinger, New York City  
 Mr. James Rowe, Washington  
 Mrs. Virginia Thompson (Adoloff), New York City  
 Prof. Amry Vandenhosch, University of Kentucky  
 Prof. Karl A. Wittfogel, Columbia University  
 Prof. Mary Wright, Stanford University  
 Admiral Yarnell

The 25 who attended the round-table discussions were:

Joseph W. Ballantine, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.  
Bernard Brodie, department of international relations, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Claude A. Buss, Director of Studies, Army War College, Washington, D. C.  
Kenneth Colegrove, department of political science, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.  
Arthur G. Coons, president, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif.  
John W. Decker, International Missionary Council, New York, N. Y.  
John K. Fairbank, committee on international and regional studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
William R. Herod, president, International General Electric Co., New York, N. Y.  
Arthur N. Holcombe, department of government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Benjamin H. Kizer, Graves, Kizer & Graves, Spokane, Wash.  
Owen Lattimore, director, Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Ernest B. MacNaughton, chairman of the board, First National Bank, Portland, Oreg.  
George C. Marshall, president, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.  
J. Morden Murphy, assistant vice president, Bankers Trust Co., New York, N. Y.  
Nathaniel Peffer, department of public law and government, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
Harold S. Quigley, department of political science, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Edwin O. Reischauer, department of Far Eastern languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
William S. Robertson, president, American & Foreign Power Co., New York, N. Y.  
John D. Rockefeller III, president, Rockefeller Brothers' Fund, New York, N. Y.  
Lawrence K. Rosinger, American Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, N. Y.  
Eugene Staley, executive director, World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, Calif.  
Harold Stassen, president, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Phillips Talbot, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
George E. Taylor, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.  
Harold M. Vinacke, department of political science, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio

The following were invited to the round-table October 6, 7, and 8, 1949, but did attend:

W. Langbourne Bond, Pan American Airways, Washington, D. C.  
Monroe E. Deutsch, provost, University of California  
Anne O'Hare McCormick, New York Times  
Moris T. Moore, chairman of the board of Time, Inc.  
Michael Ross, director, department of international affairs, CIO  
J. E. Wallace Sterling, president, Stanford University

In order to ascertain whether any facts whatsoever might support Senator McCarthy's assertions that Mr. Lattimore has a desk in the Department, access to its files, and a position as a top adviser on far-eastern affairs, a check has been made with officers of the Department who have been concerned with the Far East, and many of whom have come to know Mr. Lattimore, who is widely regarded as one of the leading experts in this field. Beyond the normal contacts found among persons having a common specialized professional training and interest, this check developed only that Mr. Lattimore, as director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University, has participated in setting up at Johns Hopkins a Mongolian language project in which the Department is interested. The Department of State, in line with the policy of promoting and utilizing foreign language and other international studies in numerous American universities, has, under authority of Public Law 724 (79th Cong.), entered into a contract with the Johns Hopkins University, pursuant to which it has contributed \$3,200 toward this language project. Very much larger sums have been made available for this project, it is understood, by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Foundation. In connection with this project, it was possible to arrange for three Mongol scholars,

including Dilowa Hutuktu, or the "Living Buddha," to enter the United States and work in the Walter Hines Page School in Baltimore. Officers of the Department's Foreign Service Institute have visited the project from time to time to observe its progress, and a junior member of the Foreign Service staff, a specialist on the Far East, whose salary is \$4,650 a year, is studying at the Walter Hines Page School as part of this project. The end results of the project will be a descriptive grammar of the Mongolian language and other teaching materials in spoken Mongolian.

Mr. Lattimore was recently sent by the Secretariat of the United Nations as a member of a preliminary economic survey mission to Afghanistan. In this capacity, Mr. Lattimore was hired by and responsible to the United Nations and not the Department of State.

Mr. Lattimore does not have a desk in the Department of State, nor does he have access to its files. Of course, in connection with his OWI employment (1942-45) and his 4-month assignment to the Pauley Reparations Mission which terminated February 12, 1946, Mr. Lattimore, like others in such positions, might have been required as part of his duties to consider some official papers from other agencies of the Government, including the Department of State.

These are the facts.  
Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY,  
*Deputy Under Secretary.*

Senator TYDINGS. Are you numbering these so he can identify them? You want them all in the record here, don't you?

Mr. MORGAN. Without objection, I would like to ask to have incorporated in our record a letter to me of May 2, 1950, from the United States attorney in New York City, pursuant to a request of mine concerning the physical condition of Jacob Stachel, whom we had subpoenaed. As I understand it, we have now determined that we should not seek to require Stachel's appearance, that is, the members of the committee here. I would like to have this in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. Put it in.

(The letter, submitted by Mr. Morgan, is as follows:)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK,  
New York, N. Y., May 2, 1950.

Re: *United States v. Foster, et al.*

EDWARD P. MORGAN, Esq.

*Chief Counsel Subcommittee Investigating the State Department,  
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: I am in receipt of your letter dated April 28, 1950, relating to the subpoena issued by the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, directed to Jacob Stachel.

The records of the district court for the southern district of New York disclose that Stachel is represented on appeal from his conviction by George W. Crockett, Jr. I have received information that Stachel is confined to his home under the care of one Dr. Louis Finger, and has been a patient at Mt. Sinai Hospital for a coronary condition. Doctor Finger, of course, has also been physician for William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, and has submitted affidavits in his behalf concerning a heart condition.

Stachel is presently under bond which restricts his movements to the southern district of New York. However, I have advised his attorney that I will consent to an order permitting his appearance before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee pursuant to the subpoena issued by you.

In addition, there is presently pending before the district court a motion made by Stachel, as one of the 11 defendants seeking a general modification of the bail bonds of all of them, to permit travel throughout the entire United States for the purpose of making speeches and raising funds.

If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Respectfully,

IRVING H. SAYPOL,  
*United States Attorney.*

Senator LODGE. I think it is just as important to subpoena Stachel as it is to subpoena Jaffe and Browder. Obviously, he is one of the most important figures in the whole thing. You don't get anything out of these fellows even when you do subpoena them. I think Stachel would be as good a man to subpoena as either Jaffe or Browder.

Senator GREEN. I have no objection to it, but they defy you.

Senator LODGE. I thought they defied us after we subpoenaed them.

Senator GREEN. That is the reason we issue citations.

Senator LODGE. I am not citing Stachel. I am talking about subpoenaing Stachel.

Senator GREEN. I thought he was subpoenaed.

Senator LODGE. No.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. He was.

Senator GREEN. Was he requested to come?

Mr. MORGAN. He was subpoenaed, Senator, and ordered to appear at about the same time as Browder.

Senator GREEN. That is what I said; he was subpoenaed, and somebody just contradicted me.

Senator TYDINGS. He was subpoenaed but filed a doctor's certificate of ill health.

Senator GREEN. That is it exactly. He was subpoenaed but couldn't come. When he came, he defied us and refused to answer questions.

Senator McMAHON. Has any check been made as to his condition?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes. That has been verified. He was confined at Mt. Sinai Hospital with a heart condition; and, while I imagine that his heart condition is probably not as bad as he might like the world to believe, he apparently has a doctor who is so certifying, and he is confined to his premises by reason of the heart condition.

Senator McMAHON. What do you suggest, Senator?

Senator LODGE. My position has been right along that if we subpoena Browder and Jaffe, we ought to subpoena Stachel.

Senator McMAHON. If we subpoenaed them, what is your position in view of this information, which is new to me?

Senator LODGE. I don't have much faith in a Communist making any excuse that he is too sick. To me, that doesn't carry much weight.

Senator McMAHON. On the theory that all Communists, with which I agree, are, per se, liars.

Senator LODGE. I doubt if we would get much information out of them.

Senator GREEN. I think the only object in asking for a citation in these other cases, because we have been defied by people, is to establish our own self-respect; but, where a man doesn't come because he is sick, that is a different reason.

Senator LODGE. I just doubt whether he is that sick, without knowing anything about it.

Senator GREEN. I know, but I don't think it is the sort of defiance the way the other is, where you order them to answer questions and they refuse. That is a defiance of our rights in the matter.

Senator TYDINGS. We didn't get that other fellow that Senator McCarthy had summoned and brought down here on a plane. He was down here in Washington and went home. We never even got him down here. He was sick, too.

Senator McMAHON. I forgot about that "bird." Where is that "bird"?

Mr. MORRIS. I hear he wants to come down.

Senator TYDINGS. Where did you hear it?

Mr. MORRIS. From him.

Senator TYDINGS. Where is he?

Mr. MORRIS. He is home in Mount Vernon. I spoke to him on the phone.

Senator McMAHON. When?

Mr. MORRIS. I guess it was about 10 days ago.

Senator McMAHON. What did you talk to him about?

Mr. MORRIS. He came and consulted me in connection with his appearance down here. He asked me if, in my opinion, he was in contempt, and I said, "Technically, you are." He submitted a doctor's certificate. So he said, "What are you going to do?" I said, "Certainly, if I were you, I would write to Senator Tydings and tell him you are willing to come down here and testify in executive session."

Senator McMAHON. Did you make any report as assistant counsel to this committee on this conversation?

Mr. MORRIS. To Mr. Morgan? No; I didn't.

Senator McMAHON. To any member of the committee?

Mr. MORRIS. I don't know whether I mentioned it to Senator Hick-enlooper. No; I don't think I did.

Senator McMAHON. Did you mention it to Senator McCarthy?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Senator McMAHON. Did you mention it to anybody in his office?

Mr. MORRIS. In Senator McCarthy's office? No.

Senator McMAHON. I am rather surprised, because I should think that information concerning a collapsible and disappearing witness—if you thought it was important enough to talk to him and give him advice—would be of some importance. I regret very much that you didn't notify the chairman of the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. May I explain a little further?

Senator McMAHON. Sure.

Mr. MORRIS. I haven't been near my law office, I don't know, for a long period of time, and I got phone messages. I noticed he had been trying to reach me. He was trying to consult me sort of independent with respect to my position on the committee. He wanted, as he called it, some friendly advice as to where he stood and everything else. So, the advice I gave him was that he should write to Senator Tydings and say that he is perfectly willing to come down and testify. Now, what caused him to be so upset was the fact he had to testify in open session. Apparently, when he was first served, he was told by Mr. Tyler that he was going to be heard in executive session. When he got down here and saw all the klieg lights, he was very much disturbed, and he said he had an emotional upset; and I believe him, because the guy is very excitable.

Mr. MORGAN. For the record, Mr. Tyler told him he didn't know whether he would appear in executive or open session, but that is neither here nor there.

Mr. MORRIS. I am reporting on Mr. Huber's conversation.

Mr. MORGAN. Just for the record, I want that to be clear.

Mr. MORRIS. I said now that he is well again; that he should come and send a letter to Senator Tydings.



Senator TYDINGS. If he came down here does anybody know what he would testify to? What is the point of bringing him unless he is going to contribute something to the sum total of knowledge essential to form an opinion on the matter before us? We had Mr. Van Buren down here who was widely heralded as a man who could tell everything in God's world, and if he had stayed in New York—he is a hell of a nice fellow—we would have known just as much as we know now. I don't want to take the time to have witnesses come down here unless we know they have got some pertinent information. There is no point in getting him down here, then finding he has nothing to contribute.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, don't misconstrue what I said now. I am answering Senator McMAHON's inquiry about Huber. Here is the first time it came up, and I spoke of it as soon as I heard about it. I gave him advice. I didn't think it was in the capacity of assistant counsel. I think he came to me as somebody he could go to for assistance, and I gave him the best advice I could.

Senator McMAHON. How many times have you conferred with him?

Mr. MORRIS. Huber? All together, I must have seen Huber eight times. You see, he was one of the witnesses before the Westchester grand jury.

Senator McMAHON. And you were connected with that case?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Senator McMAHON. Is that where you first met him?

Mr. MORRIS. That is where I first met him—possibly before that, even.

Senator McMAHON. Were most of the meetings in connection with this?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Senator McMAHON. How many times did you confer with him in relation to our matters?

Mr. MORRIS. I would say two.

Senator McMAHON. Would you fix the dates?

Mr. MORRIS. It would be very difficult, Senator.

Senator McMAHON. I don't mean the exact dates. I mean in relation to what was going on in the investigation. In other words, was it before he was supposed to appear before our committee?

Mr. MORRIS. No. I met him once before he was supposed to appear, but I had no part of it or anything else. I just heard that he was going to be one of the witnesses.

Senator TYDINGS. Were you alone when you met him?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Senator TYDINGS. Who was with you?

Mr. MORRIS. I think Mr. Sokolsky was present and Mr. Kerley. Mr. Sokolsky had nothing to do with it. It happened to be a social gathering at which these people happened to be present.

Senator TYDINGS. Anybody else?

Senator McMAHON. Who is Kerley?

Mr. MORRIS. He testified at the same time. It was a social gathering, Senator. I am trying to think of who else was present.

Mr. MORGAN. Is our question whether or not we are going to call Huber?

Senator TYDINGS. Let us let the thing go.

Mr. MORRIS. I am answering Senator McMahon's question. I am trying to recall who was present. The two that stand out are Kerley and Sokolsky. I don't think he even paid any attention to it.

Senator McMAHON. Where was the meeting?

Mr. MORRIS. It wasn't a meeting. It was at the home of J. B. Matthews, 410 West Twenty-fourth Street. He is a man who had—I know he always used to help me when I was in the Navy.

Senator McMAHON. I know something about Dr. Matthews' background. That was before Kerley was supposed to appear with this man Huber?

Mr. MORRIS. That is right, Senator.

Senator McMAHON. Just a few days before?

Mr. MORRIS. No. I think this was probably at least a week before, maybe 2 weeks.

Senator McMAHON. Was that before you became associated with this committee?

Mr. MORRIS. I don't think so; no.

Senator McMAHON. That was when you were associated with this committee?

Mr. MORRIS. I think so.

Senator McMAHON. Did you make that known to the committee, the fact that you had had this meeting in regard to this witness?

Mr. MORRIS. I don't think so, Senator. You see, it was a social gathering. Now, I was not there in my capacity as a counsel of the committee.

Senator McMAHON. But Huber's appearance was discussed; wasn't it?

Mr. MORRIS. Naturally, the Lattimore subject was in all the papers and everyone was talking about it.

Senator McMAHON. Lattimore had already appeared.

Mr. MORRIS. No. I don't know whether he had appeared, but Lattimore's name had been injected into the picture, and people were generally talking about Lattimore and evidence against Lattimore. I saw Huber there and I was rather surprised. I mean I hadn't seen Huber, I suppose, a month or 2 months, 6 weeks, whatever it was. So, I listened to what was going on. I just listened to what it was; that is all. I don't even think I formed a conclusion, because, when I heard that Senator McCarthy had suggested he be called, I was rather surprised. They hadn't consulted me on it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I want to clear up one thing, Brien, if I may.

Senator McMAHON. Sure.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It just runs in my mind, and I want to be clear on it in my own mind. At the time this fellow failed to appear as a witness, or the day before or the day after, in discussing the matter, it seems to me that Mr. Morris may have mentioned that he had seen this fellow. I think maybe I asked him if he had ever seen this fellow that failed to appear, and it runs in my mind that he said he saw him once, or something of the kind. I asked you whether you talked it over with the committee. I think I asked you that. I can't be absolutely certain. However, we were discussing why this fellow didn't appear, and I said, "Who is this 'bird'?" and you may have said to me that you had seen him once. I don't recall whether you did or not.

Senator TYDINGS. All right, go ahead. What do you want to know?

Senator McMAHON. I may pursue it further a little later.

Senator LODGE. Let me ask you, before Mr. Morgan continues, what is your program for this meeting today, to clean up a lot of loose ends; is that it?

Senator TYDINGS. There are a lot of things, some of which have been requested by me without the authority of the committee. I have been trying to be vigilant, and where things were not buttoned up I have written and tried to get answers to be put in the record. They are all self-explanatory, and a mere reading of them will show where they fit in. There are only one or two things where there could be a question of keeping them out. One of them is that confidential thing from the FBI. My suggestion is—and I want to be perfectly open and aboveboard about it—that Mr. Morgan be authorized to put in all papers that are pertinent to our inquiry which fill in the gaps here. I have written them, without any regard to whether they are pro or con, to get the information, and it is all here. Some of it, I think, would be of value to the committee, but there would be no point, in my opinion, for the committee taking every little letter and going through them, because a lot of them are very routine.

Senator LODGE. I would like to feel that my assistant could go through them and pick out things that he thinks I ought to see.

Senator TYDINGS. I have no objection to that.

Mr. MORGAN. These will all be a part of the record.

Senator TYDINGS. They will all be a part of the record, which will be put in your hands.

Senator LODGE. You are going to make copies of this for everybody?

Mr. MORGAN. What I hope to do, Senator, except in those instances where the matter is extremely voluminous, is to indicate to the reporter where it is to be incorporated in the record. This will be retained among the official exhibits in the office downstairs, and when and if we print the record then this can be printed right into the body of the testimony where it is to be inserted.

Senator TYDINGS. What I am doing—I think I ought to notify the committee, and I am sure the committee will want to have it done—I am having the testimony all printed at the Government Printing Office. I haven't gotten any of it yet, but they have it. Now they tell me at this stage of the game, with the session drawing to a close, and with the Congressional Record, they can't give it to me right away, but at least they are working on it, and I am very hopeful of getting it in the not too distant future. What I want to do is to put anything that is pertinent in, so that, when the record does come, you will have the whole picture.

Senator GREEN. I don't understand just what Mr. Morgan meant by "at the proper place in the record." You can't date these back as though they were put in 3 or 4 weeks ago.

Mr. MORGAN. No, Senator. What I mean is this: that if we incorporate them as exhibits they will still have to be printed; and, as a matter of convenience, I think it would be better to have them printed as a part of the testimony record rather than putting them back in as an exhibit as such.

Senator TYDINGS. So that the exhibit will come where it is related to the evidence in the record.

Senator GREEN. I don't think that is right at all. It would seem then, as though we knew it at the time.

Senator TYDINGS. We asked for it at the time.

Mr. MORGAN. Here, for example, is a communication from the Department of Justice pursuant to a specific request made of Mr. McInerney for the Larsen affidavit filed in court.

Senator GREEN. And, at a hearing, it was agreed that it should be furnished us.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Senator GREEN. That is all right. I thought you meant an independent letter from the chairman about some matter that we had discussed at some hearing and, therefore, you would put the whole thing back in that hearing.

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator TYDINGS. Frequently during the course of the hearing, Senator Green, if you will recall, we were requested to get some information, which I have endeavored to do, and it should be put in the record at the time the request was made, although it came in later, to show its relativity to what we had under discussion.

Senator GREEN. That is all right.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, Mr. Morgan.

Mr. MORGAN. If the chairman desires, I will be happy to read all of this material into the record. However, I would much prefer, if possible—it is all here, available to anyone who wishes to review it—merely to indicate to the stenographer, not necessarily here and now, what it is in order that he can indicate in our record that it has been incorporated as such.

Senator LODGE. I am interested, Mr. Chairman, in having access to these papers while I am still studying this whole subject, so that I can know what is in it to help me in my study.

Senator TYDINGS. You sure can, and it will be made available to you whenever you want it.

Senator LODGE. When can my assistants look through these papers?

Mr. MORGAN. You name it—anytime.

Senator LODGE. Anytime?

Senator TYDINGS. Anytime at all.

Senator LODGE. All right.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead.

Mr. MORGAN. I assume, then, that it will not be necessary at this point to incorporate by reading all of this into the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't see any point in it, but any member of the committee, anytime, ought to be able to go through this and see anything that we have here.

Mr. MORGAN. Pursuant to the committee's approval of this action, I am at this point incorporating in the record all of the various items which we thus far have collected in the office of the staff.<sup>1</sup>

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

<sup>1</sup>These items are included in the appendix to the record at pp. 1756 to 2500.

## APPENDIX

### EXHIBIT No. 1

[Daily Worker, February 21, 1940]

#### SIGNERS OF PROTEST

The following outstanding Americans, writers, poets, playwrights, educators, judges, critics, and public officials signed the letter to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson protesting the attacks upon the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and condemning the war hysteria now being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration:

Elliot Paul	S. L. M. Barlow	Dr. W. B. Cannon
Ernest Hemingway	Marguerite Zorach	Reuben Ottenberg
Jay Allen	William Zorach	C. Fayette Taylor
Vincent Sheenan	Prof. H. P. Fairchild	Countee Cullen
Paul Robeson	Kyle Crichton	Harvey O'Connor
John T. Bernard	Anna Louise Strong	Hon. Paul J. Kern
Louis B. Boudin	S. John Block	Nora Benjamin
Z. Chaffee, Jr.	Anita Block	Bennett Cerf
Muriel Draper	Dr. E. M. Bluestone	Dorothy Brewster
Queñten Reynolds	Arthur Kober	Florina Lasker
George Marshall	George H. Stover	Stuart Davis
Elizabeth Dublin Marshall	Dr. Charles C. Webber	Clifford McAvoy
Gardner Jackson	Frances B. Grant	Charles Belous
Alfred Kreymborg	Hortense M. Fagley	Max Cleeber
Charles H. Houston	Alfred W. Bingham	William Gropper
Dashiel Hammett	Carl H. Levy	Arnold Donawa
Prof. Horace M. Kallen	Mary Heaton Vorse	Brand Blanshard
Ralph Roeder	Louis Weisner	Dr. Max Yergan
Evelyn Adler	Edward L. Israel	Prof. Vida D. Scudder
George Seldes	Lillian Hellman	Isabel Walker Soule
B. W. Huebsch	Louis F. McCabe	Thomas E. Benner
Hon. Vito Marcantonio	Arthur Emptage	Ephraim Cross
Bernard Denzer	C. D. Stevens	John F. Shepard
J. A. MacCallum	Bonnie Bird	Langston Hughes
James L. Brewer	Melvin Rader	Morris Watson
Hon. Dorothy Kenyon	Ralph Gundlach	Bertha C. Reynolds
Rev. Donald G. Lothrop	William H. Morris	Louis Untermeyer
Arthur La Sœur	T. Addis	Esther A. Untermeyer
Bernard J. Stern	Helen Keller	C. S. Bacon
Aaron Copland	Ada B. Taft	Howard Y. Williams
Hon. Stanley Isaacs	Jean Starr Untermeyer	Lester Cohen
Prof. Harold C. Urey	E. A. Ross	Edward Lamb
James Thurber	F. O. Matthiessen	Tom Mooney
Dr. Walter Briehl	Dr. George Barsky	Rev. William Lloyd Imes
Robert W. Dunn	Belle Zeller	L. Eloesser
Alexander Lehrman	Van Wyck Brooks	Dr. Harry Ward
Malcolm Cowley	Herman Shumlin	Prof. Walter Rauten-
Marc Blitzstein	Prof. Robert S. Lynd	strauch
Walter E. Hager	Mervyn Rathborne	Hon. James H. Wolfe
Albert Maltz	Kirtley F. Mather	Eda Lou Walton
Margaret Lamont	Lawrence S. Kubie	Prof. Newton Arvin
Dr. Ernest P. Boas	James Waterman Wise	
Prof. Goodwin Watson	Irwin Shaw	

## EXHIBIT No. 2

## NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.,

*New York, N. Y., November 16, 1948.*

DEAR FRIEND: On Monday evening, December 13, the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, and foremost leader in the democratic movement for world peace, speaks at Madison Square Garden. This eminent churchman, who will climax a month's tour of the United States with this rally, will present his impressions of the American peace movement as it relates to the peace forces of England and the continent. He will also report on his recent observations of conditions in eastern Europe and his personal conversations with the leaders of the new democracies.

We feel it is a rare privilege, indeed, for us to be able to present the Dean in the first significant rally to follow the elections. We know you will appreciate the importance of forcefully demonstrating, particularly before the new congressional session, the people's will for peace through cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union.

The Ambassador from the Soviet Union, His Excellency Mr. Alexander S. Panyushkin, will address the meeting. The meeting will also feature Paul Robeson, other well-known speakers and a program of entertainment.

As you may recollect, thousands were turned away from the Garden on the occasion of the Dean's last visit here in 1945. Thus, to insure you proper accommodations, we are enclosing an advance ticket order blank.

Won't you plan now to attend this rally for peace and reserve seats for yourself and your friends?

Cordially yours,

RICHARD MORFORD, *Executive Director.*

RM; rs  
uopwa 16-39  
enc.

## SPONSORS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

Louis Adamic	Dr. Harry Grundfest	Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell
George F. Addes	Dr. Alice Hamilton	Charles Michael Mitzell
Maxwell Anderson	Lillian Hellman	Pierre Monteux
John Taylor Arms	Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn	Mme. Pierre Monteux
Max Bedacht	Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill	Bishop Arthur W.
Mrs. Alice S. Belester	Prof. William Ernest	Moulton
Dr. Henry Lambert Bibby	Hocking	Hon. James E. Murray
Mrs. Louis Bloch	Dr. Walter M. Horton	Dr. Philip C. Nash
Mrs. Anita Block	Langston Hughes	Dr. Robert Hastings
Simon Braines	Dr. Walter Hüllihen	Nichols
Prof. E. W. Burgess	Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs	Eugene O'Neill
Hon. Arthur Capper	Dr. Millard H. Jencks	Dr. Marion Edwards
Charles Chaplin	Prof. Howard Mumford	Park
Hon. John M. Coffee	Jones	Dr. Frederick Douglas
Dr. Henry S. Coffin	Helen Keller	Patterson
Aaron Copland	Rockwell Kent	Bishop Malcom E.
Norman Corwin	Dorothy Kenyon	Peabody
Jo Davidson	Dr. Serge Koussevitzky	Hon. Claude Pepper
Hon. Joseph E. Davies	Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont	Prof. Ralph Barton Perry
Dr. Herbert John Davis	William W. Lancaster	Dr. E. C. Peters
Hon. Hugh DeLacy	Dr. Emil Lengel	Dr. John P. Peters
Dr. Stephen Duggan	John F. Lewis, Jr.	Henry W. Pope
Prof. Albert Einstein	Prof. Robert S. Lynd	Michael Quill
Max Epstein	Clifford T. McAvoy	Carl Randau
Dr. Mildred Fairchild	Judge Lois Mary McBride	Anton Refregier
Dr. Robert D. Feild	Maurice Maeterlinck	Elmer Rice
Lion Feuchtwanger	Fritz Mahler	Wallingford Riegger
Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher	Dr. Thomas Mann	Paul Robeson
Homer Folks	Frank X. Martel	Col. Raymond Robins
Dr. W. Horsley Gantt	Dr. Kirtley F. Mather	Earl Robinson
Dr. Caleb F. Gates, Jr.	Lewis Merrill	Reid Robinson
Dean Christian Gauss	Dr. George R. Minot	Harold J. Rome
Ben Gold	Mrs. Lucy Sprague	Joseph A. Rosen
Dr. Mortimer Graves	Mitchell	Joseph A. Salerno

## SPONSORS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.—CON.

Miles M. Sherover	Dr. Max Thorek	Dr. Henry N. Wieman
Raymond P. Sloan	S. A. Trone	Dr. C. C. Williams
Dr. P. A. Sorokin	Philip H. Van Gelder	Hon. James H. Wolfe
Maxwell S. Stewart	R. E. Van Horn	Dr. Max Yergan
Leopold Stokowski	Prof. George Vernadsky	Dean Mary Yost
Raymond Swing	Bishop W. J. Wells	Dr. J. J. Zmrhal
Genevieve Tabouis	Dr. Harry F. Ward	Leane Zugsmith
Hon. Elbert D. Thomas	Leroy Waterman	
R. J. Thomas	Max Weber	

## EXHIBIT No. 3

This exhibit was not received by the reporter and was described by Senator McCarthy as "a cordial invitation to attend a dinner and presentation of the first annual award of the American-Russian Institute to President Franklin Roosevelt for 'Furthering American-Soviet Relations'" (transcript, p. 26).

## EXHIBIT No. 4

Executive Secretary, Prof. DONALD MCCONNELL  
Secretary on Latin America, Dr. DAVID EFRON

## SPONSORS

Louis Adamic	Dr. William E. Dodd	Lewis Merrill
Dr. Wallace W. Atwood	Prof. Paul M. Douglas	Dr. Clyde R. Miller
Eleanor Copenhaver	Dr. Henry Grattan Doyle	Prof Gardner Murphy
Anderson	John L. Elliott	William Pickens
Prof. Hugo Fernandez	Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild	A. Philip Randolph
Artucio	Prof. Irving Fisher	Maryvyn Rathborne
Eunice Fuller Barnard	Prof. Eugene Forsey	David Saposs
Alfred M. Bingham	Margaret Forsythe	Prof. Margaret Schlauch
Algernon Black	Frances R. Grant	Adelaide Schulkind
Bruce Bliven	Alberto Grieve	Guy Emery Shipler
Dr. Franz Boas	Sidney Hillman	James T. Shotwell
Heywood Broun	Prof. Arthur N. Holcombe	Upton Sinclair
Erskine Caldwell	John Haynes Holmes	George Soule
Charlotte Carr	Quincy Howe	Isobel Walker Soule
Bennett A. Cerf	Langston Hughes	Maxwell Stewart
Evans Clark	Rev. William Lloyd Imes	Isidore F. Stone
Gifford A. Cochran	Stanley M. Isaacs	Prof. D. J. Struik
Dr. Gilberto Concepcion de	Gardiner Jackson	William Wachs
Gracia	Prof. Chester L. Jones	Prof. Goodwin Watson
Prof. George Counts	Rockwell Kent	Roy Wilkins
Malcolm Cowley	Dorothy Kenyon	Dr. Max Winkler
Prof. Horace Davis	Max Lerner	Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Prof. Jerome Davis	Marina Lopes	Max Yergan
R. E. Diffendorfer	Jean Lyons	
Bailey W. Diffe	George Marshall	

## CONFERENCE ON PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Executive Offices: 156 Fifth Avenue, New York

Telephone: WAtkins 9-0420

DECEMBER 10-11, 1938, HOTEL WASHINGTON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 16, 1938.

DEAR FRIENDS: Enclosed you will find a Call to the Conference on Pan-American Democracy to be held in Washington on December tenth and eleventh.

On behalf of the Committee of Sponsors may I urge that your organization make every effort to participate? The problem is a pressing one and the need for some solution immediate.

We understand your organization has a very real concern with the inroads that fascism is making in this hemisphere, and we believe you can make a valu-

1488 STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

able contribution to our conference. If you can send representatives, please inform us at once.

We are looking forward to meeting them in Washington.  
Sincerely yours,

DONALD McCONNELL.

Delegates: Bernard Stern, Harry Lamberton, William Phillips.

DM: EAL.  
UOPWA.

EXHIBIT No. 5

*Trustees*

Roger Baldwin  
Joseph Brodsky  
Heywood Broun  
Edwin B. Burgum  
Malcolm Cowley  
Paul P. Crosbie  
Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.  
Robert W. Dunn  
Osmond K. Fraenkel  
Rabbi Israel Goldstein  
Aifred Hirsch  
Charles Krumbeln  
Corliss Lamont  
Leroy Peterson  
Abraham Unger  
James Waterman Wise  
Le Roy Bowman

James Gifford  
Berenice Abbott  
Peggy Bacon  
Maxwell Bodenhelm  
Kenneth Burke  
Addison T. Cutler  
Edward Dahlberg  
Clifton Fadiman  
James T. Farrell  
Waldo Frank  
Charles Fuller  
Hugo Gellert  
Mordecai Gorelik  
Granville Hicks  
Horace M. Kallen  
Dorothy Kenyon  
Carol Weiss Kling

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Alfred Kreymborg  
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Lewis Mumford  
Gardner Rea  
Adelaide Schulkind  
John Sloan  
Harrison Smith  
Otto Soglow  
Raphael Soyer  
Ralph Steiner  
Kathryn Terrill  
Mary Van Kleeck  
Edna Lou Walton  
Harry L. Lurie

Chairman: PAUL P. CROSBIE

Secretary: JAMES LECHAT

POLITICAL PRISONERS BAIL FUND COMMITTEE

NEW YORK CITY

154 Nassau Street, Room 1200

BEckman 3-8576

JANUARY 18, 1935.

DEAR FRIEND: After reading the enclosed manifesto, we believe that you will be with us and one of us. We therefore urge you to act. Of primary importance to the large success of the Bail Fund is *your attendance* at the committee's first invited guest meeting (ticket enclosed).

This meeting will be held on Thursday, January 31st, at 8.30, in the Orozco Room of the New School for Social Research. Here the Bail Fund will be fully explained. There will be a talk by John Spivak and short talks by Roger Baldwin, Corliss Lamont and Heywood Broun. Also some words by Angelo Herndon and two other outstanding victims of the present deplorable bail situation.

Again we say, if you are with us in our purpose, do not fail to come to this meeting. Should this be impossible, however, will you avail yourself of the enclosed form in order to make closer contact with us.

Sincerely,

THE POLITICAL PRISONERS BAIL FUND COMMITTEE.

*A common bail fund for those arrested in the struggle of the working class, for the rights of oppressed minorities, in the fight against war and fascism*

EXHIBIT No. 6

AN OPEN LETTER TO GOVERNOR THOMAS E. DEWEY

[New York Times, October 9, 1944]

It has been well said, "By their deeds you shall know them."

There is a deed crying to be done in the State of New York today. A deed of simple justice, humanity, and fair play.

It is in your power and yours alone to do this act.

We ask you to grant a pardon to Morris U. Schappes.

We ask you to do this because the continued imprisonment of this teacher and scholar can only be interpreted by many thoughtful Americans as political persecution.



Morris U. Schappes has passed 11 months of an 18- to 24-month sentence arising from the 1940 Rapp-Coudert investigation of subversive activity in the New York City schools. Morris Schappes told the committee he had been a Communist. They demanded the names of all the Communists at City College. Morris Schappes named three others, who, with himself, were known as Communists. He said he knew no others. The committee said there were over 40, not 4, as Morris Schappes testified. They called Morris Schappes a perjurer. He was convicted.

This was the crime!

Even the most exacting will concede that Morris Schappes, whom even his enemies never accused of harming or even desiring to harm a single human being, has suffered enough.

We are engaged in a war against the barbarian who would impose the philosophy that an individual life is cheap. We are affirming in terrible battle that a single life is precious. We say further, Mr. Governor, that 2 years of a good man's life are precious and not to be taken away lightly.

The last years of agony have taught us that the conscience must never sleep. What is done to the least of us is the concern of all. That is why we cannot in good conscience fail to raise our voice against this injustice in our midst.

That is why we appeal to you, Mr. Governor.

To you and you alone American justice provides power above and beyond the Courts—the power of the chief executive to pardon.

We ask you to use this power to pardon Morris U. Schappes.

The deed would find favor in the eyes of the people, who love justice.

- Prof. Thomas Addis, Stanford Univ.  
Rabbi David Aronson (Del. Am. Jewish Congress), Minneapolis, Minn.  
Rabbi Aaron Ashinsky (Del. Am. Jewish Congress), Pittsburgh, Pa.  
State Senator W. P. Atkinson, Seattle, Wash.  
Prof. Frank Baker, Pres. State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wis.  
Rev. Lee H. Ball, Lake Mahopac, N. Y.  
Prof. Francis M. Barbour, S. Illinois State Teachers College, Carbondale, Ill.  
Prof. Fred A. Barnes, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.  
Prof. Marion Bauer, New York Univ.  
Rev. Robert Baxter, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.  
Prof. Jos. W. Beach, Dept. of English, University of Minnesota.  
Wm. Rose Benet, writer.  
Rabbi Solomon Bersel, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Prof. Dorothy Bethurum, Connecticut College, New London, Conn.  
Rev. Lyndon S. Beardslee, Westboro, Mass.  
Rev. Archie B. Bedford, Syracuse, N. Y.  
Bishop W. Y. Bell, Halsey Institute.  
Dr. W. A. J. Bellrock, Pres. N. A. A. C. P., Chickasha, Oklahoma.  
Father Benedict, Church of the Crucifix, New York City.  
Milly Brandt, Legislative Chairman, Women's Div.; Am. Jewish Congress.  
Prof. Ray O. Billington, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
Prof. Raymond T. Birge, Chairman, Dept. of Physics, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.  
Rev. Dr. Kahl A. Bishars, Syrian Protestant Church of Greater N. Y.  
Shelton Hale, Bishop, Rector, St. Phillips Episcopal Church, New York.  
Rev. Dr. Clarence Bleakney, Newark, N. J.  
Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom, Temple Beth Jacob, Newburn, N. Y.  
Prof. Bart Bok, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. Lester L. Boobar, Bangor, Maine.  
Rev. W. Russell Bowie, Instructor, Union Theological Seminary, New York.  
Prof. Edw. S. Boyer, Religion & Sociology, Millikin Univ., Ill.  
Millan Brand, writer.  
Prof. Joseph Bressler, Brooklyn College, B'klyn, N. Y.  
Prof. J. P. Brets, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.  
James L. Brewer, Attorney, Rochester, N. Y.  
Prof. Dorothy Brewster, Columbia Univ.  
Rev. Edward H. Brewster, Nannet, New Hampshire.  
Prof. Edgar S. Brightman, Theological School, Boston, Mass.  
Louis Bromfield, writer.  
Rev. Oliver Hart Bronson, D. D., Summerland, Calif.  
Prof. Chas. F. Brooks, Blue Hill Observatory, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Pres. Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.  
Van Wyck Brooks, writer.  
Rev. Robert Evans Browning, Vicar Chapel of the Redeemer, Maryland.

- Henrietta Buckmaster, writer.  
 Edwin T. Buchrer, Editor, Journal of Liberal Religion.  
 Prof. Henry M. Burbage, Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.  
 E. A. Burdick, Dean of Students, Conn. College, New London, Conn.  
 Prof. Charles T. Barnett, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.  
 Rev. Bates G. Burt, Rector, Pontiac, Mich.  
 Prof. John L. Buys, St. Lawrence Univ., Canton, N. Y.  
 Witter, Bynner, poet.  
 Rev. Fred L. Cairns, Needham, Mass.  
 Rev. Raymond Calkins, Minister Emeritus, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Prof. Alexander E. Canes, Mass. State College, Amherst, Mass.  
 Prof. Nathaniel Canter, Univ. of Buffalo.  
 Rev. Francis C. Capossi, Wind Gap, Pa.  
 Edith F. Clafin, Columbia University.  
 E. N. Comfort, Dean of Oklahoma School of Religion.  
 Rev. Kieth Conning, Detroit, Mich.  
 Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Cong. Beth El, Long Island.  
 Rev. J. Russell Carpenter, Lyons, N. Y.  
 Rev. Ruthven S. Chalmers, Boonville, N. Y.  
 Alvin B. Christman, State Director, Penn. Farmers Union, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Rev. Merrill F. Clarks, New Canaan, Conn.  
 Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas.  
 Chas. H. Collins, Exec. Secy., Negro Labor Victory Com.  
 Aaron Copland, composer.  
 Prof. Fred A. Courts, Univ. of Missouri.  
 Pascal Coviei, publisher.  
 Prof. Philip W. L. Cox, N. Y. Univ.  
 Rev. Chas. E. Crak Jr., Pastor, Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Louisville, Ky.  
 Rev. Frank B. Crandall, Salem, Mass.  
 Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Prof. Ephraim Cross, College of City of N. Y.  
 Margaret Cross, Director, Georgetown House, Washington, D. C.  
 Countee Cullen, poet.  
 Joseph Curran, Pres. Nat'l Maritime Union, C. I. O., N. Y. Greater Industrial Union Council.  
 W. C. Dabney, Editor, Cincinnati Union, Cinn., Ohio.  
 Prof. George Dahl, Prof. of Old Testament, Yale Divinity School, New Haven.  
 Thelma M. Dale, Pres. Nat'l Negro Congress.  
 Henry W. Longfellow Dana, writer.  
 Prof. Margaret Darkow, Hunter College.  
 Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Councilman, N. Y. C.  
 John W. Davis, Dean of Wesleyan Univ.  
 Rev. John Warren Day, Dean of Grace Cathedral, Topeka, Kansas.  
 Rev. John De Benedetto, Baltimore, Md.  
 Albert Deutsch, columnist.  
 Rev. Albert C. Dieffenbach, Boston, Mass.  
 Senator Chas. C. Digges, Detroit, Mich.  
 Rev. Truman Douglass, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Theodore Dreiser, writer.  
 Rev. Arthur Dumper, Dean of Trinity Cathedral (retired), Newark, N. J.  
 Roscoe Dungee, Publisher, Black Dispatch.  
 Will Durant, writer.  
 Dr. Sherwood Eddy.  
 Rev. J. Earl Edwards, Queens Village, New York.  
 Prof. Ruth Emerson, Dept. Medical Social Work, Director Social Service Dept., Univ. of Chicago.  
 O. E. Enfield, County Attorney, Ellen Co., Arnett, Okla.  
 Henry Epstein (former), Solicitor-Gen'l. New York State.  
 Katherine Ets, Asst. Librarian, Nat'l City Bank, N. Y. C.  
 Jane Evans, Nat'l Fed. of Templehood Sisters, Dir. Nat'l Peace Conference.  
 Rev. John W. Findley, Univ. Presbyterian Church, Purdue University, Ind.  
 Rev. Judson E. Fiebigler, Utica, N. Y.  
 Rev. Arthur W. Farnum, St. Mary's Parish, Asheville, N. C.  
 Prof. Henry P. Fairchild, New York University.  
 Dorothy Canfield Fisher, writer.  
 Mrs. Mitchell Follansbee, League of Women Voters, Evanston, Ill.  
 Prof. Frances A. Foster, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
 Waldo Frank, writer.  
 Elizabeth P. Frasier, Religious Educator, Protestant Episcopal Church, Phila., Pa.  
 Rev. Stephen V. Fritchman, Boston, Mass.  
 Rev. J. Shubert Frye, Syracuse, N. Y.  
 Prof. Wendell Furry, Harvard Univ.  
 Rev. Lee Alvin Gates, Pastor, South Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Eustace Gay, Editor, "Philadelphia Tribune."  
 Rev. Palfrey Perkins, Kings Chapel, Boston, Mass.  
 Wm. I. Gibson, Managing Editor, Afro-American Newspapers.  
 Rev. Carlyle Glams, Editor, The Presbyterian Tribune, Utica, N. Y.  
 Leonard E. Golditch, Attorney, Chairman, Nat'l Council to Combat Anti-Semitism.

- Sol Goldman (Del. to Amer. Jewish Congress), Progressive Order of the West.  
 Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Zionist Org. of America, Chicago, Ill.  
 Prof. Erwin B. Goodenough, Dept. History & Religion, Yale University.  
 Prof. Everett W. Goodhue, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.  
 Rabi Robt. Gordis, Rockaway Pk., L. I.  
 Julian Goodman (Del. to Am. Jewish Congress), Troy, N. Y.  
 Dr. David Graubart, North Park Congregation, Shaare Tikvoh, Chicago, Ill.  
 Rev. Chas. S. Gray, Stamford, Conn.  
 Prof. Rowland Gray Smith, Prof. of Philosophy, Emerson College, Mass.  
 Rabbi Louis Greenberg, New Haven, Conn.  
 Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Phila., Pa.  
 Rev. Stanley Gutellus, Rochester, N. Y.  
 Rabbi Sidney S. Guthman, Chelsea, Mass.  
 Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Rabbi J. Louis Hahn, Cong. Mt. Sivali, A. E. Pres. Rabbinical Council, Upper Wash. Hts. & Inwood, N. Y.  
 Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, Chairman Dept. of Religion, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
 Rabbi Harry Halpern, B'klyn, N. Y.  
 Roswell, G. Han, President, Mt. Holyoke College, Mt. Holyoke, Mass.  
 Wm. P. Hapgood, President, Columbia Conserve Co., Inc., Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Lucius C. Harper, Exec. Editor, The Chicago Defender.  
 Mrs. Anton S. Harrington, Farmers Union, Schoharie Co. Com., N. Y.  
 M. Lafayette Harris, Pres., Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.  
 Wm. Harrison, Assoc. Editor, Boston Chronicle".  
 Rev. Edler G. Hawkins, N. Y. C.  
 Prof. A. Gordon Hayes, Dept. of Economics, Ohio State Univ.  
 Ben Hecht, writer.  
 Rev. Clifford W. Hilliker, Middletown, N. Y.  
 Mary E. Holland, Exec. Secy. Children's Aid, Denver, Colo.  
 Dr. Eugene C. Holms, Howard Univ.  
 Rev. Kenneth E. Hoover, Hobart, N. Y.  
 Prof. Harold Hotelling, Columbia Univ., N. Y. C.  
 Charles H. Houston, Attorney, Washington, D. C.  
 Daniel Howard, Supt. of Schools, Emeritus, Windsor, Conn.  
 Rev. Lee A. Howe, Jr., Onelda, N. Y.  
 Rev. Duncan Howlett, New Bedford, Mass.  
 Langston Hughes, writer, poet.  
 Mattie Hunter, Nat'l Council of Negro Women.  
 Joseph Hyman, Jewish Federation, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Hulan E. Jack, New York State Assemblyman.  
 Sam Jaffee, actor.  
 David D. Jones, Pres. Binnell College, Greensboro, N. C.  
 Matthew Josephson, writer.  
 Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan, Society for the Advancement of Judaism.  
 Prof. Raymond Kennedy, Dept. of Sociology, Yale University.  
 Rockwell, Kent, artist.  
 Judge Dorothy Kenyon, New York.  
 Freda Kirchway, Editor, "The Nation".  
 Rev. Stephen L. Kiser, Richmond Hill, N. Y.  
 Harold V. Knight, Editor, North Dakota Union Farmer.  
 Rev. Carl Knudson, Plymouth, Mass.  
 Rev. C. Franklin Koch, New York City.  
 Prof. Michael Kraus, College of City of N. Y.  
 Rev. Alfred M. Lambert, St. Monica's Church, Hartford, Conn.  
 Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Church of Our Savior, New York City.  
 Prof. Walter Landauer, Univ. of Conn.  
 Paula Laurence, actress.  
 John Howard Lawson, screen writer, Hollywood.  
 Canada Lee, actor.  
 Prof. Paul Lehman, Biblical History, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
 Ray Lev, pianist.  
 Prof. Norman Levinson, Mass. Inst. of Technology.  
 Rabbi Israel Herbert Levinthal, D. D.; D. H. L., B'klyn Jewish Center.  
 Rabbi Benj. A. Lichter, Cong. B'nai Israel, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 Louis Lipsky, Amer. Jewish Conference & Del. to Amer. Jewish Congress.  
 Rabbi Emmanuel Lederman, Denver, Colorado.  
 Frank Marshall Louis, Assoc. Negro Press.  
 Rev. Moses B. Lovell, B'klyn, N. Y.  
 Rev. Sidney Lovell, Chaplain, Yale Univ.  
 Harry L. Lurie, Former Dir. Council Jewish Fed. & Welfare Funds, New York City.  
 Florence H. Lascomb, Civil Liberties Union, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Rev. Dr. John A. McCallum, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Lucasville, Ohio.  
 James H. McGill, McGill Mfg. Co., Valparaiso, Ind.  
 Rev. Chas. F. MacLennan, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 John T. McManus, Movie Critic, New York City.  
 Rev. Walter Henry MacPherson, S. T. A., Past Pres. of the Universalist Church of America.  
 Prof. W. H. Mainwaring, Emeritus, Stanford Univ., Calif.

- Rabbi Jerome Malino, Danbury, Conn.  
 Albert Maltz, writer, Hollywood.  
 Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Congressman, N. Y. C.  
 George Marshall, Nat'l. Fed. of Constitutional Liberties, N. Y. C.  
 George Matis, Farmers Union, St. Johnsville, N. Y.  
 Prof. F. O. Matthleson, Harvard Univ.  
 Rev. Wm. H. Melish, Church of the Holy Trinity, N. Y. C.  
 Rev. Harry C. Mesine, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Rabbi Israel Miller, Bronx, N. Y.  
 Erin O'Brien-Moore, actress.  
 Julian Morgenstern, President, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Prof. Margaret S. Morris, Pembroke College in Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.  
 Prof. H. Nethercot, Northwestern Univ.  
 Prof. Robt. H. Nichols, Union Theological Seminary.  
 Rev. Chas. C. Noble, Syracuse, N. Y.  
 Mrs. Josephine Nordstrand, Exec. Secy. Wisconsin State Conf. on Soc. Leg.  
 Senator Stanley Nowak, Michigan, 21st District.  
 Rev. Delos O'Brien, Wilmington, Delaware.  
 Judge Patric H. O'Brien, Detroit, Mich.  
 Sono Osato, dancer.  
 H. A. Overstreet, Prof. Emeritus, C. C. N. Y.  
 Ruth H. Page, Stowe College Alumni, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Rev. George L. Paine, Cambridge, Mass.  
 State Rep. Wm. J. Pennock, Pres. Washington Pension Union, Seattle, Wash.  
 Angeline E. Phillips, Recording Secy. Community Church, Berks Co., Pa.  
 Harriet Ida Pickens, Nat'l. Bus. & Prof. Council, Y. W. C. A., N. Y. C.  
 Martin Popper, Nat'l. Lawyers Guild, N. Y. C.  
 Elizabeth L. Porter, Case Supervisor, Family Service Soc., New Orleans, La.  
 Prof. Kenneth W. Porter, Vassar College.  
 Rev. Edwin McNeill Poteal, Rochester, N. Y.  
 Dr. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Editor "Peoples Voice," Congressional Nominee.  
 Rev. Irving E. Putnam, Association of Wesley Methodist Churches, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Michael J. Quill, N. Y. C. Councilman, Pres. Transport Workers Union.  
 Senator Thomas C. Robbins, 35th District, Seattle, Wash.  
 Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia University.  
 Rev. Daniel Lyman Didont, Phila., Pa.  
 Mary W. Rittenhouse, B'klyn Bureau of Charities, N. Y. C.  
 Paul Robeson, actor, singer.  
 Dr. Henry B. Robins, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.  
 Earl Robinson, composer, Hollywood.  
 Sol S. Rodin, Secy., Brith Achim Assoc.,  
 Edwin A. Rurit, Sage School of Philosophy, Cornell Univ., Ithica, N. Y.  
 Prof. George Sarton, Harvard Univ.  
 Col. Wm. Jay Schieffelin.  
 Prof. Margaret Schlauch, N. Y. U.  
 Helen S. Sellers, Member of Conn. House of Rep. (1941-42).  
 Rabbi Max Shapiro, Miami, Fla.  
 Rev. Arthur Shenefelt, Norwood, Ohio.  
 Prof. John F. Shepard, Pres. Civil Rights Fed., Detroit, Mich.  
 Dr. Guy Emery Shipier, Editor, The Churchman.  
 Prof. George H. Shull, Princeton, Univ., Princeton, N. J.  
 Eva Smill, Exec. Secy., Family Service Soc., New Orleans, La.  
 Mason Smith, Editor, "The Interracial Review".  
 Rev. F. Hastings Smyth, Superior, The Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Mrs. Samuel Spiegel, Nat'l Women's League of United Synagogues.  
 Prof. Bertha K. Stavrianos, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
 J. Stanley Stevens, Chaplain, U. S. N. R.  
 Donald Ogden Stewart, writer, Hollywood.  
 Prof. Dirk J. Struik, Mass. Inst. of Technology.  
 Rev. Harold C. Swezy, Church of Holy Apostle, N. Y. C.  
 Prof. Jessie M. Tatlock, Mt. Holyoke, College.  
 Prof. Alva Taylor, Secy., Southern Conf. for Human Welfare, Nashville, Tenn.  
 Janet Thornton, Director, Social Service, Presbyterian Hospital, N. Y. C.  
 Rev. Joseph H. Titus, Jamaica, N. Y.  
 Rep. Nicholas Tomassetti, Rep. from New Britain to Conn. General Assembly.  
 Judge Edward V. Totten.  
 Rabbia Joshua Trachtenberg.  
 Jim Tully, writer.  
 Mark Van Doren, writer.  
 John Van Druten, playwright.  
 Pierre Van Paassen, writer, journalist.  
 Oswald Garrison Villard, writer.  
 Prof. Eda Lou Walton, N. Y. University.  
 Rabbi Juda Washer, New Kensington, Pa.  
 Prof. Harry F. Ward, Union Theological Seminary.  
 M. Moran Weston, Chairman, N. Y. State Civil Liberties, Dept. N. Y. State Elks Assoc.  
 Prof. F. W. Weymouth, Stanford Univ.  
 Prof. Phillip E. Wheelwright, Dartmouth College.

Prof. George F. Whicher, Amherst College.  
 Rev. John C. White, Bishop of Springfield, Illinois.  
 Doxy Wilkerson, Exec. Editor "Peoples Voice".  
 Robt. Wilkerson, Exec. Secy., Negro Welfare Assn., Anderson, Ind.  
 Rev. C. Lawson Willard Jr., Trinity Episcopal Church, New Haven, Conn.  
 Rev. David Rhys Williams, Rochester, N. Y.  
 Rabbi Samuel Wohl, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. Abraham Wolfson, Pres., Jewish Social Service Bureau, Newark, N. J.  
 Prof. Theresa Wolfson, B'klyn College.  
 Prof. Thomas Woody, Prof. of Education, Univ. of Pa., Phila., Pa.  
 Mary E. Woolley, President Emerita, Mt. Holyoke College.  
 Prof. Henry N. Wrieman, Prof. of Philosophy of Religion, Univ. of Chicago.  
 Prof. Paul Thomas Young, Univ. of Illinois.  
 Rabbi S. M. Zampowsky, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Wm. Zorach, sculptor.

Organizations listed for identification purposes. 500 names unlisted for reasons of space.

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EXHIBIT No. 7

[Daily Worker, February 10, 1938]

LEADING CITIZENS LAUD ISAACS' STAND ON GERSON

Condemning the "witch-hunting campaign" organized against Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs for his appointment of S. W. Gerson, former Daily Worker reporter as an assistant on his staff, 47 prominent citizens last night signed a letter to the Borough President supporting him in his determination to appoint competent persons to office.

The letter, released for publication by Tom Cassidy, vice president of the American Newspaper Guild and Daily News staff writer, carries the names of outstanding liberals, trade-unionists, educators, and clergymen.

The text of the letter and names of the signers follow:

Dear Mr. Isaacs:

We, the undersigned, citizens of different shades of opinion, emphatically condemn the witch-hunting campaign organized against you for the appointment of Simon W. Gerson to your staff.

We look upon the current inspired agitation against you—which bears the earmarks of some of the propaganda so discredited and overwhelmingly repudiated in the last election—as a threat to the whole merit system in public service. It is the first step which leads to the institution of political qualifications within the entire city service. If the present agitation is successful, the next logical step is the institution of a system of political discrimination within the Civil Service system. How far is that from the malodorous method of choosing public servants from political clubhouse backrooms?

We urge you to stand firm against this attempt to attack appointments on the merit basis. We support you—as do thousands of liberal though inarticulate citizens—in your determination to maintain your right to appoint competent persons to office, irrespective of political outlook, a right won by the citizens of New York only after years of struggle against corrupt political influence.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Allen, Regional Director, State, County, and Municipal Employees Assn.; Recorder John K. Ackley, City College of New York; Dr. Helen Adams, Hunter College; William Albertson, Secretary, Local 16, Waiters and Waitresses Union; Prof. Edwin B. Burgum, Washington Square College, N. Y. U.; Prof. Theodore Brameld, Adelphi College; Samuel Berland, Mgr., Laundry Workers Union; Michael J. Quill, City Councilman; Dr. Harry F. Ward, Union Theological Seminary; Rev. Bradford Young; Rev. William B. Spofford; Rev. Lawson Willard, Jr., Past County Chaplain, American Legion, Queens County; Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr.; Miss Helen Murray, Associate Secretary, Methodist Federation of Social Service; Samuel A. Robbins, Chairman, Council of U. S. Veterans and American Legionnaire; Dorothy Kenyon, Consumers Union; Vito Marcantonio, former Congressman; Tom Cassidy, Vice-President Newspaper Guild; Carl Randau, President, Newspaper Guild; Austin Hogan, President, N. Y. Local Transport Workers Union; Alexander Hoffman, Manager, Cleaners and Dyers Union; George Wishnack, Coordinator, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Ashley Patten, Executive Secretary, Pullman Porters; Louis Weinstock, Secretary-Treasurer, District Council 9, Painters and Decorators; David Freed, Secretary, Local 802, American Federation of Musicians; Eugene P. Connolly, Organizer, Transport Workers Union; Jonathan Eddy, Executive Vice-President Newspaper Guild; Victor Pasche, Secretary-Treasurer, Newspaper Guild; Mervyn Rathborne, President, American Communications Association; Harry Gewirtzman, Manager, Pocket-Book Workers Union; Samuel Kramberg, Local 302, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Alliance; Irving Potash, Manager, Joint Council Furriers Union; Ben Golden, Labor Arbitrator; Vera Montgomery, Editor and Publisher, Yorkville Advance; Prof. John L. Childs, Teachers College; Prof. Robert K. Speer, Washington Square College; Dr. John McAlpin Miller, Long Island University; Dr. John T. Thirwall, City College of New York; Prof. Margaret Schlauch, New York University; Prof. Lyman R. Bradley, New York University; Prof. Beryl Parker, New York University; Prof. V. J. McGill, Hunter College; Prof. Howard Selam, Brooklyn College; Malcolm Cowley, Editor, New Republic; Eda Lou Walton, poet and critic; Dr. Charles A. Hendley, President, Teachers Union; Julia Church Kolar, Executive Board Member, Descendants of the American Revolution.

EXHIBIT No. 8

LEAGUE OF WOMEN SHOPPERS,

NEW YORK

(Photostat not legible—retained in subcommittee files.)

EXHIBIT No. 9

Chairman: WILLIAM E. DODD, JR. Treasurer: S. D. DOUGLAS

Executive Secretary: LEONARD S. BELLER

Advisers on Anti-Nazi Literature: PRINCE HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN  
(German Catholic Leader)

Dr. KURT ROSENFELD (Former Minister of Justice in Prussia)

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Anita Block	Prof. Albert Guerard	Annie Nathan Meyer
S. John Block	Prof. Alice Hamilton	Lewis Mumford
Prof. Franz Boas	Moss Hart	Dr. Henry Neumann
Dr. Barrett H. Clark	I. A. Hirschmann	Prof. Fredrick L. Schuman
Prof. Thomas C. Cochran	Rockwell Kent	R. S.
Malcolm Cowley	Dorothy Kenyon	Dr. Philip Silver
Kate Crane-Gartz	Prof. Wm. H. Kilpatrick	Van Doren
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Prof. John Dewey	Justice Anna M. Kross	

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ANTI-NAZI LITERATURE  
Suite 302—20 Vesey Street  
NEW YORK CITY  
REctor 2-5867  
Cable Address: LITCOM

MARCH 24, 1939.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,  
New York City

GENTLEMEN: May we have your opinion on the enclosed bill. We would appreciate a prompt reply.

Thanking you for your cooperation, we are  
Sincerely yours,

LEONARD S. BELLER, Executive Secretary.

LB: EL.

EXHIBIT No. 10

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM,  
New York City, January 17, 1940.

HON. MARTIN DIES,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: On the basis of a careful analysis of the proceedings and releases of the Dies Committee, copy of which I am enclosing, the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom has come to the conclusion that the further existence of the Dies Committee would constitute a serious threat to intellectual freedom and civil rights in the United States. In our analysis we present thorough documentation to substantiate this contention.

We have also submitted to the Speaker of the House petitions urging the discontinuance of the Dies Committee, signed by 5,672 American citizens, largely from the academic and related fields. Further signatures will be transmitted this week. Among the signers of this petition are twelve college presidents, six college deans, and many other leaders of American culture and professional life. I am enclosing a copy of the petition blank and a list of the outstanding signatories for your consideration.

Respectfully yours,

FRANZ BOSS, National Chairman.

AMONG THE SIGNATORIES TO THE PETITION SPONSORED BY AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM TO DISCONTINUE THE DIES COMMITTEE

Frank E. Baker, President, Milwaukee State Teachers College  
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University  
Clarence M. Dykstra, President, University of Wisconsin

AMONG THE SIGNATORIES TO THE PETITION SPONSORED BY AMERICAN COMMITTEE  
FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM TO DISCONTINUE THE DIES  
COMMITTEE—Continued

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 Guy Stanton Ford, President, University of Minnesota  
 George Willard Frasier, President, Colorado State College of Education  
 Ralph K. Hickok, President, Western College  
 Raymond A. Kent, President, University of Louisville  
 Frank Kingdon, President, University of Newark  
 William A. Neilson, Former President, Smith College  
 Walter Dill Scott, Former President, Northwestern University  
 Mary E. Woolley, Former President, Mt. Holyoke College  
 Harold C. Urey, Nobel laureate in chemistry, Columbia  
 John Dewey, Professor emeritus of Philosophy  
 Charles A. Beard, Former President, American Historical Association  
 J. McKeen Cattell, Editor, "Science"  
 Francis J. McConnell, Bishop, Methodist Church  
 Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, "Survey Graphic"  
 Olin Downes, Music Critic, "The New York Times"  
 Jonathan Daniels, Editor, "Raleigh News & Observer"  
 Paul Robeson, Singer and actor  
 Zachariah Chafee, Jr., Professor, Harvard University  
 Paul J. Kern, President, Municipal Civil Service Commission of N. Y. C.  
 Charlotte Carr, Head, Hull House, Chicago  
 Edith Abbott, Dean, University of Chicago School of Social Service  
 Ned H. Dearborn, Dean, New York University  
 Christian Gauss, Dean, Princeton University  
 Malcolm S. McLean, Dean, University of Minnesota  
 Frank L. Mott, Dean, University of Iowa  
 Carl Wittke, Dean, Oberlin College  
 Mary Antin, Author  
 Joseph Warren Peach, Author  
 Van Wyck Brooks, Author  
 Lillian Hellman, Author  
 Inez Haynes Irwin, Author  
 Emil Lengyel, Author  
 Elmer Rice, Author  
 Ralph Roeder, Author  
 William Carlos Williams, Author  
 Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor, New York University  
 Randolph B. Smith, Director, Cooperative School for Teachers  
 Sophronisba P. Breckenridge, Former President, American Association of Schools  
 of Social Work  
 Comfort A. Adams, Former President, American Institute of Electrical Engineers  
 Oswald Veblen, Former President, American Mathematical Society  
 John P. Peters, Secretary, Committee of Physicians for Improvement of Medical  
 Care  
 A. M. Schlesinger, Vice-President, American Historical Association  
 W. H. Mallisoff, Editor, "Philosophy of Science"  
 Ellsworth Huntington, Professor, Yale University  
 Edward C. Tolman, Professor, University of California  
 George P. Adams, Professor, University of California  
 Ralph Linton, Editor, "The American Anthropologist"  
 W. A. Oldfather, Former President, American Philological Association  
 Walter R. Hager, Secretary, Teachers College, Columbia University  
 John F. Fulton, Yale Medical School  
 Ralph Barton Perry, Author, Pulitzer Prize biography of William James  
 Clyde Eagleton, Professor, New York University  
 Karl Menninger, Director, Psychiatric Clinic, Topeka, Kansas  
 Robert S. Lynd, Professor, Columbia University  
 Fred L. Redefers, Secretary, Progressive Education Association  
 Halford E. Luccock, Professor, Yale Divinity School  
 Alice Hamilton, Professor emeritus, Harvard Medical School  
 Vida D. Scudder, Professor, Wellesley College  
 Eugene W. Lyman, Professor, Union Theological Seminary  
 D. W. Prall, Professor, Harvard University



AMONG THE SIGNATORIES TO THE PETITION SPONSORED BY AMERICAN COMMITTEE  
FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM TO DISCONTINUE THE DIES  
COMMITTEE—Continued

A. J. Carlson, Former President, American Physiological Society  
Paul F. Gemmill, Professor, University of Pennsylvania  
Edgar Dale, Professor, Ohio State University  
Lester Dix, Principal, Lincoln School  
V. T. Thayer, Educational Director, Ethical Culture Schools  
Harry J. Carman, Professor, Columbia University.  
Gortwin Watson, Professor, Columbia University.  
L. G. Barth, Professor, Columbia University.  
Dorothy Douglas, Professor, Smith College.  
Frank H. Hankins, Professor, Smith College.  
Hadley Conrill, Professor, Princeton University.  
Roy Dickinson Welch, Professor, Princeton University.  
Hirtley F. Mather, Director, Harvard University, Summer School.  
Morris R. Cohen, Professor, College of the City of New York.  
Harry A. Overstreet, Professor, College of the City of New York.  
Jerome Davis, Former President, American Federation of Teachers.  
Robert Iglehart, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers.  
Alonzo F. Myers, President, New York College Teachers Union.  
Max Lerner, Professor, Williams College.  
Jesse H. Holmes, Professor, Swarthmore College.  
George Soule, Editor, "The New Republic".  
Malcolm Cowley, Editor, "The New Republic".  
Freda Kirchwey, Editor, "The Nation".  
Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor, "The Nation".  
Victor Weybright, Editor, "Survey Graphic".  
Frank C. Bancroft, Editor, "Social Work Today".  
Dashiel Hammett, Author.  
Leone Zugsmith, Author.  
Arthur Koher, Author.  
Countee Cullen, Poet.  
Matthew Josephson, Author.  
Joan Starr Untermeyer, Poet.  
Alfred Kreymborg, Author.  
Donald Ogden Stewart, President, League of American Writers.  
Lewis Mumford, Author.  
Herman Shumlin, Producer.  
W. W. Norton, Publisher.  
Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Past President, Explorers Club.  
Mario Romaet-Rosenoff, Musician.  
Aaron Copland, Composer.  
Lehman Engel, Musician.  
Rockwell Kent, Artist.  
Morris Carnovsky, Actor.  
Oliver D. Fargo, Author  
Phillip Loeb, Actor  
Max Yergan, Secretary, International Institute for African Affairs  
Charles Bolous, Former Councilman, New York City  
Dorothy Kenyon, Former Justice, New York City  
Hugh DeLacy, Councilman, Seattle  
Justino Miso Polier, Justice, New York City  
Nicholas Tomasseti, Representative, Connecticut  
William Lloyd Imes, Reverend, New York City  
John Howard Lathrop, Reverend, Brooklyn, New York  
Mary Van Kloock, Russell Sage Foundation  
Mrs. Rachel Davis-Dubois, Service Bureau for Intercultural Education  
Dr. Bernard Glucek, Psychiatrist  
John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation  
J. F. Dashiell, Professor, University of North Carolina  
Edward A. Ross, Professor emeritus, University of Wisconsin  
W. H. Manwaring, Professor emeritus, Columbia University  
Willystine Goodsell, Professor emeritus, Teachers College, Columbia University  
Mitchell Franklin, Professor, Tulane University

AMONG THE SIGNATORIES TO THE PETITION SPONSORED BY AMERICAN COMMITTEE  
FOR DEMOCRACY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM TO DISCONTINUE THE DIES  
COMMITTEE—Continued

Harry Elmer Barnes, Historian and Journalist  
Edwin G. Boring, Professor, Harvard University  
Rev. Alfred W. Swan, Madison, Wisconsin  
Sera Bard Field, Poet  
Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Writer  
S. Stephenson Smith, Professor, University of Oregon  
James B. Carey, Secretary, C. I. O.  
Charles William Taussig, Chairman, National Advisory Committee  
Martha Dodd, Writer  
William E. Dodd, Former Ambassador to Germany  
George Seldes, Author  
C. E. Ficken, Dean, Macalester College

## EXHIBIT No. 11

JAMES WATERMAN WISE, *Chairman*                      ISOBEL WALKER SOULE, *Executive Secretary*  
SARAH JACKSON SMITH, *Secretary-Treasurer*

<p>ADVISORY COMMITTEE Stella Adler Helen Alfred Leroy Bowman Rebecca Grecht J. B. S. Hardman Mary W. Hillyer Lawrence Hosie Grace Hutchins</p>	<p>John Paul Jones Dorothy Kenyon Freda Kirchwey Harry W. Laidler Margaret I. Lamont Grace Lumpkin Vito Marcantonio Reinhold Niebuhr Clifford Odets</p>	<p>Evelyn Preston Margaret Schlauch Sarah Jackson Smith Isobel Walker Soule Robert Speer Eda Lou Walton Bertha Pool Weyl James Waterman Wise Theresa Wolfson</p>
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CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO AID STRIKING SEAMEN  
227 West 22nd Street  
NEW YORK CITY  
CHelsea 2-9786

JANUARY 28, 1937.

DEAR FRIEND: The East Coast Seamen have called off the strike. They have won some concessions. This decision will help the West Coast Seamen bring their strike to a more successful end. This action has been commended by the N. L. R. B. Hearings are being continued by them.

Now, the seamen are trying to get their jobs back. Many are already on the high seas, while others here are carrying on the fight against discrimination, lockout, blacklist and the Copeland Bill. These men are still without shelter, food and clothing. In addition to the East Coast men, about 1,000 Pacific Coast strikers who struck when their vessels reached Eastern shores, are without resources.

These men are entirely dependent on our Soup Kitchen at 338 W. 25th St. for food. Debts for gas, electricity, and other essentials threaten its existence.

You have shown your warm-hearted interest in the men by your contributions during the strike. We appeal to you now—to help these men who conducted an heroic, epoch-making battle for 84 long, cold winter days. Many of these men are ill due to exposure and undernourishment.

All we ask you to do is send a small contribution of, say, one, two or five dollars, to tide over a difficult back-to-work period.

Won't you give your answer today? Please do take out your pen and write your check as soon as you read this letter.

Very sincerely yours,

*Secretary, Citizens' Committee to Aid Striking Seamen.*

EXHIBIT No. 12

Executive Committee:

Dr. Worthy M. Tippy,  
Honorary President  
Prof. Henry Pratt Fair-  
child, President  
Gardner Jackson, Vice  
President  
Robert K. Speer, Treas-  
urer  
Samuel J. Rodman, Sec-  
retary  
Edward K. Kern, Direc-  
tor of Activities  
Algernon Black  
Hadley Cantril  
Ned H. Dearborn  
Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein  
Helen Hall  
Rita Hochheimer  
A. J. Isserman  
Spurgeon Keeny  
Clyde Miller  
Dudley Nichols  
Louise Pearson  
Etta Schneider  
Mark Starr  
Katherine Terrill  
Mrs. Joseph L. White

Advisory Board:

Sherwood Anderson  
James W. Angell  
Louis Adamic  
Thurman Arnold  
Vicki Baum  
William R. Benet  
Franz Boas  
Louis Bromfield  
James L. Brewer  
Dr. A. A. Brill  
Heywood Brown  
Senator Arthur Capper  
Marc Connelly  
Humphrey Cobb  
Olin Downes  
William E. Dodd  
Theodore Drelser  
Walter Prichard Eaton  
Dorothy Canfield Fisher  
Abraham Flexner  
Osmond K. Fraenkel  
Edwin Franko Goldman  
Rev. Ernest G. Guthrie  
Dashiell Hammett  
Lillian Hellman  
Jesse H. Holmes  
Mrs. Sheppard Homans  
William K. Howard

Mrs. Harold L. Ickes  
Rex Ingram  
Stanley M. Isaacs  
Horace M. Kallen  
Dorothy Kenyon  
Paul J. Kern  
Freda Kirchwey  
Fritz Lang  
Robert D. Leigh  
Irene Lewisohn  
Robert Morss Lovett  
Thomas Mann  
Fredric March  
Phillip Merivale  
Dudley Murphy  
W. W. Norton  
Lee Pressman  
Will Rogers, Jr.  
Alex Rose  
John Rothschild  
Wm. J. Schieffelin  
Viola Brothers Shore  
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
Rexford G. Tugwell  
Lillian D. Wald  
Walter White  
Mary E. Woolley

FILM AUDIENCES FOR DEMOCRACY

342 Madison Ave.

NEW YORK CITY

Phone Vanderbilt 6-3660

OCTOBER 20, 1939.

Mr. VICTOR RIESEL,

Managing Editor, *The New Leader Publishing Association.*

*New York City.*

DEAR MR. RIESEL: Mr. Kern requests me to say that he is speaking more or less extemporaneously from a handful of notes at the Rand School, Monday.

If you wish to have your stenographer cover that it is agreeable to Mr. Kern.

Yours truly,

FLEET MUNSON.

To ENCOURAGE films that uphold American democracy, civil liberties, and peace; that promote better understanding and improve neighborly relations between racial and religious groups; that present an accurate, undistorted as well as a socially useful portrayal of the contemporary scene. To OPPOSE all totalitarian trends, attacks on labor, and films contrary to the principles of the Bill of Rights

EXHIBIT No. 13

Vol. 1, No. 2

April, 1939

FILMS FOR DEMOCRACY

NEW YORK CITY

A nonprofit membership organization dedicated to encouraging the production and distribution of truthful, fearless films which safeguard and strengthen American Democracy.

President:

Dr. Henry Pratt Fair-  
child

Vice President:

Gardner Jackson

Treasurer:

Dr. Robert K. Speer

Secretary:

Samuel J. Rodman

Executive committee:

Hadley Cantril  
Ned H. Dearborn

Helen Hall

A. J. Isserman

Clyde Miller

Dudley Nichols

Louise Pearson

Mark Starr

Mrs. Joseph L. White

Advisory Board:

Sherwood Anderson

James W. Angell

Louis Adamic

Thurman Arnold

Vicki Baum

William B. Benet

Franz Boas

Louis Bromfield

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James L. Brewer  
 A. A. Brill  
 Heywood Broun  
 Senator Arthur Cap-  
 per  
 Marc Connelly  
 Humphrey Cobb  
 Olin Downes  
 William E. Dodd  
 Theodore Dreiser  
 Walter Frichard Ea-  
 ton  
 Dorothy Canfield  
 Fisher  
 Abraham Flexner  
 Osmond K. Fraenkel  
 Edwin Franko Gold-  
 man

## Advisory board—Con.

Rev. Ernest G. Guth-  
 rie  
 Dashiell Hammett  
 Lillian Hellman  
 Jesse H. Holmes  
 Mrs. Sheppard Ho-  
 mans  
 William K. Howard  
 Mrs. Harold L. Ickes  
 Rex Ingram  
 Stanley M. Isaacs  
 Horace M. Kallen  
 Dorothy Kenyon  
 Freda Kirchwey  
 Fritz Lang  
 Robert D. Leigh  
 Irene Lewisohn  
 Robert Morss Lovett

## Advisory board—Con.

Fredric March  
 Thomas Mann  
 Philip Merivale  
 Dudley Murphy  
 W. W. Norton  
 Lee Pressman  
 John Rothschild  
 Will Rogers, Jr.  
 Wm. J. Schieffelin  
 Viola Brothers Shore  
 Rabbi Abba Hillel  
 Silver  
 Rexford G. Tugwell  
 Lillian D. Wald  
 Walter F. Wagner  
 Walter White  
 Mary E. Woolley

## EXHIBIT No. 14

PROGRAM OF THE GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE  
ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

Monday, February 12, 1940, at Two West Sixty-fourth Street, New York City,  
 the Meeting House of the Society for Ethical Culture

Organized antidemocratic forces are threatening the security and freedom of human personality and the rights of minority groups here in the United States. They are dividing, confusing, and weakening those who wish to maintain our free democratic institutions. Such forces of oppression and fear, growing stronger because of the war in Europe, must not be permitted to overwhelm us. Never before have our constitutional liberties been under such concerted attack. At this moment we have a special responsibility as a united people to meet our danger and protect our rights. There are literally thousands of nonpolitical organizations in the City of New York which are vitally concerned with the maintenance of the Bill of Rights, with minority and neighborhood relations, and with antidemocratic legislation. This Conference is for them.

ROBERT W. SEARLE, *Chairman.*

9:30 a. m.—Registration of delegates and visitors  
 11 a. m.—General session

*Presiding Chairman:* DR. MAX YERGAN, Director, International  
 Committee on African Affairs

12:30 to 2 p. m.—Luncheon interval  
 2-5 p. m.—Panel discussions—Announcement of panel chairmen and speakers  
 on page 2  
 5-8 p. m.—Dinner interval  
 8 p. m.—General session—*Presiding Chairman:* DR. FRANK KINGDON, President,  
 University of Newark  
 Reports of panel discussions  
 Selection of Continuations Committee

## Speakers:

DR. JOHN ELLIOTT, Senior Leader, Society of Ethical Culture  
 CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. COFFEE  
 DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY, President Emeritus of Mt. Holyoke College  
 PROFESSOR K. N. LEWELLYN, Columbia Law School  
 ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, American Civil Liberties Union  
 SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW, National Emergency Conference for Democratic  
 Rights

OTHER SPEAKERS TO BE ANNOUNCED

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS  
Room 508, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City

PANELS

PANEL I—"FOREIGN BORN"

1. How to focus our energies the better to preserve the rights of the foreign born.
2. How the foreign-language and foreign-born groups can unite to preserve and enlarge democracy for themselves and for all Americans.
3. How to bring before the foreign born their duties and privileges as Americans.
4. How to disseminate and coordinate the best in both foreign and American cultures that both may gain in understanding.

*Chairman of Panel:* Dr. Frank Kingdon, President, University of Newark.

*Panel Speakers:* Dr. Gerald F. Machacek, President, United Czechoslovak American Societies.

Erwin H. Klaus, Editor, The German-American.  
Younghill Kang, New York University.  
Edward Corsi, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare.  
Vilhjalmur Stefansson.  
Irving Novick, Acting Secretary, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.  
M. Garriga, Int'l Vice President, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.  
Nathaniel Phillips, President, National League for American Citizenship.  
Dr. Emil Lengyel.

PANEL II—"THE CHURCH AND THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY"

1. What Democracy means to Religion.
2. What Religion means to Democracy.
3. What are the official attitudes of the Religious Bodies toward all phases of Discrimination.
4. What is involved in freedom of speech for the clergy.
5. What is the Responsibility of the Church in the face of attacks upon Minorities.
6. What practical methods are available to the Church.

*Chairman of Panel:* Rev. Lorenzo H. King, St. Mark's Methodist Church.

*Panel Speakers:* Dr. Emanuel Chapman, Fordham University.

Rev. A. J. Muste, American Labor Temple.  
Rabbi William F. Rosenblum, Exec. Committee member, New York Board of Jewish Ministers.  
Rev. John Paul Jones, Union Church of Bay Ridge.  
Dr. Theodore F. Savage, President, the Greater New York Federation of Churches.  
Rabbi David DeSola Pool, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue.

PANEL III—"LABOR AND DEMOCRACY"

1. Labor's Civil Rights.
2. Congressional Investigating Committees
  - a. Dies Committee—its methods, procedure and objectives.
  - b. The Smith Committee—its methods, procedure and objectives.
  - c. The LaFollette Committee—comparison of procedure with that of other Congressional investigating committees.
3. Legislation and the Trade Union Movement
  - a. Analysis of the Allen Bills.
  - b. Criminal Syndicalism Laws.
  - c. The application of the Sherman Anti-trust Act.
  - d. The Wages and Hours Law.

*Chairman of Panel:* Leo Huberman.

*Panel Speakers:* Merle Vincent, General Solicitor, Wages and Hours Administration.

Elmer Brown, President, Typographical Union, Local No. 6, A. F. of L.  
Nathan Green.

Gardner Jackson, Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Manning Johnson, Business Agent, Cafeteria Employees' Union, A. F. of L.

Other speakers to be announced.

PANEL IV—"ORGANIZING OUR NEIGHBORHOODS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION"

1. Actual experiences of violations of civil liberties in neighborhoods.
2. Pending Legislation against Civil Liberties.
3. What the Neighborhoods are accomplishing. Legislative conferences; citizens' rights groups; neighborhood papers; the financing of neighborhood groups.
4. Practical steps to be taken to further organization in the neighborhoods.

*Chairman of Panel:* Dean Ned H. Dearborn, New York University.

*Panel Speakers:* Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs.

Hon. Vito Marcantonio.

Dr. Leonard Covello, Principal, Benjamin Franklin High School.

Thomas E. Stone, Executive Director, New York City Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action.

Lester Granger, Secretary, Committee on Negro Welfare, Welfare Council of New York.

PANEL V—"EDUCATION AS BASIS FOR TOLERANCE AND DEMOCRACY"

1. Personal Experiences Dealing with:

- a. Minority Discrimination in Our Schools.
- b. Student Organization and Relations.
- c. Faculty Organization and Relation.

2. Education and Propaganda.

3. Legislative Threats to Our Educational System.

4. What Has Been Done to Counteract Antidemocratic Tendencies in the Field of Education.

5. Practical Steps That Must Be Taken To Preserve Academic Freedom.

*Chairman of Panel:* Professor Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia University.

*Panel Speakers:* Dr. Charles H. Fisher, former president, Western Washington College of Education.

Dr. Benjamin Harrow, College of the City of New York.

Prof. Robert K. Speer, New York University.

Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Legislative Representative, New York, State Federation of Teachers' Union.

William A. Hamm, Asst. Superintendent of Schools.

Prof. Doxey R. Wilkerson, Howard University.

This program, containing the names of the speakers, is a supplement to the original Call to the Conference issued January 3, 1940. Those organizations which have not as yet signified their intention of sending delegates, are urged to do so, by filling out and mailing without delay the Application for Credential printed below.

Discussion will be limited to domestic problems related to civil rights, minority, and neighborhood relations and to antidemocratic legislation, with special emphasis upon these problems in New York City.

The main purpose of the discussion in each Panel will be to determine the best and most fruitful methods of coping with the dangers threatening the civil rights and security of citizens in their neighborhoods and in the legislative assemblies of the state and nation, and what program of action can be developed by churches, schools, labor unions, settlements, fraternal orders and other organizations to meet these threats.

No resolutions will be entertained by the chairmen of the panels or of the general meetings.

Before adjournment of the panel meetings the delegates in each panel will nominate representatives from their respective panels for membership on the

Continuations Committee, which will be empowered by the Conference to devise means of continuing the work of the Conference.

Guest tickets are available for interested individuals. The charge for these tickets is \$1.

APPLICATION FOR CREDENTIAL

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

2 West 43rd Street, Room 508, New York City Pennsylvania 6-7948

Name or Organization-----  
 Address-----  
 Number of members-----

Our organization will cooperate with the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights through (check participation desired).

- 1. Organizational sponsorship and participation.
- 2. Organizational participation not involving sponsorship.
- 3. Individual observer.

We shall be represented by the following delegates or observers. (An organization may signify immediately its desire to sponsor or participate, and later register the names of its delegates or observers.)

Name of Delegate or Observer-----  
 Address----- City-----  
 Name of Delegate or Observer-----  
 Address----- City-----

Registration Fee: \$1 per delegate or observer, with the exception of youth groups which will be charged \$.50

(Signed) Name-----  
 Office-----

Each organization is entitled to two delegates or to two observers. Contributions for the support of this conference are cordially invited.

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

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Prof. Richard T. Cox	Gilbert M. Haas	Luigi Antonini
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Dr. Charles Obermeyer	Elizabeth Hawley	Margaret Culkin Banning
Jeanne Ratner	Joan Hellinger	George Gordon Battle
Charles I. Stewart	Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs	Hon. Charles Belous
	Prof. William Kilpatrick	Sammuel M. Blinken
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Rev. Harry Emerson  
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Goldstein  
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Rev. Ladislav Harsanyi  
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Maxwell S. Stewart  
Katherine Terrill  
Eva Terry  
Prof. Harold C. Urey  
Walter White  
James Waterman Wise  
Prof. Mary E. Woolley  
Rev. Benjamin F. Wyland

## EXHIBIT No. 15

[From the New York Times, Tuesday, January 31, 1939. Advertisement]

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

While you read this message, a major human tragedy is taking place. A question of the greatest importance to our country and to the entire world is being decided.

A brave nation is fighting against terrible odds, not only for its own independence and freedom, but for the very life of democracy everywhere.

The whole world knows now that the "Franco Revolt" is in reality an invasion. Hitler and Mussolini are bent on destroying the Spanish Republic, and with its destruction gaining vastly increased power in the campaign against the democracies. They have set out to replace a hopeful young republic with a dictatorship patterned on the Nazi and Fascist models. In the Italian and German press the fall of Barcelona was hailed as a "great victory."

With indescribable brutality and complete disregard for world opinion, they have warred against both the armies and the women and children of Spain. It is clear that they intend to use Spain as a means of crippling French and British democracy, and as a powerful springboard to South and Central America, where their agents have for years been busy spreading propaganda against democracy and for fascism.

If Franco, Hitler and Mussolini win in Spain, the fascist penetration of the Western Hemisphere will be immensely strengthened. This will mean a greatly increased defense problem for the United States.

It must not be allowed to happen! Democracy cannot permit unending aggression against it. "Appeasement" has failed. China, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain witness its failure.

What can our country do? The American people want peace. They abhor aggression and warring dictatorships. They are committed to the democratic way of life.



The hard fact is that by our embargo against Spain we are giving aid to Hitler and Mussolini and all they stand for. Our embargo is helping to destroy a republic which stands as a powerful bulwark against the fascist plans. If that republic is destroyed, much of the responsibility will be ours.

The signers of this letter believe that Mr. Henry L. Stimson, former United States Secretary of State, is right when he says:

"If this Loyalist Government is overthrown, it is evident that its defeat will be solely due to the fact that it has been deprived of its right to buy from us and other friendly nations the munitions necessary for its defense."

To the plea that the United States must remain neutral, we can only reply that an embargo which permits aid to aggressors and denies it to the victim is flagrantly unneutral. In the words of President Roosevelt to the 76th Congress, "we have learned that when we deliberately try to legislate neutrality, our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly—may actually give aid to the aggressor and deny it to the victim." A policy which places a friendly, recognized, democratically-elected government on the same plane with the foreign-aided insurrectionist cannot, by any canon of law or tradition, be called neutrality. The embargo, as our most distinguished lawyers and historians have insisted, is a clear violation of international law.

We submit to our fellow Americans and to our government that every obligation of peace, of freedom, of justice, of self-interest, calls upon us to:

#### LIFT THE EMBARGO—WITHOUT DELAY

*It is not too late.* The Spanish Republic still lives. Its people, who still control Central Spain with Valencia and iron-willed Madrid, have no intention of surrendering. A simple act of justice on the part of The United States of America can still turn the tide in favor of democracy.

We who have signed this letter want to hear the cheer of hope and new courage that will go up in every land, including our own, when the word goes out that The United States has lifted the embargo against Spain.

American public opinion has given our government a clear mandate to act. More than 76 per cent of public opinion, according to the Gallup poll, supports the Spanish Republic.

In the name of American fair play and of all our best traditions—  
In the name of world peace and of democracy—

#### LIFT THE EMBARGO—NOW

(Signed) Ernest Sutherland Bates, Robert Benchley, Marc Blitzstein, Franz Bons, Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis, Louis Bromfield, Van Wyck Brooks, Matthew J. Burns, Henry Seidel Canby, Walter B. Cannon, M. D., Carrie Chapman Catt, Albert Sprague Coolidge, William E. Dodd, Sherwood Eddy, Edna Ferber, Christian Gauss, Roswell G. Ham, Dashiell Hammett, Henry T. Hunt, Edward L. Israel, Paul Kellogg, Rockwell Kent, John A. Kingsbury, Emil Lengyel, Oscar E. Maurer, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Henry Morgenthau, William Allen Neilson, Marion Edwards Park, Dorothy Parker, Charles Edward Russell, Alfred K. Stern, Paul H. Todd, Harold C. Urey, Mary E. Wolley.

#### THESE EMINENT AMERICANS HAVE URGED THAT THE SPANISH EMBARGO BE LIFTED

Bishop Julius W. Atwood	Rev. Francis J. McConnell	Mary K. Simkhovitch
Rev. W. Russell Bowie	Bishop Edward L. Parsons	Judge Milton E. Gibbs
Bishop Chauncey B. Brewster	Rev. Harold C. Phillips	Judge Robert W. Kenny
Rev. Hugh Elmer Brown	Rev. Daniel A. Poling	Judge Arthur Le Sueur
Rev. Raymond Calkins	Rev. Julius S. Seebach	Justice Justine Wise Polier
Bishop Ralph S. Cushman	Rabbi Stephen S. Wise	Justice James H. Wolfe
Bishop Charles K. Gilbert	Helen Hall	Hon. Charles Belous
Rev. Charles W. Gilbert	Linton B. Swift	Hon. Smith W. Brookhart
Rev. William E. Gilroy	Helen M. Harris	Prof. Leslie H. Buckler
Rev. L. O. Hartman	Elsie Voorhees Jones	Prof. Michael N. Chanalls
Rev. Ivan Lee Holt	Jessie Binford	Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs
Rev. Moses R. Lovett	Owen R. Lovejoy	Hon. Paul J. Kern
Rev. Halford E. Luccock	Mary Van Kleeck	Hon. Nathan R. Margold

THESE EMINENT AMERICANS HAVE URGED THAT THE SPANISH EMBARGO BE LIFTED—CON.

Arthur Garfield Hays	Lawrence Tibbett	Brooks Atkinson
Dorothy Kenyon	Efrem Zimballist	Stephen Vincent Benet
Louis F. McCabe	Ernest Hemingway	Pearl S. Buck
Harold Riegelman	Theodore Dreiser	Vincent Sheean
Frank P. Walsh	William Rose Benet	Dorothy Thompson
Dean Francis M. Shea	Margaret Culklin Banning	Robert C. Clothier
Natalie Bodanya	Countee Cullen	Ada L. Comstock
John Alden Carpenter	R. L. Duffus	Henry Pratt Fairchild
Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge	Dorothy Canfield Fischer	Vida D. Scudder
Walter Damrosch	Alfred Kreymborg	Harold G. Urey
Olin Downes	Upton Sinclair	Harry F. Ward
Jessica Dragonette	John Steinbeck	Henry L. Stimson
Rosina Lhevinne	Louis Adamic	Margaret Bourke-White
Josef Lhevinne	Harry Elmer Barnes	George Biddle
Yehudi Menuhin	Charles A. Beard	Lewis Mumford
Alexander Smallens	Sherwood Anderson	John Dewey
Sigmund Spaeth	Franklin P. Adams	Daniel L. Marsh
	Maxwell Anderson	A. F. Whitney

THEY SWEEP BACK NAPOLEON; THE INVADERS OF 1939 WILL FOLLOW—IF THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED

ACT NOW! CUT OUT THIS COUPON

*Capitol, Washington, D. C.*

Joining with millions of other Americans of all political and religious faith, I urgently request that the Embargo against Republican Spain be lifted now so that world peace and democracy may be preserved.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Street Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Fill in name of your Senator or Representative and mail to Brig. Gen. H. C. Newcomer, chairman, Washington Committee to Lift Spanish Embargo, room 100, 1410 M. Street NW., Washington, D. C.

## EXHIBIT No. 16

Hon. Paul J. Kern, chairman; Honorary vice chairmen: Hon. Henry T. Hunt, Washington, D. C.; Judge Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles; Prof. Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago.	John P. Davis, Washington, D. C.	Mark M. Litchman, Seattle
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George K. Bowden, Chicago	Walter Frank, New York	Kenneth Meiklejohn, Washington, D. C.
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James L. Brewer, Rochester	Irwin Geiger, Washington, D. C.	Darwin J. Mesorole, New York
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Prof. Leslie H. Buckler, University of Virginia	Hon. Jonah J. Goldstein, New York	Hon. Patrick H. O'Brien, Detroit
Prof. Michael N. Chandlis, University of Newark	Irvin Goodman, Portland	Hon. Isaac Pacht, Los Angeles
Russell N. Chase, Cleveland	Dean Leon Green, Northwestern University	Hon. J. Stuart Page, Rochester
Dr. Felix S. Cohen, Washington, D. C.	Arthur J. Harvey, Albany	Nathaniel Phillips, New York
Prof. Morris R. Cohen, New York	Prof. H. C. Havighurst, Northwestern University	Justice Justine Wise Poller, New York
W. A. Combs, Houston	Arthur Garfield Hays, New York	Walter H. Pollak, New York
Paul Coughlin, Seattle	Charles H. Houston, New York	Leo Pressman, Pittsburgh
Hon. Maurice P. Davidson, New York	Prof. Samuel Guy Inman, New York	Prof. Leon A. Ransom, Howard University
	Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs, New York	S. Roy Remar, Boston
	Dorothy Kenyon, New York	
	Judge Arthur Le Sueur, Minneapolis	

## EXHIBIT No. 16—Continued

Harold Riegelman,  
New York  
Mortimer Blemer,  
Washington, D. C.  
Hon. Lester Wm. Roth,  
Los Angeles  
Harry Sacher,  
New York

Robert J. Silberstein,  
New York  
S. Khan Spiegel,  
Philadelphia  
Harold Strauch, Hartford  
Prof. Wesley A. Sturges,  
Yale University  
Maurice Sugar, Detroit

A. Ovrum Tapper, Chicago  
Denn William Taylor,  
Howard University  
Clare Warne, Los Angeles  
Ruth Weyand, Chicago  
Carlo Whitehead, Denver  
Justice James H. Wolfe,  
Salt Lake City

(Partial list)

LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH SPAIN  
150 Broadway  
NEW YORK, N. Y.  
REctor 2-8762

MARCH 5, 1938.

A. MARX LEVIEN, ESQ.,  
21 E. 40th St., New York City.

DEAR SIR: We send you a Petition and Memorandum of Law on the Embargo against Spain.

The eminent members of the bar and teachers of law who sponsor and endorse the Petition and Memorandum firmly believe that the Embargo is legally untenable and that it constitutes a violation of fundamental principles of international law and an abandonment and reversal of traditional foreign policy of the United States.

We urge you to join with us in requesting the reconsideration by the President and the Congress of the policy of our government towards the republican government of Spain.

We invite you to sign the Petition and secure the signatures of your colleagues and friends in the profession. The matter is urgent and the prompt return of the enclosed petition, duly signed, is earnestly requested.

Respectfully yours,

PAUL J. KERN, *Chairman.*

## EXHIBIT No. 17

Seventy organizations—settlement houses, consumers cooperatives, trade-unions, and others—sponsor the committee

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Vice Chairmen:  
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Alice R. Collat  
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Jack Berbach  
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George Wegmen Fish  
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MILK CONSUMERS PROTECTIVE COMMITTEE  
Founded by Dr. CAROLINE WHITNEY  
An Organization to Represent Consumer Interests

215 Fourth Avenue  
GRamercy 5-4066

Chairman, Caroline Whitney Memorial Fund: ELINOR MERRELL

APRIL 23, 1940.

Hon. JOHN J. DEMPSEY,  
Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities,  
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As chairman of the Milk Consumers Protective Committee, I was one of those consulted by Consumers Union in their preparation of a letter and statement which they recently sent to you asking for a thorough investigation

by your committee of the circumstances surrounding the preparation and release of the report on "Communist Work in Consumer Organizations."

The facts and questionable circumstances indicating a conspiratorial relationship between your committee's special investigator and an officer of Hearst's Magazines, Inc., are indeed, shocking. I urge that you make a thorough investigation of these disclosures. I do so not only as chairman of one of the organizations attacked in the report, but also as a citizen. Such unorthodox procedure on the part of a government body is contrary to our democratic traditions.

Respectfully,

ASHE INGERSOLL, *Chairman.*

AI: RS.

EXHIBIT No. 18

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MCCARTHY ON HALDORE HANSON

The next case is that of Haldore Hanson.

This man occupies one of the most strategically important offices in the entire State Department.

It is my understanding that he joined the Department of State in February 1942, and is recognized in the Department as a specialist and expert on Chinese Affairs.

Hanson, now Executive Director of the Secretariat of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, will head up a Technical Cooperation Projects Staff of the new Point 4 Program for aid to under developed areas which will have charge of the expenditures of hundreds of millions of dollars of our taxpayers' money over all the world. (Source: Department of State Departmental Announcements 41, dated February 21, 1950.)

The pro-Communist proclivities of Mr. Hanson go back to September 1938.

Hanson was a contributor to Pacific Affairs, the official publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations, whose staff was headed by millionaire Frederick Vanderbilt Field, an admitted Communist. Field has devoted his entire fortune to the Communist cause.

It is important that the committee keep in mind that Mr. Hanson also wrote for the magazine Amerasia, of which Philip Jacob Jaffe was managing editor.

Jaffe was arrested, indicted, and found guilty of having been in illegal possession of several hundred secret documents from the State, Navy, War, and other Government Department files.

Mr. Chairman, I have before me a document entitled "Department of State, Departmental Announcement 41." The heading is "Establishment of the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development." Then in parenthesis, by way of explanation of this rather high-sounding name, we find "Point Four Program."

The first paragraph of the order reads as follows:

"1. Effective immediately there is established under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs of the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development (TCD)."

On page 4 we find that the chief of this Technical Cooperations Project Staff is one Haldore Hanson.

Paragraph 2 on Page 1 sets forth the following responsibilities of Hanson's division:

"The Interim Office is assigned general responsibility within the Department for (a) securing effective administration of programs involving technical assistance to economically underdeveloped areas and (b) directing the planning in preparation for the Technical Cooperation and Economic Development (Point Four) Program. In carrying out its responsibilities the Interim Office will rely upon the regional bureaus, Bureau of United Nations Affairs, and other components of Economic Affairs area for participation in the technical assistance programs as specified below, and upon the central administrative offices of the Administrative area for the performance of service functions."

From this it would appear that his division will have a tremendous amount of power and control over the hundreds of millions or billions of dollars which the President proposes to spend under his Point Four Program, or what he has referred to as the "Bold New Plan."

Hanson's appointment is not made by the President, but by the State Department and is not subject to any Senate confirmation. Therefore, it would seem

rather important to examine the background and the philosophy of this young man.

The State Department Biographical Register gives what would on its face seem to be a chronological story of an increasingly successful young man. It shows that he graduated from college, for example, in 1934 at the age of 22; that he was a teacher in Chinese colleges from 1934 to 1937; and then a press correspondent in China from 1936 to 1939; a staff writer from 1938 to 1942; then in 1942 he got a job in the State Department at \$4,600 a year; that in 1944 he was listed as a specialist in Chinese affairs at \$5,600; that in 1945 he was made Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State at \$6,500; that in May of 1948 he was made assistant chief of the area division number 3; that on June 28, 1948, he was made acting chief for the Far Eastern Area, Public Affairs Overseas Program Staff; that on November 14, 1948, he was made Executive Director of the Secretariat of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation. There is certainly nothing unusual about this biography. Nothing there to indicate that this man might be dangerous in the State Department as Chief for the Far Eastern Area Public Affairs, Overseas Program Staff, during a time when the Communists were taking over China. However, much is left out of this biography. It does not show, for example, that this young man was running a Communist magazine in Peiping when the Japanese-Chinese war broke out. It does not show, for example, that he spent several years with the Communist armies in China, writing stories and taking pictures which the Chinese Communists helped him smuggle out of the country. Nor does this biography show that this man, after his return from China, wrote a book—a book which sets forth his pro-Communist answer to the problems of Asia as clearly as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* set forth his solutions for the problems of Europe.

Nothing that he has said or done since would indicate that he repudiates a single line of that book.

This man clearly believes that the Communists in China stand for everything that is great and good. His is not the picture of a mercenary trying to sell his country out for thirty pieces of silver. In reading his book, you are impressed with the fact that he firmly believes the Communist leaders in China are great and good men and that all of Asia would benefit by being communized.

Take, for example, what he had to say about Mao Tse-tung, the head of the Communist Party at that time and now the Communist ruler of China, and Chu Teh, commander in chief of the 8th Route Communist Army, and according to *Life* magazine of January 23, 1950, Number Two man in prestige to Mao Tse-Tung.

In Chapter 23, entitled "Political Utopia on Mt. Wut'ai", in describing a meeting with an American Major Carlson, here is what he had to say:

"We stayed up till midnight exchanging notes on guerrilla armies, the farm unions, and the progress of the war. I was particularly interested in the Communist leaders whom Carlson had just visited and whom I was about to meet. Mao Tze-Tung, the head of the Communist Party, Carlson characterized as 'the most selfless man I ever met, a social dreamer, a genius living fifty years ahead of his time.' And Chu Teh, commander in chief of the 8th Route Army was 'the prince of generals, a man with the humility of Lincoln, the tenacity of Grant, and the kindness of Robert E. Lee.'"

For a man slated a chief of the bureau which may have the job of spending hundreds of millions of dollars throughout the world this indicates, to say the least, a disturbing amount of hero worship for the number one and number two Communist leaders in the Far East today.

On page 349, he condemns the right wing groups in the Chinese Government for "fighting against the Democratic revolution as proposed by Mao Tse Tung and the Communists."

On the same page he points out that anti-Red officials within the government were making indirect attacks upon the Communists and that "leaders of the Communist youth corps were arrested by military officers at Hankow. I myself was the victim of one of these incidents and found that local officials were the instigators."

From Hanson's book it appears that the Nationalist government knew of his close collaboration with the Communist Army. For example, on page 350, we find that his passport was seized by the police in Sian when they found that he was traveling from Communist guerrilla territory to the Communist headquarters. He states that the man responsible "for this illegal action was governor Ching Ting-Wen—one of the most rabid anti-Red officials in China. The governor's purpose was merely to suppress news about the Communists."

Before quoting further from this book written by Mr. Hanson, it might be well to give a clearer picture of the job which Secretary Acheson has picked out for him. The State Department document lists some of the duties of his bureau as follows:

1. Developing over-all policies for the program.
2. Formulating general program plans and issuing planning directives.
3. Coordinating specific program plans developed by the regional bureaus and making necessary adjustments.
4. Approving projects, determining action agencies, and allocating funds for U. S. bilateral programs.
5. Directing negotiations and relationships with intergovernmental agencies and with other U. S. agencies participating in the coordinated program or otherwise carrying on technical assistance activities.
1. Initiating and developing plans for technical assistance programs for individual countries or groups of countries within their respective regions.
2. Reviewing program proposals affecting their regions which originate from any other source.
3. Negotiating and communicating with foreign governments.
4. Directing State Department personnel assigned abroad to coordinate and give administrative and program support to bilateral programs.
5. Continuously evaluating programs and projects within regions.
6. Proposing program changes.
7. Initiating instructions to the field carrying out their responsibilities and reviewing all other instructions concerned with technical assistance programs.

This gives you some idea of the tremendous powers of the agency in which Mr. Hanson is a top flight official.

Let us go back to Hanson's writings:

All through the book he shows that not only did he have complete confidence in the Communist leaders but that they also had complete confidence in him. On page 256 he refers to how Communist generals Nie and Lu Chen-Tsao acted as his couriers, smuggling packets of films and news stories for him with the aid of Communist guerrilla spies into Peiping.

In this connection I might say that he very frankly points out that the Communists do not tolerate anyone who is not completely on their side. Hanson makes it very clear all through the book that he is not only on the Communist side, but that he has the attitude of a hero worshiper for the Chinese Communist leaders.

His respect and liking for the Communist leaders permeates almost every chapter of the book. For example, on page 284 and page 285, he tells about how some ragged waifs whom he had gathered into his sleeping quarters regarded Mao Tse Tung and Chu Ted as "Gods." He then goes on to tell about their favorite Communist General, Holung, and states that they convinced him that Holung was a very extraordinary man whom they described as "big as a Shan-tungese, heavy as a restaurant cook but quick as a cat in battle." He then goes on to describe on page 285 how, when he met General Holung, he found him to be much as the hero-worshipping boys had described him. "He is," said Hanson, "a living picture of Rhett Butler from the pages of *Gone With the Wind*."

This praise of Chinese Communist leaders—goes on page after page. On page 278, he describes Communist General P'eng as the most rigid disciplinarian and "the most persistent student of world affairs."

In Chapter 26, he speaks with apparent bated breath of the "Brain Trust" of Communist leaders who were immortalized by Edgar Snow in his *Red Star Over China*.

On page 295 in referring to two other Communist generals, he says: "Should this book ever fall into Communist hands, I must record that those two lonely men made excellent company during my three weeks in Yenau."

After describing in complimentary manner this university and the students, on page 296 he says, "Every cadet divides his time between political and military subjects. On the one hand he listens to lectures on Marxian philosophy, the history of the Chinese Revolution, the technique of leading a mass movement; on the other hand he studies guerrilla tactics, the use of military maps, and the organization of a military labor corps."

On page 297 he points out that no tuition is charged at the academy and that each student is supplied with uniform, books, and food, plus a pocket allowance, and then has this to say: "Some recent visitors to Yenau have spread a report that the academies are supported by Russian rubles—a thin piece of gossip. I

was told by several Chinese leaders, including Mao Tse-Tung, that the largest contributions came from American sympathizers in New York."

On page 297 and 298, Hanson relates that in talking to one of the Nationalist war lords, "I suggested that he could learn a great deal from the Communists about discipline and integrity of leadership."

On page 303, Hanson has this to say, "My attitude toward Communist China's leaders was a mixture of respect for their personal integrity and a resentment of their suspiciousness. They impressed me as a group of hard-headed, straight-shooting realists."

After an interview with Mao Tse Tung he states, "I left with the feeling that he was the least pretentious man in Yen-an and the most admired. He is a completely selfless man."

Following is Hanson's description of how the Reds took over. I quote from page 102:

"Whenever a village was occupied for the first time, the Reds arrested the landlords and tax collectors, held a public tribunal, executed a few and intimidated the others, then redistributed the land as fairly as possible."

In Chapter 28, in comparing the Communists to Chiang Kai-shek's troops, Hanson had this to say:

"I left Yen-an with only one conviction about the Communists; that they were fighting against the Japanese more wholeheartedly than any other group in China."

He then goes on to condemn "Red baiting" officials in Chungking.

On page 312 of his book, Hanson quotes a Communist editor as stating as follows:

"Our relationship to the U. S. S. R. is no different than that of the American Communist Party. We respect the work of Russia's leaders and profit by their experience wherever we can, but the problems of China are not the same as those of Russia. We plan our program from a Chinese point of view."

Hanson then adds, "The explanation seemed logical enough to me."

In connection with Hanson's position as Chief of the Technical Cooperation Projects Staff, in charge of Truman's Point Four Program, the following on pages 312 and 313 of his book would seem especially significant. He quotes Mao Tse Tung as follows: "China cannot reconstruct its industry and commerce without the aid of British and American capital."

Can there be much doubt as to whether the Communists or the anti-Communist forces in Asia will receive aid under the Point Four Program with Hanson in charge?

Gentlemen, here is a man with a mission—a mission to communize the world—a man whose energy and intelligence coupled with a burning all-consuming mission has raised him by his own bootstraps from a penniless operator of a Leftist magazine in Peking in the middle thirties to one of the architects of our foreign policy in the State Department today—a man who, according to State Department announcement No. 41 will be largely in charge of the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars in such areas of the world and for such purposes as he decides.

Gentlemen, if Secretary Acheson gets away with his plan to put this man to a great extent in charge of the proposed Point Four Program, it will, in my opinion, lend tremendous impetus to the tempo at which Communism is engulfing the world.

On page 32 of his book, Hanson justifies "The Chinese Communists chopping off the heads of landlords—all of which is true," because of "hungry farmers." That the farmers are still hungry after the landlords' heads have been removed apparently never occurred to him.

On page 31 he explained that it took him some time to appreciate the appalling problems which the Chinese Communists were attempting to solve.

In Chapter 4 of Hanson's book, he presents the stock Communists' arguments for the so-called Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1939.

Secretary Acheson is now putting Hanson in the position to help the Communists solve the "appalling problems" in other areas of the world with hundreds of millions or billions of American dollars.

The obvious area in which this man will start using American money to help the Communists solve the people's problem will be Indo-China and India.

It should be pointed out that this case was brought to the attention of State Department officials as long ago as May 14, 1947. At that time, the Honorable Fred Busbey, on the floor of the House discussed this man's affinity for the Communist cause in China.

## EXHIBIT No. 19

[Department of State. Departmental Announcement 41]

## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM OFFICE FOR TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (POINT FOUR PROGRAM)

1. Effective immediately there is established under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs [the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development (TCD)].

2. The Interim Office is assigned general responsibility within the Department for (a) securing effective administration of programs involving technical assistance to economically underdeveloped areas and (b) directing the planning in preparation for the Technical Cooperation and Economic Development (Point Four) Program. In carrying out its responsibilities the Interim Office will rely upon the regional bureaus, Bureau of United Nations Affairs, and other components of Economic Affairs area for participation in the technical assistance programs as specified below, and upon the central administrative offices of the Administrative area for the performance of service functions.

3. The Interim Office has specific action responsibility for:

- (a) Developing over-all policies for the program.
- (b) Formulating general program plans and issuing planning directives.
- (c) Coordinating specific program plans developed by the regional bureaus and making necessary adjustments.
- (d) Approving projects, determining action agencies, and allocating funds for U. S. bilateral programs.
- (e) Directing negotiations and relationships with intergovernmental agencies and with other U. S. agencies participating in the coordinated program or otherwise carrying on technical assistance activities.
- (f) Reviewing instructions to the field.

4. The Interim Office will coordinate the development of operating policies governing administrative problems generally applicable to technical assistance programs such as utilization of available specialized personnel, conditions of employment, and utilization of training facilities.

5. The regional bureaus have responsibility with respect to technical assistance programs for:

- (a) Initiating and developing plans for technical assistance programs for individual countries or groups of countries within their respective regions.
- (b) Reviewing program proposals affecting their regions which originate from any other source.
- (c) Negotiating and communicating with foreign governments.
- (d) Directing State Department personnel assigned abroad to coordinate, and give administrative and program support to, bilateral programs.
- (e) Continuously evaluating programs and projects within regions.
- (f) Proposing program changes.
- (g) Initiating instructions to the field carrying out their responsibilities, and reviewing all other instructions concerned with technical assistance programs.

Responsibilities previously assigned to the regional bureaus in connection with the Philippine Rehabilitation Program, Economic Cooperation Administration Aid programs, and existing programs in Germany and Japan are not affected by this announcement except for paragraph 4 above which will apply where circumstances require.

6. The Bureau of United Nations Affairs has:

- (a) Action responsibility for:
  1. Developing the U. S. position concerning the international organizational machinery to be used in connection with technical assistance activities;
  2. Developing the U. S. position concerning the relative proportions of contributions to be made by the U. S. and by other countries to the special technical assistance accounts of international organizations;
  3. Coordinating negotiations involving such accounts.
- (b) Advisory responsibility concerning:
  1. The character and scope of technical cooperation programs undertaken by international organizations;
  2. The amounts of U. S. contributions to the special technical assistance accounts of international organizations;
  3. U. S. positions on program allocations from such accounts by international organizations.



The Bureau of United Nations Affairs maintains general contact with international organizations in line with its over-all responsibilities and arranges for direct contact between the United Nations and the participating specialized agencies and the Interim Office of Technical Cooperation and Development or U. S. agencies on operating program matters as requested by the Interim Office. The Bureau for Inter-American Affairs makes corresponding arrangements with respect to intergovernmental arrangements of the American states.

7. The following have such responsibilities in connection with technical assistance programs as are in accord with their general responsibilities set forth in the Organization Manual of the Department.

(a) The Office of Financial and Development Policy with respect to the International Bank and Monetary Fund.

(b) The Office of Transport and Communications Policy with respect to the International Telecommunication Union and the International Civil Aviation Organization.

(c) The UNESCO Relations Staff with respect to UNESCO.

8. Responsibility for the administration of the Department's scientific and technical exchange activities under the U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, and under the Act of August 9, 1939, authorizing the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American Republics, insofar as these activities are directly related to specific economic development projects, is transferred from the Office of Educational Exchange to the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development. Activities which are not so related remain the responsibility of the Office of Educational Exchange. The functions, personnel, and records of the Secretariat of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation are transferred from the Office of Education Exchange to the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development, except for the editorial functions connected with the publication of "The Record" and the corresponding personnel and records, which remain in the Office of Educational Exchange.

9. The Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs will become the Department's representative on, and the Chairman of, the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation, in place of the Assistance Secretary for Public Affairs. He will also serve as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Technical Assistance. The Director of the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development will serve as Vice Chairman of both committees.

10. The other offices under the Assistant Secretary of Economic Affairs advise the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development on the economic feasibility and desirability of projects and programs, from the standpoint of their respective specialized interests; make or arrange for such economic studies and analyses as the Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development may require; and maintain liaison with U. S. and international agencies and with private organizations on matters within their respective fields of interest as necessary in the planning and operation of the technical assistance programs.

11. The Director will become a member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. The Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development responsibilities enumerated under 3 and other paragraphs above apply in full to technical assistance activities, present and future, carried on by the Institute. The Bureau of Inter-American Affairs exercises all responsibilities listed under paragraph 5 above with respect to the Institute's program. The Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development and the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs are jointly responsible for developing such working arrangements as are necessary to insure the administration of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs as a constituent part of a coordinated technical assistance program.

12. The Interim Office for Technical Cooperation and Development consists of the following organizational units under the supervision of the designated officers:

Director: Leslie A. Wheeler, Ext. 3871.

Technical Cooperation Projects Staff, Chief: Haldore Hanson, Ext. 3011, 5012.

Technical Cooperation Policy Staff, Chief: Samuel P. Hayes, Jr., Ext. 4571, 4572.

Technical Cooperation Management Staff: Richard R. Brown, Director of Executive Staff, E. Ext. 2155.

(February 21, 1950.)

## EXHIBIT No. 20

## SENATOR McCARTHY'S STATEMENT ON MRS. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER

I should now like to take up the case of Esther Caukin Brunauer, Assistant Director of Policy Liaison, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, as a salary of \$9,706 a year according to the current Federal Register.

I urgently request that this committee give serious consideration to the details of this case and act immediately to ascertain the facts.

Mrs. Brunauer was for many years Executive Secretary of the American Association of University Women.

Mrs. Brunauer was instrumental in committing this organization to the support of various front enterprises, particularly in the so-called consumer field. One such instance of this activity was reported in the New York Times of April 27, 1943. In that case the American Association of University Women joined with Consumers Union, The League of Women Shoppers, and other completely Communist controlled fronts. I have explained to the committee that these organizations have been declared subversive by various governmental agencies.

Exhibit R indicates that Mrs. Brunauer presided at a Washington meeting of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. This organization has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities. The principal speaker at this meeting was Myra Page, long an avowed leader of the Communist Party and frequent writer for the Daily Worker and other Communist periodicals.

Certainly this committee has no doubts as to the domination by the Communist Party of the American Youth Congress. It has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General and other governmental agencies.

Exhibit S shows Esther Caukin Brunauer was a signer of the call to the annual meeting of the American Youth Congress in 1938.

Esther Brunauer is the wife of Stephen Brunauer, a Hungarian by birth. He is a scientist who has had the rank of Commander in the United States Navy and his scientific work has involved some of the topmost defense secrets which the armed forces of his country possess.

I think it highly important that this committee immediately, in accordance with their mandate from the Senate, obtain the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Naval Intelligence, and the State Department on the activities of Stephan Brunauer, the husband of this ranking official of the State Department.

I ask that the committee immediately seek to learn whether or not Stephan Brunauer has

1. Been the subject of a constant investigation by government agencies over a period of ten years.
2. A close friend and collaborator of Noel Field, known Communist who recently and mysteriously disappeared behind the Iron Curtain.
3. He has admitted to associates that he was a member of the Communist party.

I am reluctant to go any further into this case but I am prepared to produce competent witnesses who will testify to the importance of immediate action in this matter.

It can be readily shown that at least three government agencies have been sifting the activities of a small group of people whose work seriously threatens the security of the country.

Certainly the Communist front activities of Mrs. Brunauer are sufficient to seriously question her security status.

## EXHIBIT No. 21

## "WHO RULES IN SOVIET RUSSIA?"

A LECTURE BY MYRA PAGE, AUTHOR—EDUCATOR—LECTURER, TYPOGRAPHICAL TEMPLE, 423 G STREET, N. W., THURSDAY, JUNE 11TH, 1936, 8:30 P. M. DR. ESTHER BRUNAUER, WILL PRESIDE

"A timely and interesting discussion on a much debated subject by a well-known American writer, who has spent 2 years in The Soviet Union. Myra Page is the author of several books. Her most recent one is "Moscow Yankee." She

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The American Council of the IPR publishes factual reports and studies in both book and pamphlet form, and conducts workshops, conferences, and study courses in many parts of the United States. Over two million copies of its popular pamphlets have been used by the Army and Navy, schools, colleges, and study groups.

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In 1945 the United States Navy awarded its Certificate of Achievement to the American Council of the IPR "in recognition of exceptional accomplishment in behalf of the United States Navy and of meritorious contribution to the national war effort."

## EXHIBIT No. 30

## PROGRAM

*Friday evening, June 14*

Opening Meeting----- 8:30 p. m.

"Democratic Rights and National Defense"

## Speakers:

Josephine Truslow Adams, Swarthmore College.  
Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.  
Alfred K. Stern, Chairman, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.  
Labor Speaker (to be announced).

*Saturday afternoon, June 15*

Registration----- 1:00 p. m.

General Session----- 1:30-2:00 p. m.

Presiding Chairman: Rev. Theodore P. Ferris, Temporary Vice-Chairman Maryland Association for Democratic Rights.

Address: Samuel L. M. Barlow, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Round Table Discussions----- 2:00-4:00 p. m.

Round Table I. Democratic Rights and Labor.

Issues involved: National Defense and Civil Liberties; the industrial mobilization plan; legislation and trade unions; anti-trust prosecutions.

Round Table II. Democratic Rights and Minorities.

Issues involved: The attack upon the foreign born; Discrimination against the Negro; the anti-lynching Bill; anti-Semitism; civil rights of political minorities; intellectual freedom in the schools.

Saturday afternoon, June 15--Continued

Round Table III. Democratic Rights and the Church.

Issues involved: The Church and intolerance; religion in a democratic society; freedom of speech for the clergy; the responsibility of the Church in the face of attacks upon minorities.

(Chairman and Discussants of Round Tables to be announced).

Business Session----- 4:00-5:30 p. m.

Presiding Chairman: Rev. Theodore P. Ferris.

Reports by the Chairmen of Round Tables, with recommendations for action.

Election of Officers and Continuations Committee.

MARYLAND ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

AFFILIATED TO THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

FRANZ BOAS, NATIONAL HONORARY CHAIRMAN

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

Wm. F. Cochran, Chairman  
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Jacob J. Edelman	Samuel R. Morsell	

In order to facilitate arrangements for the Conference, please return this blank to the address below as soon as possible

REGISTRATION BLANK

MARYLAND ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS,  
19 Medical Arts Building, Baltimore, Md.

Name -----

Address -----

Please check your basis of participation in the Conference:

Individual -----

Representative of an organization -----

Organization -----

Total membership of organization -----

(Each organization is entitled to at least two delegates. Organizations having more than 100 members are entitled to one delegate for every additional 100 members.)

Registration Fee enclosed: 25c per delegate.

EXHIBIT No. 31

WRITERS CONGRESS—1943

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, L. A. CAMPUS, WESTWOOD. JOINT AUSPICES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOBILIZATION, FRIDAY, SATURDAY, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1, 2, 3

## WRITERS IN WAERTIME

Writers face tremendous and urgent tasks in relation to the war. The spoken and written word and the image on the screen are of crucial importance in developing civilian and military morale, in bringing the promise of victory to the countries under Axis tyranny, in cementing the unity of the United Nations, in clarifying the conditions for a just and lasting peace. In this second year of the conflict, the effective use of word and image is vital to the winning of the war.

Believing that this places a direct responsibility on all writers, and seeking to find ways and means by which the writer can understand and fulfill his obligations, the University of California and the Hollywood Writers Mobilization will hold a Congress of professional writers for the achievement of the following purposes:

To analyze propaganda techniques as weapons of victory; to sharpen the creative skill of writers by pooling their creative experience and knowledge; to investigate the most effective use of new media of expression; to strengthen firm and continuous cultural understanding among the United Nations; to mobilize the entire writing profession in a program of action for the free world of tomorrow.

*Opening session, Friday evening, 8:15 p. m., October 1, 1943*

ROYCE HALL, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Welcome-----Robert G. Sproul, President, University of California  
 Reading of message from President Franklin D. Roosevelt  
 The Writers Congress-----Marc Connelly, Ralph Freud  
 Robert Rossen, Chairman

## GREETINGS FROM THE UNITED NATIONS

Thomas Baird-----Great Britain Yu Shan Han-----China  
 Phyllis Bentley-----Great Britain Mikhail Kalatosov-----U. S. S. R.  
 Nehemias Gueiros, Enrique de Lozada, Jose Ramos, Hernane Tavares de Sa,  
 South America

## SPEAKERS

Lieut. Col. Evans Carlson, United States Marine Corps  
 Y. Frank Freeman, Motion Picture Producers Association  
 Owen Lattimore, Office of War Information  
 Col. Carlos Romulo, the Philippines  
 Walter White, N. A. A. C. P.

## GUESTS

James Cagney	Thomas Mann	Kenneth Thomson
Theodore Dreiser	Elliott Paul	Walter Wanger
D. D. Durr	Capt. Paul Perigord	Jack L. Warner
Lion Feuchtwanger	Calvin J. Smith	Col. Darryl F. Zanuck

A Cappella Choir—Director, Ray Moremen

*Saturday Morning, 10 a. m. to 12:30 p. m., October 2, 1943*

A panel discussion is a general sociological and psychological approach to a subject. A seminar treats the subject in relation to a specific, technical craft. Location of sessions will be posted at Royce Hall, Friday evening, October 1st.

## SEMINARS

*The feature film*

First Session: Dore Schary, Chairman; Sidney Buchman; William Dozier; Talbot Jennings; Col. Darryl F. Zanuck.

Treatment of the war in motion pictures. Responsibilities, accomplishments, challenges to be met. Survey of war films made and to be made. Trends in the story market. Indications for the future.

*Radio news and analysis*

Fox Case, Chairman; Harry W. Flannery; Sam Hayes; Chet Huntley; Clinton Jones; Hubbard Keavy; Nelson Pringle; Wallace Sterling.

Methods employed in assembling, rewriting, and airing the news. An actual radio news program prepared and broadcast before the audience of the seminar.

*The role of the press*

First Session: John Cohee, Chairman; Alexander Kaun; Robert C. Miller. War coverage. The war correspondent. Covering the home front. The labor press. The future functioning of the press in the war effort.

*Song writing in war*

Arthur Schwartz, Chairman; Ira Gershwin; Oscar Hammerstein, II; E. Y. Harburg; Leo Robin; Earl Robinson. The contribution of the song to the war effort. The role of the writer. Goals to reach.

*Radio television*

Lewis Allen Weiss, Chairman; Klaus Landsberg; Gilbert Seldes. The challenge of a new medium. Present status. The transition period. The writer in relation to television. Technical and economic implications.

*Humor and the war*

A. S. Burrows; Carroll Carroll; Cornwall Jackson; Phil Leslie; Leonard Levinson; Sam Moore; Don Quinn; Frederic Rinaldo; Melville Shavelson. Humor in relation to the morale of the soldier and the civilian.

*Saturday Afternoon, 2 to 5 p. m., October 2, 1943*

PANELS

*The nature of the enemy*

John Wexley, Chairman; Lion Feuchtwanger; David Hanna; Mikhail Kalatsov; Dudley Nichols; Col. Carlos Romulo; Virginia Wright. Treatment of the Enemy in films, books and radio. Survey and comparisons of Enemy types. The writer probes the Nazi "mind." How should Japan's racist political philosophy be treated by the writer? The key question: How closely are the German and Japanese people to be identified with their rulers?

*The American scene*

Robert Rossen, Chairman; Howard Estabrook; Franklin Fearing; James Felton; Bernard Gordon; Milton Merlin; Carleton F. Morse; Nat Wolff. Tensions and dislocations at home. The family under constantly changing social and economic conditions. The psychological factors which underlie creative writing in relation to the home front.

*Indoctrination and training film*

Capt. Bernard Vorhaus, Chairman; Thomas Baird; Lt. Col. Owen Crump; Lt. Col. Evans Carlson; Maj. Harrison Jacobs; Lt. Com. J. C. Hutchinson. The function of the training film. Reports on visual orientation courses. Showing of motion pictures exemplifying work of all branches of service.

*Saturday Evening, 7:30 to 10:30 P. M., October 2, 1943*

PANELS

*Minority groups*

Leonard Bloom, Chairman; Charlotta Bass; Carlos Bulosan; John Collier; Harry Hoijer; Carey McWilliams; Samuel Ornitz; Dalton Trumbo; Walter White. Historical and scientific background of the minority problems. . . The writer's treatment of the question. The Negro; Case history of a minority group.

*Pan-American affairs*

Ralph Beals, Chairman; Nehemias Gueiros; Enrique de Lozada; Jose Ramos; Hernane Tavares de Sa. Inter-American relations in their sociological, political, and economic aspects. Educational and linguistic problems defined and examined.

*Propaganda analysis*

John B. Hughes, Chairman; Lyman Bryson; Gordon Kahn; Paul Lazarsfeld; W. E. Oliver, Charles Seipmann; Frances Wilder.

Propaganda techniques in relation to the American scene . . . The writer's influence is strengthening the home front.

*Problems of peace*

Gordon S. Watkins, *Chairman*; Phyllis Bentley; Yu Shan Han; Vladimir Pozner; Robert Riskin.

Postwar internal planning. Postwar international cooperation . . . Cultural understanding among nations . . . The writer and his new audience.

*Sunday Morning, 10 a. m. to 12:30 p. m., October 3, 1943*

SEMINARS

*Writers in exile*

Phyllis Bentley, *Chairman*; Gustave Arit; Lion Feuchtwanger; Thomas Mann; Alexis Minotis; Capt. Paul Perigord.

The exiled writer's relation to his home country. His creative and economic problems . . . His return to his home country in the postwar world.

*The role of the press*

*Second Session*; Hobart Montee; Morris Watson.

War coverage . . . The war correspondent . . . Covering the home front . . . The labor press . . . The future functioning of the press in the war effort.

*Short-wave radio*

Glan Heisch, *Chairman*; John Burton; E. T. Buck Harris; Lt. Col. Tom Lewis; Larry Rhine.

Short-wave radio programs for our troops abroad . . . Propaganda uses . . . Actual illustrations of psychological warfare broadcasts by radio Tokyo . . . and by U. S. stations.

*The documentary film*

Leo Hurwitz, *Chairman*; Thomas Baird; James Wong Howe; Joris Ivens; Kenneth Macgowan; Sgt. Ben Maddow; Arthur Mayer.

The morale film . . . Wartime documentaries in commercial theaters . . . Comparison of work accomplished in various United Nations.

*Music and the war*

Lou Cooper; Hanns Eisler; Gerald Strang.

Music as an integral element of film and radio . . . The demands placed upon music by the war.

*Sunday Afternoon, 2 to 5 p. m., October 3, 1943*

SEMINARS

*The feature film*

*Second Session*; Thomas Baird; Thomas Chapman; Jorge Delano, Sr.; Mikhail Kalatosov; Robert Rossen.

The United Nations. Speakers from the British and Russian film industries. A comparative survey. Concrete proposals for more effective screen writing in terms of content and technique.

*The animated cartoon*

Phil Eastman, John Hubley, Karl van Lueven.

The unique position of the animated cartoon among war films . . . New opportunities for the writer and for the artist . . . Social and educational aspects.

*Creative radio*

Paul Franklin, *Chairman*; Hector Chevigny, Norman Corwin, Ranald MacDougall, Arch Oboler, Jack Runyon, Bernard Schoenfeld.

The radio dramatist in wartime . . . The commercial writer . . . Documentary radio . . . Evaluation of current tendencies . . . The future of creative radio writing.

*Publicity and the war*

Cecil Carl, *Chairman*.

The role of the motion picture publicist . . . Exploitation and advertising in the war effort.

1540 STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

Sunday Evening, 7:30 to 10:30 p. m., October 3, 1943

CONCLUDING SESSION: ROYCE HALL—REPORTS FROM PANELS AND SEMINARS;  
RESOLUTIONS—PROGRAM OF ACTION

(Meals will be served on the Campus at nominal prices)

COMMITTEES OF THE WRITERS CONGRESS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Marc Connelly; Ralph Freud

TREASURER

Francis Edwards Faragoh

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Gustave Arlt  
Sidney Buchman  
Fox Case  
Marc Connelly  
Jean Dalrymple  
William Dozier  
Charles Einfeld  
Franklin Fearing  
Y. Frank Freeman  
Ralph Freud

Francis H. Harmon  
John B. Hughes  
Joris Ivens  
Stephen Longstreet  
Alfred E. Longueil  
Kenneth Macgowan  
Mary C. McCall, Jr.  
William Morris, Jr.  
Dudley Nichols  
Mark Sandrich

Carl Sandburg  
Dore Schary  
Arthur Schwartz  
Robert G. Sproul  
Rex Stout  
Lamar Trotti  
Walter Wanger  
Jack L. Warner  
Walter White  
Col. Darryl F. Zanuck

GENERAL COMMITTEE

Gustave Arlt  
Bill Blowitz  
Richard Collins  
Franklin Fearing  
Paul Franklin  
Sheridan Gibney  
Talbot Jennings

Howard Koch  
John Howard Lawson  
Melvin Levy  
Alfred E. Longueil  
Milton Merlin  
Josef Mischel  
Sam Moore

Arch Oboler  
W. E. Oliver  
H. R. Reynolds  
Allen Rivkin  
Robert Rossen  
Zachary Schwartz

Publicity direction, Vic Shapiro and staff; executive secretary, Jane Mead

COMMITTEES ON PANELS AND SEMINARS

*Minority groups*

Ring Lardner, Jr., Chair-  
man  
Charles Brackett  
Edward Dymtryk  
Everett Freeman  
Don Hartman  
Harry Holjer  
Robert Josephs  
Carey McWilliams  
David Robison  
Frank Tuttle

*Nature of the enemy*

John Wexley, Chairman  
Frances Goodrich  
Albert Hackett  
David Hertz  
Dan James  
Emmett Lavery  
Stephen Longstreet  
Marva Ross  
Allan Scott

*Propaganda analysis*

Franklin Fearing, Chair-  
man  
Ben Barzman  
Sidney Carroll  
John Houseman  
John B. Hughes  
Sidney James  
H. R. Reynolds  
Cameron Shipp  
Frances Wilder

*American scene*

Robert Rossen, Chairman  
Edward Chodorov  
Howard Estabrook  
Franklin Fearing  
F. Hugh Herbert

*Problems of peace*

Melvin Levy, Chairman  
Bill Blowitz  
George Corey

*Problems of peace—Con.*

Sheridan Gibney  
Richard Hocking  
Sgt. Bob Lee  
Milton Merlin  
Hugh Miller  
W. E. Oliver  
Caroline Pratt  
Hans Reichenbach  
Paul Trivers

*Pan-American affairs*

Louis Solomon, Chairman  
Irwin Braun  
J. Robert Bren  
Enrique de Lozada  
Hernane Tavares de Sa  
Gerald Smith  
Guy Endore  
Manuel Gonzales  
Jackson Leighter  
Kenneth Macgowan  
Joan Madison



COMMITTEES ON PANELS AND SEMINARS—continued

<i>Pan-American affairs—</i> Continued	<i>Creative radio—Con.</i>	<i>Humor and the war—Con.</i>
H. R. Reynolds	Sam Moore	Melvin Frank
Allen Rivkin	Wendell Williams	Leonard Levinson
Waldo Salt	<i>Radio news and analysis</i>	Phil Leslie
Leo Townsend	Fox Case, Chairman	Sam Moore
Marion Zeitlin	<i>Radio shortwave</i>	Norman Panama
<i>Feature film</i>	Glan Hensch, Chairman	Don Quinn
Richard Collins, Chair- man	Georgia Backus	Frederic Rinaldo
William Dozler	<i>Publicity and war</i>	Fred Saidu
Talbot Jennings	Tom Alfred	Melville Shavelson
Fay Kanin	Bill Blowitz	<i>Arrangements</i>
Michael Kanin	Cecil Carle	Francis Edwards Fara- goh, Chairman
Howard Koch	Lou Harris	Milton Merlin, Vice- Chairman
Dudley Nichols	<i>Role of press</i>	Gustav Arlt
Maurice Rapf	H. R. Reynolds, Chairman	Fox Case
Meta Reis	Charles Cosgrove	Franklin Fearing
Dore Schary	Donald MacDonald	Ralph Freud
Lamar Trotti	John Maloney	Fred Grable
<i>Documentary film</i>	W. E. Oliver	Hy Kraft
Joris Ivens, Chairman	Robert Tonge	John Howard Lawson
Bernard Gordon	<i>Writers in exile</i>	Stephen Longstreet
Ian Hunter	Josef Mischel, Chairman	Alfred E. Longuell
Jay Leyda	Gustave Arlt	Melvin Levy
<i>Training films</i>	Kurt Neumann	Mrs. Robert Rossen
Capt. Bernard Vorhaus, Chairman	<i>Song writing in war</i>	Herman Rotsten
Lt. Commander J. C. Hut- chinson	Earl Robinson, Chairman	Adrian Scott
Major Harrison Jacobs	Leo Robin	Jack Stanley
Lt. Fanning Hearon	Arthur Schwartz	Mrs. William Wylar
Sgt. Stanley Rubin	<i>Music and the war</i>	<i>Publicity</i>
Corp. Alex Greenberg	Carroll Hollister, Chair- man	Bill Blowitz
Henry Blankfort, Jr.	Mischa Altman	John Clark
Edgar Peterson	Florence Byrens	John Flinn
<i>Animated cartoon</i>	Sol Kaplan	Chandler Harris
Zachary Schwartz, Chair- man	Gale Kubik	Jerry Hoffman
Graham Heid	Lydia Marcus	Leonard Neubauer
Winston Hibler	Earl Robinson	George Thomas, Jr.
Sgt. John Hubley	Gerald Strang	<i>Tickets</i>
William King	Cyril Towbin	Jane Murfin, Chairman
Karl Van Leuven	<i>Humor and the war</i>	Harold Buchman
Norman Wright	Stanley Roberts, Chair- man	Earl Felton
<i>Creative radio</i>	A. S. Burrows	Robert E. Kent
Arch Oboler, Chairman	Julius Epstein	Lewis Meltzer
Bernard Schoenfeld		Ann Roth Morgan
		Frank Partos
		Marguerite Roberts
		Stanley Roberts
		Richard Weil

GUILDS PARTICIPATING IN THE HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOBILIZATION

Robert Rossen, Chairman  
Paul Franklin, Vice Chairman  
Pauline Lauber Finn, Executive Secretary

Screen Writers Guild	Screen Cartoonists Guild
Radio Writers Guild	American Newspaper Guild
Screen Publicists Guild	Independent Publicists Assn.
Screen Readers Guild	Song Writers Protective Association

1655 NORTH CHEROKEE, HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA

## EXHIBIT No. 32

## SENATOR McCARTHY'S STATEMENT ON GUSTAVO DURAN

The Committee will recall that the name of Gustavo Duran was first mentioned by me as a possible bad security risk in a speech which I made in Reno, Nevada.

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

This statement was promptly ridiculed by the Secretary of State who—through Mr. Peurifoy—merely said that this man Duran was no longer an employee of the State Department, but had been in the auxiliary foreign service from January 1943 until September 1945, and thereafter until October 4, 1946, in the Department. Mr. Peurifoy added that Duran had voluntarily resigned from the State Department on October 4, 1946.

One of the important facts that the Secretary overlooked in making this press release is that this man is still, as of today, a high salaried official in the United Nations. On March 8th my office phoned the office of Trygve Lie to find out exactly what type of work he was doing. My office was advised that information could not be given to me. The State Department advised me that Duran is now Chief of the Cultural Activities Section of the Department of Social Affairs, United Nations.

I was surprised to find that the Permanent Secretary of the United Nations felt he could not give to a United States Senator the information as to what this man was doing. However, since that time I have had the matter checked in New York and am informed he is actually with the International Refugee Organization, engaged in work having to do with screening refugees coming into this country. The financial contribution which the United States makes toward the running of this United Nations' agency amount to 45.57 percent. (Senate Report 1274, 81st Congress, 2d Session, Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, prepared by Subcommittee on Relations with International Organizations.)

At the time that Acheson's man attempted to ridicule my statement, he either did not know the facts in the case or he was covering up the information which is in the files and which should have been known to him.

This information, which I shall document for the committee, was known or was available to the State Department. It shows that Duran was (1) well-known for his rabid Communist beliefs and activities, (2) that he was active in secret Soviet operations in the Spanish Republican Army, (3) that a highly confidential report was sent to the State Department by the Military Attaché at the American Embassy in Madrid which according to all existing rules called for Duran's immediate dismissal—unless the facts were proven to be wrong. Originally, I understand it was claimed that this was a case of mistaken identity. That claim, I believe, has been subsequently dropped in view of the fact that our intelligence produced pictures of him in the uniform that he wore at the time he was the regional head of SIM, which was the Spanish counterpart of the Russian NKVD or OGPU. I now hand the committee one of those pictures.

At the time this intelligence report reached the State Department, Duran was a highly placed official in a confidential capacity with the State Department in South America.

When the American people read the carefully prepared statement put out by the Secretary of State's office in regard to the Duran statement, they were entitled to rely upon it as being the truth. Unfortunately, anyone who believed that statement got a completely erroneous impression of the actual facts.

Whichever way you wish to interpret this situation I submit to the Committee that it is typical of the carelessness of the top executives of the State Department of this country. The situation I have just discussed is typical of the type of news releases emanating from the State Department; it is typical of the half truths we hear in answer to the information which I have been developing in regard to the bad security risks in that Department.

I now submit to the committee the Intelligence Report just referred to in its entirety. It will be noted the State Department received a copy of it. There are certain matters discussed in this report which I do not feel should be made public until the committee has had a chance to thoroughly look into them. I have, therefore, deleted these sections from the copies being handed to the press and will not read them into the record at this time. The entire report, however, with nothing deleted is being handed to each of the members of the committee.

B. I. D. No. 7232.  
Report No. R-290/46.

CONFIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT FOR GENERAL USE BY ANY U. S. INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

JUNE 4, 1946.

From: Military Attaché, American Embassy, Madrid, Spain.  
Source: Spanish Army Central General Staff. B-3.  
Area Reported On: Spain.

Who's Who: GUSTAVO DURAN.

Following is the report given the Military Attaché by the A. C. of S., G-2, Spanish Central General Staff, after the M/A asked whether DURAN was known:

1. "Gustavo DURAN came to Madrid for the first time in the nineteen twenties from the Canary Island, in the company of another Canarian, a painter called Nestor, who was registered by the Spanish police for the same reasons as Duran \* \* \*. As a friend of Nestor, Gustavo Duran became employed as a pianist in the company of Antonia Merce the 'Argentinita' and went to Berlin to participate in that capacity in dance shows. However, his \* \* \* caused him to incur the fury of the Berlin police, which finally ousted him from Germany.

2. "Similar trouble happened to him in other European capitals. His \* \* \* grew to the limit in Paris, which was the preferred center for his activities some years before the advent of the Spanish Republic in 1931, while he was under the protection of his friend Nestor, the painter, who was well known in certain Parisian quarters. About that time the Soviets entrusted Gustavo Duran with some missions and finally appointed him their agent.

3. "Upon the proclamation of the Spanish Republic, the 'Porcelana' (as he was nicknamed) returned to Madrid. His identity papers indicated that he was the representative of the Paramount Film Co. However, his true mission was service of the GPU. Duran was greatly successful in his activities due to the political protection he enjoyed. He soon became one of the leading members of the Youths of the Communist Party and greatly contributed to the merger of the Communist Youths with the youths of the Spanish Labor Party, thus giving birth to the JSU ('Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas'—United Socialist Youths), of fateful remembrance, since this organization committed the most cold-blooded crimes before 18 July 1936 (date of the military uprising) and during the Red revolution which ensued.

4. "During the republican regime (1931-1936) Duran continued practicing his \* \* \*. Together with other 'close' friends of his and some young pro-Communist poets, among whom Alberty was noted, Duran succeeded in becoming notorious. All them were his tools and all them were made into active Communists. In Duran's home located \* \* \*, such meetings took place that the police had to interfere frequently, thus giving occasion to complete his record as \* \* \* in the files of the General Directorate of Security. This record as \* \* \* was probably removed by his friend Serrano Poncela, who was the Chief of the 'Red' Police during the months of October and November 1936 in Madrid and political reporter of 'Mundo Obrero' (a Communist newspaper) and Chief of the JSU Duran's release from his frequent imprisonments for \* \* \* conduct was due to his powerful political protectors, who blindly obeyed orders from the Soviet political police.

5. "Upon the national uprising (beginning of Civil War) Gustavo Duran took over the nearest convent to his house, called 'las Siervas de Maria,' located at the old Chamberi Plaza. He was there the 'responsable', or chief. He was afflicted there with typhoid fever during the month of August 1936.

The "Cause General" (General Judicial Proceedings) has information about the crimes perpetrated by the militia under the command of Duran's "choca" (illegal prison). He was one of the principal leaders of the popular militia created by the Communists. He was a personal friend of Lister and Modesto (commanders of Red brigades, now Generals in the Russian Army) and soon

became captain, major and lieutenant colonel of the "Red" Army. He belonged to the General staff of the "Red" forces which directed the "brilliant" withdrawals of Talavera de la Reina, Maqueda, Toledo, etc.

6. "When the international brigades were brought into the Madrid and Aranjuez fronts, Gustavo Duran formed part of the High Russian General Staff, with headquarters at Tarancon and its vicinity, where they left sad and hideous recollections.

7. "After Tarancon we (the Spanish Intelligence Service) lost track of Duran. It appears that he went to Moscow with a delegation of male and female members of the "Red" Army. It appears that later he was for some time in Paris.

8. "And now he is in Washington as a collaborator of Spruille Braden, Chief of a Section of the State Department."

9. M. A. Comment: A very reliable Spaniard who is anti-Franco in sympathies but is middle of the road republican and extremely pro-U. S. and democratic in his views states that he knows personally that DURAN as commander officer of an international brigade in a small town not far from Madrid ordered the execution of the town electrician and another man who was a mason, neither of whom has committed any act for which they should have suffered this execution.

1332 WENDELL G. JOHNSON,  
Colonel, G. S. O., Military Attaché.

The Honorable Kenneth S. Wherry wrote to the State Department on August 2, 1946, demanding the immediate discharge of Duran. I now submit this letter:

AUGUST 2, 1946.

The Honorable JAMES F. BYRNES,  
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SECRETARY: As a member of the Appropriation Committee, on April 18, 1946, I asked for investigation of certain persons holding positions of trust and responsibility in your Department.

It was my purpose then and is now to withhold appropriations that finance the salaries and activities of anyone in the State Department whose allegiance apparently is to some other country rather than to the United States.

You will recall, Mr. Secretary, that when you appeared I questioned you about some of these officials and among them was a Gustavo Duran. This was just prior to the Carter Glass funeral. At that time you stated there was a question of identity of Gustavo Duran. You stated further an investigation had revealed that he was some other person than the man in the State Department, who has been an assistant to Spruille Braden.

It has now come to my knowledge there exists an extensively military intelligence report on this man, Gustavo Duran, and I am reliably informed that several copies of this report have been delivered to the State Department.

I am now making this formal request upon you in my official capacity as a United States Senator, and as a member of the State Department Subcommittee on Appropriations, that on the basis of this report you immediately discharge Gustavo Duran.

Cordially yours,

KENNETH S. WHERRY.

KSW: emn

After Senator Wherry wrote this letter to the State Department, demanding the immediate discharge of Duran, he received on September 14, 1946, the following letter from Mr. Donald Russell, the Assistant Secretary of State.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE,  
Washington, September 14, 1946.

The Honorable KENNETH S. WHERRY,  
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of your recent inquiry about the security investigation by the Department of Mr. Gustavo Duran. As you know, the Department has a Security Committee which confines itself to reviewing security investigations and to making recommendations based thereon. Of course, this committee has nothing to do with reviewing the qualifications or competency of the person reviewed for a position in the Department other than as security is involved. I have added this because from our conversation I would assume that you seriously question the qualifications of Mr. Duran for employment, as distinguished from security consideration. That phase of Mr. Duran's employment is not within the scope of the Security Committee.

Mr. BOYD. I understand, then, that the defense has completed their cross-examination with the exception of one item.

Inspector PHELAN. So I understand with the exception of possible questioning on that further item, if counsel decides to do that.

It seems that counsel isn't prepared to go any further anyhow, so that, at the moment, that leaves us in the position of going ahead with some other witness. If later there is any argument or dispute, we will have to argue it or dispose of it as it comes up.

Call your next witness.

Mr. BOYD. I understand that Mr. Budenz is [p. 201] excused at this time?

Inspector PHELAN. Unless he is recalled at some future date.

Mr. SACHER. The point is this: I will know this afternoon whether he is to be recalled or not. I would therefore suggest that, so you can have some continuity in the record, that if I am in a position this afternoon to indicate that I want him back, I will indicate that to Mr. Boyd.

Mr. BOYD. Is there a possibility of calling him this afternoon?

Mr. SACHER. I do not think so, because I doubt if I will have it within an hour.

Mr. BOYD. Mr. Budenz will not be available tomorrow morning in any event. At least, he will not be available until tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. SACHER. All right. If this comes, I will be just as happy to have him in the afternoon as in the morning.

## EXHIBIT No. 84

## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO "PACIFIC AFFAIRS" MARCH 1934 TO JUNE 1941

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(Letter)	March 1939.

## EXHIBIT No. 85

## SIGNERS OF LETTERS FROM PEOPLE WHO KNOW OWEN LATTIMORE'S WORK

William R. Amberson, professor of physiology, University of Maryland  
 E. Cowles Andrus, professor of medicine, Johns Hopkins University  
 Donald Andrews, professor of physics, Johns Hopkins University  
 Hollis Bantier, professor, University of Chicago  
 Knight Biggerstaff, professor of Chinese history, Cornell University  
 Carrol Binder, journalist  
 Woodbridge Bingham, associate professor of Far Eastern history, University of California  
 Francis F. Beirne, author and columnist  
 Demaree Bess, staff writer, Saturday Evening Post  
 Eugene P. Boardman, assistant professor of history, University of Wisconsin  
 George Boas, professor of philosophy, Johns Hopkins University  
 Martin Toscan Bennett, consulting engineer  
 Derk Bodde, assistant professor of Chinese, University of Pennsylvania  
 Robert Blakely, editor, St. Louis  
 Dorothy Borg, research on Far East, New York city.  
 Hugh Borton, associate professor of Japanese, Columbia University  
 Adda Bozeman, professor of international relations, Sarah Lawrence College  
 Eleanor Breed, columnist  
 Norman Brown, director of South Asia Institute, University of Pennsylvania  
 Percy Buchanan, director, Institute of Asiatic Affairs, University of Oklahoma  
 Pearl Buck, author  
 Gladys W. Bundy, lawyer and Republican clubwoman

Robert E. Bundy, town clerk, Bethel, Vt.  
 Claude Buss, professor of history, Stanford University  
 Gertrude Bussey, professor, Goucher College  
 John F. Cady, associate professor of history, Ohio University  
 John C. Caldwell, ex-deputy director, United States Information Service for  
 Korea  
 Schuyler Camman, assistant professor, University of Pennsylvania  
 Wm. Mansfield Clark, professor of medicine, Johns Hopkins University  
 Zacharish Chafee, Jr., professor of law, Harvard University  
 Melvin Conant, China program, Harvard University  
 James J. Corry, Jr., lecturer in Chinese, University of Michigan  
 Robert S. Cochrane, director, Station WMAR, Baltimore  
 John Hadley Cox, assistant professor, University of Michigan  
 Lester Cowan, moving picture producer  
 Olive Thompson Cowell, professor of education, San Francisco State College  
 Francis Cleaves, assistant professor of Chinese, Harvard University  
 Spencer Coxe, American Friends Service (?)  
 Robert I. Crane, professor of history, University of Chicago  
 George B. Cressey, professor of geography, Syracuse University  
 Elmer Davis, radio commentator, American Broadcasting Co.  
 Lloyd E. Dewey, professor of finance, New York University  
 Josiah E. DuBois, Jr., lawyer  
 William Egerton, social sciences department, University of Chicago  
 Rupert Emerson, professor of government, Harvard University  
 Gertrude Ely, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 H. H. Fisher, chairman, Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford University  
 Grace Frank, professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University  
 Julian Friedman, London School of Economics  
 John K. Fairbank, professor of history, Harvard University  
 Miriam S. Farley, research associate, American Institute of Pacific Relations  
 Ludwig Freund, professor of political science, University of Chicago  
 Lewis Gannett, columnist, New York Herald Tribune  
 Charles S. Gardiner, research in Chinese History, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Gussie E. Gaskill, librarian, Cornell University  
 Meredith P. Gilpatrick, professor of political science, Ohio State University  
 Ann Gertler, assistant professor of Economics, Mount Holyoke College  
 Carrington Goodrich, professor of Chinese, Columbia University  
 Randall Gould, journalist  
 George Grassmuck, assistant professor of political science, Boston University  
 Mortimer Graves, secretary, American Council of Learned Societies  
 Louis Gottschalk, professor of history, University of Chicago  
 Morton Grodzius, professor of history, University of Chicago  
 Roger Hackett, China program, Howard University  
 J. W. Hall, instructor, University of Michigan  
 Ellen Hammer, Institute of International Studies, Yale University  
 Earl Parker Hanson, professor of geography, University of Delaware  
 G. W. Harrison, assistant professor, University of Florida  
 Richard Edes Harrison, cartographer  
 James R. Hightower, assistant professor of Chinese language and literature,  
 Harvard University  
 Everett Hawkins, professor of economics, Mount Holyoke College  
 Malcolm Hobbes, writer  
 W. L. Holland, secretary general, Institute of Pacific Relations  
 Paul Homan, professor of economics, U. S. L. A.  
 Richard Hooker, professor of social sciences, University of Chicago  
 Bruce C. Hooper, professor of government, Harvard University  
 Elizabeth Huff, head, East Asiatic Library, University of Chicago  
 Nobutake Ike, curator, Japanese Collection, Hoover Institute and Library,  
 Stanford  
 Gerald W. Johnson, author  
 David R. Jones, president, Bennet College  
 Arthur Jorgenson, former missionary in Japan  
 George McE. Kahin, assistant professor of political science, Johns Hopkins  
 University  
 George A. Kennedy, associate professor of Chinese, Yale University  
 V. O. Key, professor of political economy, Yale University

Norman Kiell, department of sociology and philosophy foundations, Teachers College, Columbia University  
 Robin Kinkead, journalist, formerly OWI, San Francisco  
 Gerard P. Koh, associate professor of Chinese, Yale University  
 Yongjeung Kim, head of Korean Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C.  
 Benjamin H. Kizer, lawyer, formerly UNNRA Director for China  
 Hyman Kublin, assistant professor of history, Brooklyn College  
 Lawrence Krader, Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington  
 John D. Larkin, professor of political science and dean of University of Chicago  
 Alexander Laing, librarian, Dartmouth College  
 Jacob Landau, Overseas News Agency  
 Frederic C. Lane, professor of history, Johns Hopkins University  
 Carl T. Keller, Harvard-Yenching Institute  
 Willis J. King, Bishop of the Methodist Church  
 Marlon J. Levy, Jr., assistant professor of sociology, Princeton University  
 Wayner Leys, professor, University of Chicago  
 Frederica de Laguna, professor of anthropology, Bryn Mawr College  
 Richard Lauterbach, author  
 Clare Leighton, author and artist  
 Paul Linebarger, professor of Asiatic Political School of Advanced International Studies  
 William Lockwood, department director, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton  
 Helen Lynd, professor of social sciences, Sarah Lawrence College  
 Clarence Long, professor of political economy, Johns Hopkins University  
 Donald McKay, professor of history, chairman of committee on international studies, Harvard University  
 Shannon McCune, chairman, department of geography, Colgate University  
 Desmond Martin, research student and author  
 Maury Maverick, former Congressman and mayor of San Antonio  
 William Mayer, former military attaché, Peking  
 Franz Michael, professor of far-eastern history, University of Washington  
 Broadus Mitchell, professor of economics, Rutgers University  
 Hans Morgenthau, professor of political science, University of Chicago  
 Saul Padover, dean of School of Politics, New School for Social Research  
 E. F. Penrose, professor of geography, Johns Hopkins University  
 Arthur Upham Pope, director, Asia Institute  
 John A. Pope, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington  
 Edwards A. Park, professor of pediatrics, Johns Hopkins University  
 Lucius C. Porter, ex-professor, Yenching University, Peking  
 Earl H. Pritchard, associate professor of far-eastern history, University of Chicago  
 Dale Pontius, Roosevelt College, Chicago  
 Rollin B. Posey, professor of political science, Northwestern University  
 Hortense Powdermaker, professor of anthropology, Queens College  
 Earl Pritchard, associate professor of far-eastern history, University of Chicago  
 Hermann Pritchett, professor  
 Nathaniel Peffer, professor of international relations, Columbia University  
 Harold S. Quigley, professor of political science, University of Minnesota  
 Wilnot Ragsdale, foreign correspondent, Time and Life  
 Christopher Rand, foreign correspondent  
 C. F. Remer, professor of economics, University of Michigan  
 Lloyd Reynolds, professor of economics, Yale University  
 Charles J. Rhoads, former Governor, Federal Reserve Bank, Philadelphia  
 Millard Rogers, assistant professor of Chinese art history, Stanford University  
 Lawrence K. Rosinger, research associate, American Institute of Pacific Relations  
 Doris Russel, professor of English, Vassar College  
 Easton Rothwell, vice chairman, Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford, University  
 Stanley Salmen, executive vice president and director, Little, Brown & Co.  
 Lawrence Sickman, vice director, Nelson Gallery, Kansas City  
 Dorothy Shields, professor of political economy, Goucher College  
 Father Louis Schram, Immaculate Heart Missions  
 Harvey Schuman, publisher  
 Elbridge Sibley, Social Science Research Council  
 Charles Siepmann, professor of education, New York University  
 Ernest J. Siffmons, professor of Slavic languages, Columbia University

Harlow Shapley, professor of astronomy, Harvard University  
 Robert E. Sherwood, author and playwright  
 Stanley Spector, Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington  
 Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Arctic explorer and author  
 David Stevens, former director, division of humanities, Rockefeller Foundation  
 Edgar Snow, editorial writer, Saturday Evening Post  
 Rodger Swearingen, lecturer, University of Southern California  
 Leland Stowe, editor, the Reporter  
 Earl Swisher, history department, University of Colorado  
 Bradford Smith, author  
 Thomas Smith, assistant professor of far-eastern history, Stanford University  
 Herbert Bayard Swope, editor  
 Phillip H. Taylor, professor of international relations, Syracuse University  
 S. B. Thomas, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York  
 Virginia Thompson, far-eastern research, New York  
 Daniel Thorner, assistant professor of economic history, University of Pennsylvania  
 Elliott R. Thorpe, brigadier general, United States Army, retired  
 Nischa Titieva, associate professor of anthropology, University of Michigan  
 Alfred Tozzer, professor of anthropology (retired), Harvard University  
 Andrew G. Truzal, president, Hood College  
 Harold Vinacke, professor of political science, University of Cincinnati  
 James P. Warburg, banker and author  
 Royal J. Wald, research fellow, California  
 Langdon Warner, curator of oriental department, Fogg Museum, Harvard University  
 Richard J. Walsh, president, John Day Co.  
 William Stix Wasserman, chairman, Electronized Chemicals Corps.  
 George H. Watson, University of Chicago  
 Edward A. Weeks, editor of the Atlantic Monthly  
 George Wilson, social science department, University of Chicago  
 Thomas Wiener, department of Slavic studies, Duke University  
 Harold J. Wiens, assistant professor of geography, Yale University  
 Herbert F. West, professor of English, Dartmouth College  
 C. Martin Wilbur, associate professor of Chinese, Columbia University  
 John B. Whitelaw, professor of education, Johns Hopkins University  
 Arthur Wright, assistant professor of history, Stanford University  
 Mary Wright, curator of Chinese Collection, Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford University  
 Quincy Wright, professor of international law, University of Chicago  
 J. B. Whitehead, professor of electrical engineering, Johns Hopkins University  
 H. R. Wishegrad, Overseas News Agency  
 H. G. W. Woodward, professor of history, Johns Hopkins University  
 Joseph K. Yamigawa, associate professor of Japanese, University of Michigan  
 Margaret Young, formerly secretary of Page School of International Relations

## EXHIBIT No. 86

## MINUTES OF FIGHTING-FUNDS FOR FINLAND, INC., 1940

The first meeting of the Maryland Committee for Fighting-Funds for Finland, Inc., met on Tuesday afternoon, February 20, 5 p. m., at 516 North Charles Street. Those present were Mr. Baldwin, Judge Leser, Dr. Lovejoy, Mr. Theodore Marburg, Mr. Charles Marburg, Miss Poe, Mr. Porter, and Miss Snow. Mr. Charles Marburg in the chair.

The names of those who had consented to serve on the committee were announced as follows: Dr. Harold N. Arrowsmith, Mr. Rignal W. Baldwin, Mr. George G. Carey, Jr., Mrs. Rufus Gibbs, Dr. W. Stull Holt, Mr. Wallace Lanahan, Dr. Owen Lattimore, Rabbi Morris S. Lazon, Judge Oscar Leser, Dr. Arthur O. Lovejoy, Dr. Kemp Malone, Mr. Charles L. Marburg, Mr. Theodore Marburg, Mr. F. Furnival Peard, Miss Mary Lee Poe, Mr. Alexander G. Porter, Maj. Gen. Milton A. Reckord, Dr. F. C. Reynolds, and Miss Jessie L. Snow.

Mr. Charles Marburg announced that Maj. Gen. John F. O'Ryan had accepted the chairmanship of the National Organization with headquarters at 120 Broadway, New York City. Quoting from a telegram from Mr. R. F. Seton-Harris,

executive secretary of the national organization, "Fighting-Funds for Finland, Inc., is now actively forming in each State. Its charter calls for monies and other donations to be outright gifts to the Republic of Finland without restriction for the purchase of armaments and other munitions in defense of Finland \* \* \* all organizing expenses are to be privately underwritten as far as possible, so that funds will go in toto to the Finns." Mr. Seton-Harris also emphasized the importance of speeding up organization plans in order that action could start at once to rush collections to the courageous Finnish people.

Mr. Theodore Marburg presented a statement for the press. A copy is attached to these minutes. A letter written by Mr. Marburg which was to appear in the Morning Sun the following day was also read.

Mr. Charles Marburg announced that Mr. F. Furnival Peard, of the Maryland Trust Co., had consented to receive contributions for Fighting-Funds for Finland, Inc., in Maryland.

The motion was made by Mr. Porter and seconded by Miss Poe that Miss Snow be appointed the executive secretary of the Maryland Committee for Fighting-Funds for Finland, Inc. The meeting adjourned to be reconvened the following day, February 21, at 4:30 p. m.

Respectfully submitted.

JESSIE L. SNOW, *Executive Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 87

QUOTATIONS FROM OWEN LATTIMORE'S WRITINGS

"The spread of direct Russian control over Asia would be disastrous for the countries of Asia as well as for America and Europe." ("The Situation in Asia," by Owen Lattimore (Little, Brown & Co., 1949). Page 12.)

"No Chinese government can be genuinely independent if it is subject to manipulation by Russia." (Statement signed by Mr. Lattimore together with Senator Flanders, Senator Murray, and Professors Dulles, Fisher, and MacNair, December 30, 1946.)

"At the same time, any new departure in United States policy in Asia must be proof against the accusation of 'appeasing' Communism as a doctrine or Russia as a state." (Article in "The Atlantic Monthly," January 1950, by Owen Lattimore.)

"Those of us who have never been Marxists have many straightforward disagreements with the Marxists." (Book Review in the "New York Herald Tribune" by Owen Lattimore, November 30, 1947.)

"United States policy should aim to increase the ability of countries in Asia to do without Russia, by encouraging a steady improvement of the three-way economic relationship between Asia, Europe, and America, including the resumption of the supply of raw materials from Asia, the sale of Europe's manufactures in Asia, and American financing both of industrialization in Asia and recovery in Europe. The American financing should be undertaken as a sound enterprise in increasing production and consumption, not as a doling out of subsidies to keep the economies of Asia and Europe stagnantly alive." (Article in "The Atlantic Monthly," January 1950, by Owen Lattimore.)

"\* \* \* American policy, to be successful, must operate through the United Nations as much as possible and strengthen the United Nations as much as possible. A two-world system of American allies and satellites, ranged against Russian allies and satellites, is not enough in America's favor and may be too much in Russia's favor. Only by working through the United Nations can the third countries, which are already critically important in Asia and may become important in Europe, be brought closer to the American side than to the Russian side." ("The Situation in Asia" by Owen Lattimore (Little, Brown & Co., 1949) Page 227.)

"The fact is that the American interest, of course and without further discussion, lies in making sure of the minimum expansion of Russian control and influence." (Lecture by Owen Lattimore, Mt. Holyoke College, June 1948.)

"Nationalism is the only bedrock on which a political structure can be built in China—or anywhere in Asia—today. If we are as quick as the Russians and the Communists of Asia are to build on that bedrock, then the new political structures that are being built in China and all over Asia will incorporate many features of capitalism, private enterprise, and political democracy in their third

STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION 1855

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1950.

The Honorable MILLARD E. TYDINGS,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: I am sending you herewith some material which I hope will be of use to the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relation Committee in examining the charges which Senator McCarthy has made against my wife. The enclosures include:

1. A statement which I have written about myself;
2. A file of testimonial letters, most of which were written at my request, together with a copy of my request for the letters; and
3. A copy of the statement about me which was released by the Navy Department on March 13, 1950.

Respectfully yours,

STEPHEN BRUNAUER.

Enclosures.

AFFIDAVIT OF STEPHEN BRUNAUER

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO WIT:

On this 11th day of May, 1950, before me, the subscriber, a Notary Public in and for the District aforesaid, personally appeared Stephen Braunauer, signed the attached declaration in my presence, and made oath in due form of law that said attached declaration is a true statement of the matters and facts set forth therein.

He has also initialed each page of said attached eight-paged declaration in my presence.

Subscribed and sworn to before me.

HERBERT A. ENGLER, Notary Public.

[SEAL]

My commission expires January 1, 1951.

I, Stephen Brunauer, residing at 3417 Quebec Street NW., Washington, D. C., make the following declaration because of certain statements and insinuations made by Senator Joseph McCarthy on March 13 and because of questions asked by Senator Bourke Hickenlooper on March 27 before the Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This subcommittee was appointed under Senate Resolution 231 to investigate charges of disloyalty in the Department of State.

I am employed by the Department of the Navy as Chief Technical Administrator of Explosives Research and Development, Bureau of Ordnance. I have never been employed by the Department of State. My wife is a State Department employee, and in a previous appearance before the subcommittee has already dealt more than adequately with the statements and insinuations made about her. Since insinuations about me were used against my wife, I wish to show that they, too, are without basis in fact.

In support and corroboration of my declaration, I am attaching a file of testimonial letters, most of which I requested from the writers as a means of furnishing the subcommittee with detailed information about my work, character, loyalty and integrity.

I am a loyal American. I came to the United States from Hungary in 1921, at the age of 18, because I wanted to make my life in this country, which I considered the land of hope and freedom. I became a citizen on September 1, 1927. In 1942 I became an officer in the United States Naval Reserve and entered upon active duty on October 23 of that year, serving until November 13, 1946. I sought military service, although I could have continued my work as a civilian scientist throughout the war period, because I felt that I must participate wholeheartedly in the defense of the United States. I have remained in the Department of the Navy as a civilian employee because I believe that I have a contribution to make to the national defense through the development of more effective explosives. I am still a Reserve officer. I belong to Volunteer Ordnance Component W-1 of Washington, and attend its meetings regularly. At an appropriate place in this declaration I shall describe more fully some of the contributions which I have made and am now making to the national defense. The members of my immediate family are all in the United States. My mother has made her home with me in Washington since 1936; my brother and his wife arrived in this country on

December 27, 1948, as political exiles from Communist-dominated Hungary; my wife and children are native Americans.

I am not a Communist. I am not a Communist sympathizer. On the contrary, I am bitterly opposed to communism. At one time in my life, more than 20 years ago, I was a member of the Hungarian Section of the Young Workers League in New York City, for a period of about 3 years, from 1923 or early 1924, to the end of 1926 or early 1927. Since dropping out of this organization I have not belonged to any organization listed as subversive by the Attorney General nor to any organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In this declaration I am describing more fully certain aspects of my life and work which seem to me especially significant in refuting charges that I may be disloyal or a security risk.

First, I wish to summarize the evolution of my political opinions since coming to the United States.

From my arrival in New York in October 1921 until I moved to Washington in February 1928 I was occupied mainly in obtaining an education. I had graduated from high school in Budapest with the highest honors. In New York I studied at City College and at Columbia University and supported myself, and even sent money back to Hungary to help in the education of my younger brother. When I arrived in America I spoke no English. I was a lonely young man, and had few opportunities for personal contacts with native Americans. In the midst of my work and study it was not easy for me to gain an intimate and first-hand understanding of the culture and institutions of my new homeland. One illustration of the slowness with which a newcomer learns American customs was the fact that when, in June 1925, a few days before graduation from Columbia, I was notified that I had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa, I had no idea what this meant. I had to go to the University Library to look up the meaning of Phi Beta Kappa.

At the age of 20, I had spent two years in New York in new surroundings working and studying intensively, and I was starved for companionship. When I was sought out and befriended by some Hungarian Communists, my ignorance of the American way and my loneliness helped them to persuade me to join their group, the Hungarian Section of the Young Workers League. Social activities—dances, singing, and sports, especially soccer, which I had played as a boy in Hungary—occupied most of our time, and I was able to have some of the fun I had missed so badly during my first two years in America.

Thus, although the Young Workers League was an adjunct of the Workers Party (the forerunner of the present Communist Party), it was some time before I became critical of their ideas. The leaders of the League got me to write a few articles in the Hungarian Communist newspaper and to give some talks to Hungarians in New York and neighboring towns. I believe that I wrote five or six articles and I delivered a number of lectures. By this time I remember very few details of that period, because long ago I put my experience in the Young Workers League behind me and forgot it almost completely until 1947, when I discovered that this episode of my past had become an issue in connection with my security record.

Since Senator Hickenlooper asked a question of my wife about her belonging to the Young Workers League, I should like to state here that this question is probably based on mistaken identity. In 1926 I married Anna Friedmann, a Hungarian girl, in New York. She was a member of the Young Workers League and in fact she had been instrumental in bringing me into that organization. Her brother, about whom Senator Hickenlooper also inquired, also belonged to the Young Workers League. I understand that he is an active Communist, but I should like to state that I have not seen him for twenty-two years. My first wife and I were separated in 1928, and we were divorced in 1931. I married Esther Caukin, my present wife, in 1931.

In 1924 the Workers Party was in turmoil over the American Presidential election, the issue being whether to have their own candidate or to support La Follette. The Young Workers took part in the debate, though they were not permitted to vote at the Workers Party meetings. I wrote two articles for "UJ Előe" supporting the minority view, which was that La Follette should be supported. The majority, led by William Z. Foster, intended to run a Workers' Party candidate but, as we were given to understand, its decision was overruled by Moscow. Even though the side I had supported won, I felt disillusioned because I believe in majority rule. Also, I did not like the idea of Moscow directing the American Communists. As the months went by I found more and more to criticize in the ideas and methods of the Communists. At the end of 1926 or



possibly early in 1927 I dropped out of the Young Workers League. I did not write a letter of resignation, but told them I was leaving, and stopped paying dues and attending meetings.

From 1927 to 1933 I went through a period of transition from Communist ideology to liberalism. In that period I still had some radical tendencies, but they played a very unimportant part in my life as compared with my scientific work and professional advancement. One of the instances I can recall of my increasingly critical attitude toward communism is that when I was at Johns Hopkins in 1931-32, I gave a talk to a group of students on Science in the Soviet Union. In it I condemned the Soviet attitude toward science, especially condemning Science at the Crossroads, a Russian book which had just been translated and published in New York.

The complete break came in 1933, when I spent almost a year in Germany doing postgraduate study. I was on leave of absence from the Department of Agriculture. My wife and I were vigorously opposed to the Nazi regime and when we observed the Communist tactics, which at times opposed the Nazis and at times supported them, I decided that I could no longer approve of any Communist ideas or methods but must oppose communism completely and actively. In common with many other Americans in the early 1930's I thought for a time that the Communist system might be all right for Russia, but as more information came out of the Soviet Union I came to the conclusion that this view was incorrect, also, and that communism was not working even there.

In her testimony before the subcommittee my wife explained how she came to substitute for me as a speaker before the Washington Chapter of the American Friends of the Soviet Union in 1934. I corroborate her statement and add that except for this event and except for attending the two meetings of the organization at which my wife presided, I had no relations with the organization.

I wish to quote here a passage from the testimonial letter of Dr. George Gamow, Professor of Physics at the George Washington University, who escaped from Soviet Russia and came to this country in 1934; and who has known me ever since his arrival in Washington:

"I can assure you that, as a man who came from Soviet Russia, I have a very good nose to scent communistic sympathies, and I am certain that neither Stephen nor his wife, Esther, fall into that category. As a matter of fact, Stephen told me many years ago that in his youth he was interested in that kind of ideas, but realized very soon that they lead to perish rather than to the benefit of humanity."

I repeat here that since 1927 I have not belonged to any organization which has been listed as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States or by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I am a member of the American Chemical Society, the Washington Academy of Sciences, the Philosophical Society of Washington, Sigma Xi, and Phi Beta Kappa. From 1928 until 1930 or 1931 I belonged to the International Friendship Club sponsored by the Friends Meeting at 1811 Eye Street NW., in Washington. This was a local social club whose membership represented all political views as well as several nationalities and races. Since 1943 I have belonged to the Parent-Teachers Association of the Phoebe Hearst Elementary School, the school which my two daughters attend. This is the extent of my participation in organizations.

In addition to the foregoing description of my political evolution, I wish to answer the three questions which Senator McCarthy raised in his statement before the subcommittee on March 13, and then comment on his assertions regarding the views of various investigative agencies about me.

As to the questions:

(1) Have I been the subject of a constant investigation by Government agencies over a period of ten years? The answer is probably "Yes." I know I have been investigated several times, and the explanation is simple. I have held a number of different posts during the past ten years, for each of which an investigation was required. Early in 1941, while I was still in the Department of Agriculture, I was asked to become a consultant to the National Defense Research Committee, and was investigated. I was investigated again in 1942 before being commissioned an officer in the Naval Reserve. In 1945 I was cleared to the Manhattan District, but do not know whether a special investigation preceded the clearance. I was investigated again under the President's Loyalty Program as a civilian employee of the Navy Department. The result of all these investigations was stated in the announcement given out by the Navy on March 13 that I had been thoroughly

investigated and was not charged with disloyalty. Among my testimonial letters there are many written by Naval officers who have worked with me and observed me closely. I quote here a paragraph from the letter of Vice Admiral G. F. Hussey, Jr., USN (Ret.) who was formerly Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, Navy Department:

"On at least one occasion Commander Brunauer's loyalty was questioned. There were made available to me, as I recall it, all data in the possession of the Office of Naval Intelligence and, I believe, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning Commander Brunauer. After considering these data, together with my own observations of him, and after discussing the situation with my Deputy Chief, I was satisfied in my own mind that Commander Brunauer's loyalty was above reproach. On that basis I continued him in his responsible position involving classified work and subsequent to the war approved of his being placed in a civil status to do similar work. I am not certain whether his transfer to a civil status was finally accomplished before my detachment from the Bureau in September 1947 or after it, but the step in any event had my approval."

(2) Was I a close friend and collaborator of Noel Field, "known Communist who recently and mysteriously disappeared behind the Iron Curtain"? The answer is "No." I was never a close friend of Mr. Field, although I knew him from 1928 through the early thirties. At that time he appeared to be a liberal in politics. In 1934 after I returned from Germany I met him at a social gathering and learned that he had become a radical in his views. He did not say that he had become a Communist, and I had no further knowledge of his political views until they were referred to in the press during the past year. The last time I saw Noel Field was at the end of 1945 or early 1946 during the visit that he and his wife made in Washington after the war. About 30 or 40 of their former friends and acquaintances gathered to hear about the relief work they had done in France and Switzerland during the war. There was no discussion of politics, and I exchanged only a few words with Noel Field during the entire evening. To the best of my recollection, that is the only time I have seen him since he went to Geneva to work for the League of Nations in 1935 or 1936. As to the term "collaborator," I have never collaborated with Noel Field on anything.

(3) Have I admitted to associates that I was a member of the Communist Party? I can answer this question by referring to the information contained in the testimonial letters. I have told some of my friends of my early connection with the Young Workers League. I described my relationship with the Communist movement to the Loyalty and Security Board of the Department of State when I appeared as a witness for my wife, on July 28, 1948; and I described it to the Navy after I became aware that my early Communist connections caused some questions as to my present loyalty.

However, until Senator McCarthy mentioned the findings of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947 and "a Senate Investigating Committee in 1941" I did not know that my political views had been the subject of congressional investigations. If I had known this, I would have sought to clarify my political views and would have taken whatever steps were possible to clear my record.

The account of my political development and the answers to Senator McCarthy's allegations should be looked at against the background of my scientific work and my efforts for the national defense which, together, have occupied by far the largest part of my time, energy, and thought for the last twenty-two years.

From 1928 to 1942 I did scientific work in the Department of Agriculture, concentrating upon fundamental research in physical chemistry. During the first five years most of my spare time was devoted to graduate study, and I obtained the M. S. degree at George Washington University in 1929 and the Ph. D. degree at Johns Hopkins University in 1933. In this period of 14½ years I made some scientific contributions and some practical contributions. The latter related to the production of artificial fertilizers; the former to the processes of catalysis and adsorption which are of fundamental scientific importance and which also play an important part in industry. I published about twenty scientific articles, several of which received considerable acclaim in scientific circles. I also wrote a book called Adsorption of Gases and Vapors, which was published by the Princeton University Press in 1943 and the Oxford University Press in 1944. For my scientific contributions in the Department of

Agriculture the Chemical Society of Washington awarded me the Hillebrand Prize for 1945.

From October 1942 to August 1946 I was an officer in the Naval Reserve on active duty. I started as a Lieutenant and was assigned to the Research and Development Division of the Bureau of Ordnance. At that time Lieutenant (J. g.) W. E. Land and I were responsible for the work on explosives. Together we built up explosives research and development until, by the end of the war there were close to fifty men, officers and civilians, engaged in this work under my supervision. In addition, hundreds of men were collaborating with us in the National Defense Research Committee and within the services on the development of explosives. This work led to the development of new explosives which I recommended for adoption by the Navy, and the Navy accepted my recommendations. These new important explosives included one, which has been adopted for all underwater weapons of the Navy; another, which has been adopted for the antiaircraft weapons of the Navy; and a third one, which has been adopted as a filler of bombs by the Army. A considerable number of the testimonial letters attached to this statement deal with my contributions during the war. I quote here two paragraphs from one of these letters, which I received from E. Brigh Wilson, Jr., Professor of Chemistry at Harvard University, who is Visiting Professor at Oxford University this year. Professor Wilson, whom I have known well since 1942, is recognized as one of the most brilliant scientists in the United States and is considered by those who are associated with him as an American of unquestionable loyalty and highest integrity. Immediately upon reading about Senator McCarthy's charges on March 17, in Oxford, he wrote to me:

"Knowing your wartime work as I do I can say that there was no more devoted, self-sacrificing, and sincere patriot in all Washington than you. The job you did was magnificent and deserves the undying gratitude of all Americans and not a treatment like this.

"Your mobilization of scientific assistance for the solution of problems connected with explosives was a highlight of my acquaintance with the services."

For my contributions to the Navy during the war I was awarded the Commendation Ribbon by the Secretary of the Navy and was decorated by the British Government with the Order of the British Empire.

Since September 9, 1946, I have held my present position in the Department of the Navy. When I joined the Navy in 1942 I expected to return to scientific research after the war. However, the Navy wanted me to stay as a civilian scientist, and I stayed because I thought I could make some useful contributions to the national security.

Before discussing my main work for the Navy since the war, I wish to mention my activities in Hungary in 1946, where I was on temporary duty on technical intelligence work. From May 10 to August 10 of that year I was assigned to the United States Naval Representative in the Allied Control Commission for Hungary. I believe I was able to make a unique contribution because of being a scientist and a Naval officer and also a native of Hungary. The attached testimonial letters in Group II give a fairly detailed account of those activities in which I engaged that were not highly classified. These letters show especially what impression I made on people who were very sensitive to political attitudes.

I quote here a brief description of part of my work in Hungary contained in the letter from Rear Admiral W. F. Dietrich, USN (Ret), who was my commanding officer at that time:

"In the years 1945-46, I was US Naval Member of the Allied Control Commission for Hungary, with headquarters at Budapest. During 1946, from about the latter part of May until early August, Commander Stephen Brunauer, then permanently attached to the Bureau of Ordnance, Navy Department—in which position he remained on in civil status—came to Budapest and served temporarily under me for a little more than two months. At this time the Office of Research and Inventions, Navy Department, was fostering a technical survey into developments during the past war in former enemy countries and the outstanding scientists in the various fields. Brunauer, born in Hungary, and had received his basic education there, knew not only the language but also had former colleagues of his youth in university, some of whom were well acquainted in the scientific advancements. Thus, Brunauer was particularly valuable in connection

with taking the survey in Hungary, and in writing up the leading Hungarian Scientists, giving a biographical outline of their accomplishments, political behavior past and present, etc. As a result of this work, which had to be cleverly and expertly handled, so as not to arouse Soviet and Hungarian Communist opposition, several of these scientists are now in this country. Others, seeing that the West was interested in their welfare, also escaped the Iron Curtain and are today in Britain, France, Sweden, and Switzerland, even South America. Still others, encumbered by large families or parents well in years, stayed back, but are either now in Russia or living in constant fear that they will be transported there as research workers."

Most of the scientists referred to by Admiral Dietrich who are now in this country as a result of my activities came to the George Washington University to begin with; some stayed there and others went to such places as Johns Hopkins University, National Fireworks, Inc., etc. They are doing outstanding work and some of them are already making significant contributions to aspects of science which are today of great importance to America.

My main work since the war has been to maintain and build up on a peacetime basis the explosives research and development program of the Navy. There have been three phases of this work, the preparations for the testing of the atomic bomb against ships; the consolidation and reorganization of research on explosives, and the continuance of the development of explosives.

The Bureau of Ordnance participated actively in the Bikini tests in 1946, its main job being to prepare and apply the instruments for measuring the effects of the atomic explosions at Bikini. I was appointed by Admiral Hussey, who was then Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, as Officer in Charge of this work.

At about this time, the first legislation on the control of atomic energy was being considered by a special committee of the Senate. Senator Ball and I discussed this problem many evenings. When he drafted a bill on the subject I helped him. In February 1946 I was called before the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy to testify on the pending legislation. In my testimony I touched briefly on several points but I went into detail on only one point, which was closest to my heart and to my personal interests. I urged that the military should not be excluded from the control of atomic energy, since they have a vital interest in its use.

Parallel with my activities when I was head of the Bureau of Ordnance Instrumentation Group for the Bikini tests, and more intensively later, I worked on building up an adequate postwar research organization in the field of explosives for the Navy. I feel that I was instrumental in persuading a considerable number of the leading scientists in this field to come to the Navy or to continue their work for the Navy and the other services, and as a result the Navy and the National Military Establishment now have an adequate organization to carry on explosives research and development during peacetime.

While I cannot reveal the nature of my contributions to the field of explosives since the war, I can state that they are considered to be of major significance by those who are familiar with my work.

The foregoing account of my scientific work and military service is offered as positive evidence of my loyalty to America and my trustworthiness as an official of the United States Government. I hope that I have described my beliefs and my activities fully enough and that no doubt is left in anyone's mind about my loyalty and my security status.

STEPHEN BRUNAUER.

[Enclosure 2]

DEAR —: Please forgive me for writing a form letter to you. I am sending out close to a hundred of these letters, and it would be impossible to do it if I wrote a separate letter to each of you.

You doubtless read the charges Senator McCarthy made against my wife and me on the thirteenth of March. You doubtless have your own opinion on the subject. I do not know how good the press service is where you are at present, so I enclose here a copy of the official Navy press release about me. The Department of State made a similar statement about my wife.

I expect to be called before the Senate sometime next week to clear myself of Senator McCarthy's charges. (No definite date has been fixed as yet.) I should like to enlist your help in clearing myself.

Would you be willing to write a letter about me to Senator Tydings? The way I visualize it, the letter should contain the following information:

- (1) a brief statement of who you are and what sort of work you are engaged in at present;
- (2) how long you have known me; what sort of connections we had with each other;
- (3) what you think of my character, my loyalty, my reliability, and my contributions; and
- (4) anything else you wish to state.

The letter should be addressed to the Honorable Millard Tydings, United States Senate, Washington, D. C. However, I would appreciate it if you would mail it to me, together with a copy for myself. I would not like to swamp Senator Tydings with individual letters arriving at separate times. It would look like an attempt to exert pressure on him. What I should like to do is to collect all letters and hand them over to Senator Tydings at the time of my appearance before the Subcommittee.

I would deeply appreciate it if you would act urgently on this matter. However, even if your letter does not arrive prior to the hearings, I can still collect the late letters, and transmit them to the Subcommittee later.

With grateful thanks for your help, and with best wishes, I am,  
Sincerely yours,

STEPHEN BRUNAUER,  
3417 Quebec Street NW., Washington, D. C.

MARCH 17, 1950.

#### LIST OF TESTIMONIAL LETTERS

In order to facilitate the work of the investigation, I have arranged the 104 letters I received to date (May 8, 1950) into three groups. In Group I have been placed the 30 letters that I consider the most important for my case. In Group II I collected the 13 letters that have bearing on my activities in Hungary in 1946, and the consequences thereof. Group III contains the rest of the letters.

1. Senator Joseph Ball, Washington, D. C.
2. Vice Admiral G. F. Hussey, Jr., U. S. N. (Ret.), Formerly Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance
3. Dr. E. Bright Wilson, Professor of Chemistry, Harvard University
4. Dr. R. E. Gibson, Director, Applied Physics Laboratory, Johns Hopkins University
5. Dr. L. R. Hafstad, Director of Reactor Development, U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
6. Dr. John Von Neumann, Professor of Mathematics, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.
7. G. F. Strollo, Ordnance Engineer, Explosives Res. and Dev., Bureau of Ordnance
8. Dr. G. B. Kistiakowsky, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, Harvard University
9. Dr. S. B. Hendricks, Head Chemist, Plant Industry Station, Beltsville, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
10. Dr. George Gamow, Professor of Physics, George Washington University
11. Dr. G. K. Hartmann, Chief, Explosives Department, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
12. Dr. P. M. Fye, Associate Chief, Explosives Department, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
13. Dr. R. J. Seeger, Chief, Aeroballistics Department, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
14. Dr. F. J. Weyl, Acting Chief, Division of Mathematical Sciences, Office of Naval Research
15. Dr. Edward Teller, Professor of Physics, University of Chicago
16. Mr. S. J. Porter, Director of Research and Development, National Fireworks, Inc.
17. Rear Admiral M. F. Schoeffel, U. S. N., Commander, Carrier Division six, U. S. Atlantic Fleet.
18. Rear Admiral F. I. Entwistle, U. S. N., Deputy Commander, Western Sea Frontier
19. Dr. D. P. MacDougall, Division Chief, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory

20. Dr. B. D. Van Evera, Professor of Chemistry, Coordinator of Scientific Activities, George Washington University
21. Dr. F. G. Brickwedde, Chief, Heat and Power Division, National Bureau of Standards
22. R. W. Hummer, Chemist, Dow Chemical Company
23. Rear Admiral K. H. Noble, U. S. N. (Ret.), Formerly Assistant Chief of Bureau of Ordnance for Research
24. Professor Theodore Von Karman, Formerly Chairman of Scientific Advisory Board, U. S. Air Force
25. Dr. Richard Courant, Professor of Mathematics, Head of Department, New York University
26. Mr. Norman MacLeod, Research Director, Old and Barnes, Inc.
27. Captain S. H. Crittenden, Jr., U. S. N., U. S. Pacific Fleet.
28. Dr. W. E. Land, Deputy Section Head, Explosives Res. and Dev., Bureau of Ordnance
29. Captain J. H. Sides, U. S. N., Office of the Chief of Naval Operations
30. W. Edwards Deming, Adviser in Sampling, Bureau of the Census

## GROUP II

31. Mr. Ferenc Nagy, Herndon, Virginia, Formerly Prime Minister of Hungary
32. Dr. Aladar Szegedy-Maszak, Washington, D. C., Formerly Minister of Hungary to the United States
33. Rear Admiral W. F. Dietrich, U. S. N. (Ret.), Washington, D. C., Formerly U. S. Naval Representative, Allied Control Commission for Hungary
34. Dr. Alexander Szasz, Bank of America, San Francisco, California, Formerly Counselor of Hungarian Legation, Washington, D. C.
35. Dr. Zoltan Bay, George Washington University, Formerly Professor of Physics, Technical University of Budapest
36. Dr. Sandor A. Hoffmann, National Fireworks, Inc., Formerly Associate Professor of Chemistry, Technical University of Budapest
37. Dr. Leslie Kovaszny, Associate Professor, Johns Hopkins University, Formerly Associate Professor of Aerodynamics, Technical University of Budapest
38. Dr. John Farago, George Washington University, Formerly Assistant Director in Charge of Research, Chemical Institute of Budapest
39. Mr. Charles Pulvari, George Washington University, Formerly owner of the firm Charles Pulvari, Inc., Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Budapest, Hungary
40. Dr. Laszlo Jekely, Forest Hills, New York, Formerly Minister in Charge of the Cabinet Office of the President of Hungary
41. Miss Agl Jambor, Philadelphia, Pa., Concert Pianist
42. Dr. George Papp, George Washington University, Formerly Associate Professor of Physics, Technical University of Budapest
43. Mr. George Kovach, General Manager, Great Northern Hotel, New York, N. Y., Colonel in the Military Intelligence, U. S. Army Reserve

## GROUP III

44. Admiral W. H. P. Blandy, U. S. N. (Ret.), Formerly Commander in Chief, U. S. Atlantic Fleet
45. Dr. Ralph Connor, Vice President in Charge of Research, Rohm and Haas Company
46. Captain A. A. Burke, U. S. N., Research and Development Board, National Military Establishment
47. Mr. H. R. Kimble, Physical Science Administrator, Bureau of Ordnance
48. Dr. C. R. Naeser, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, George Washington University
49. Dr. T. L. Brownyard, Physical Science Administrator, Bureau of Ordnance
50. Rear Admiral W. S. Parsons, U. S. N., Office of the Secretary of Defense.
51. Dr. J. G. Kirkwood, Professor of Chemistry, California Institute of Technology
52. Mrs. Dorothy Bandow, San Antonio, Texas, Formerly Secretary of Dr. Stephen Brunauer
53. Dr. S. R. Aspinall, Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Williams College
54. Mr. Datus Smith, Director, Princeton University Press
55. Dr. Eugene Wigner, Professor of Physics, Princeton University

56. Dr. R. H. Cole, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, Brown University
57. Dr. J. S. Coles, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Brown University
58. Dr. J. O. Hirschfelder, Professor of Chemistry, University of Wisconsin, Director, University of Wisconsin Naval Research Laboratory
59. Mr. N. H. Bullard, Head Engineer, Naval Ordnance Test Station, Inyokern, California
60. Mr. O. H. Loeffler, Ordnance Engineer, Bureau of Ordnance
61. Mr. Eliot B. Coulter, Assistant Chief, Visa Division, U. S. Department of State
62. Mr. Robert C. Alexander, Assistant Chief, Visa Division, U. S. Department of State
63. Captain W. M. Moses, U. S. N. (Ret.), Wilton, Connecticut
64. Mr. J. S. Harper, Chemical Engineer, Laurel, Mississippi
65. Dr. E. H. Cox, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, Swarthmore College
66. Dr. F. O. Rice, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, Catholic University of America
67. Dr. K. F. Herzfeld, Professor of Physics, Head of Department, Catholic University of America
68. Dr. A. H. Blatt, Professor of Chemistry, Queens College
69. Mr. J. E. Levy, Chemical Engineer, Bureau of Ordnance
70. Dr. R. D. Bennett, Technical Director, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
71. Captain W. B. Moore, U. S. N., Bureau of Ordnance
72. Mr. Lester Glickman, Engineer, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
73. Dr. W. M. Cady, Head, Physics Branch, Naval Ordnance Test Station, Inyokern, California
74. Mr. J. S. McCorkle, Physicist, Bureau of Ordnance
75. Dr. Henry Eyring, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, University of Utah
76. Mr. W. F. Skinner, Assistant Director of Research, Naval Mine Depot, Yorktown, Va.
77. Dr. E. H. Eyster, Associate Division Chief, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory
78. Mr. R. W. Harris, Ordnance Engineer, Bureau of Ordnance
79. Miss Jacqueline Kitchens, Mathematical Analyst, Bureau of Ordnance
80. Dr. P. C. Cross, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, University of Washington
81. Dr. W. D. Kennedy, Senior Research Chemist, Tennessee Eastman Company
82. Dr. R. A. Beebe, Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, Amherst College
83. Dr. L. R. Rumbaugh, Deputy Technical Director, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
84. Dr. L. H. Farinholt, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Columbia University
85. Dr. W. A. Noyes, Jr., Professor of Chemistry, Head of Department, University of Rochester
86. Dr. J. J. Stoker, Professor of Mathematics, New York University
87. Mr. R. L. Woodard, Administrator, Koppers Company
88. Colonel C. H. M. Roberts, U. S. A., Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Department of the Army
89. Mr. J. T. Manley, Director of Research, Naval Mine Depot, Yorktown, Virginia
90. Mr. E. C. Kenton, Manager, Evans Research and Development Corporation
91. Dr. Elijah Swift, Jr., Division Chief, Explosives Research Department, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
92. Miss Katharine Love, Chemist, U. S. Department of Agriculture
93. Dr. R. H. Brown, Instructor of Mathematics, Columbia University
94. Dr. D. V. Slickman, Division Chief, Explosives Research Department, Naval Ordnance Laboratory
95. Dr. F. H. Westheimer, Professor of Chemistry, University of Chicago
96. Mrs. Hazel P. Marsh, Formerly Lieutenant, U. S. Navy, Bureau of Ordnance
97. Captain J. A. E. Hindman, U. S. N., Bureau of Ordnance
98. Dr. Urner Liddell, Director, Natural Sciences Division, Office of Naval Research
99. Dr. R. H. Sage, Professor of Chemical Engineering, Head of Department, California Institute of Technology
100. Dr. W. E. Lawson, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company
101. Mr. C. L. Tyler, Manager, Santa Fe Operations Office, U. S. Atomic Energy Commission

102. Dr. M. A. Tuve, Director, Department of Terrestrial Magnetism, Carnegie Institution of Washington  
 103. Dr. K. O. Friedrichs, Professor of Mathematics, New York University  
 104. Commander J. I. Cone, U. S. N., Commander Destroyer Division 12, U. S. Pacific Fleet

[Enclosure 3]

The Navy Department announces that Dr. Stephen Brunauer, who has been charged with being a Communist, served as a Commander, United States Naval Reserve, in the Bureau of Ordnance during the war, commencing in 1942. Subsequent to discharge, he was employed in the Bureau of Ordnance, Navy Department, where he is now serving in a civilian capacity. As an employee of that Bureau, Dr. Brunauer has been thoroughly investigated, and as a result of this investigation, administrative decision was made that there was not sufficient evidence to warrant Dr. Brunauer's being charged with having been disloyal and for that reason his case has not been referred to the Loyalty Board.

While a commissioned officer during the war and later as an employee, Dr. Brunauer has made noteworthy contributions in the field of explosives. He is regarded as an eminent expert in that field and his ability in the field of research is highly regarded.

MARCH 13, 1950.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, July 6, 1950.

The Honorable MILLARD E. TYDINGS,  
*United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR TYDINGS: You have asked me to inform your subcommittee concerning the circumstances of the appointment of Dr. Harlow Shapley to the United States National Commission for UNESCO. Dr. Shapley was designated by the Executive Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on May 20, 1947, to serve out the unexpired term of Dr. James Bryant Conant as the representative of that association on the national committee. On June 27, 1947, he was again designated by the association and has now served out his term, which expired April 15, 1950; Dr. Shapley was not, under Public Law 565, seventy-ninth Congress, eligible for reappointment.

Section 3 of Public Law 565 provides, in part, "Such Commission [United States National Commission for UNESCO] shall be appointed by the Secretary of State and shall consist of (a) not more than sixty representative of principal national, voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters \* \* \*." The Secretary of State has appointed to the National Commission in every instance the person designated by each such organization to serve on the Commission. This seems to be in accord with the intent of Congress as expressed in the legislative history of the act. In the course of debate concerning the legislation, Congressman Karl Mundt (Republican, South Dakota) said:

"\* \* \* it seems to me if we are going to have an advisory commission that is worth its salt it should be an advisory commission that is not obligated to anybody, not obligated to the Secretary of State, not obligated to any political party, not obligated to any point of view, but one which reflects and represents the views of the organizations to which in turn these delegates are supposed to carry the inspiration and the message and the information of UNESCO.

"Consequently, I want people selected from these organizations in whom the organizations have confidence. I want the Secretary of State to choose the man nominated by these various organizations so that they can go to the advisory conferences, consult and advise with the Secretary of State, so that our Government officials may have the benefit of this great cross section of information."

Congressman Mundt, whose interest in and support of the principles of UNESCO extends over many years, sponsored H. Res. 215, introduced on April 9, 1945, and agreed to by the House of Representatives on May 22, 1945. This resolution urged the participation of the United States in the creation of an international



framework within which educational and cultural relations could be considered and promoted in their various aspects.

It should be added that Dr. Shapley was appointed as a member of the United States Delegation to the Preparatory Conference for UNESCO at London in 1945 under former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. His participation in the work of UNESCO has stemmed from the outset from his position as a scientist and member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY,  
Deputy Under Secretary.

The following letters were received by the Foreign Relations Subcommittee in response to its invitations to the persons publicly charged by Senator McCarthy to either appear before the subcommittee as a witness or else submit a statement of their position:

OLD WESTBURY, LONG ISLAND, N. Y., May 10, 1950.

EDWARD P. MORGAN, Esq.,  
Chief Counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee,  
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MORGAN: I have your letter of May 4, 1950, acknowledging the receipt of the documents submitted to the subcommittee on March 30, 1950, and offering me the opportunity to reply to Senator McCarthy's charges in public. I appreciate your offer and the spirit in which this opportunity is afforded me.

You will recall that, in my letter of March 30, 1950, I explained to Senator Tydings the difficulty of my position. As a member of the United Nations Secretariat, I am required to observe the spirit and substance of article 100 of the United Nations Charter. That article reads in part:

"In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek nor receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization."

For the above reason, and because I must leave on May 17, 1950, for Italy and Switzerland on official United Nations business, I do not feel that I can take advantage of the opportunity offered me by the subcommittee. I expect to return to the United States in late July.

I should tell you that I have caused to be sent to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a copy of the letter and memorandum of March 30, 1950, which I sent to Senator Tydings. I have also sent a copy of that letter and memorandum to Mr. Willard Barber of the State Department. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the memorandum, in affidavit form, which I have subscribed, sworn to, and acknowledged before a notary public of the State of New York. I do this to indicate that that memorandum contains all the pertinent facts known to me and to show that I have no hesitation whatsoever in adhering to them under oath. I should be only too happy, of course, to answer any questions pertaining to, or make any additional statements in explanation of, the facts which I have given in the memorandum when and if you, Senator Tydings, or other members of the subcommittee request it.

Respectfully yours,

GUSTAVO DURAN.

Enc. affidavit.  
By registered mail.

#### MEMORANDUM TO SENATOR TYDINGS

On March 14, when I read the first reports on the charges made against me Senator McCarthy before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee, I issued a statement denying the specific charges that had come to my attention and stating that I was not and never had been a Communist. I also said that I suspected that the so-called United States Army Intelligence Report on which Senator McCarthy was basing most of his allegations was nothing more than a literal translation of an article published in the April 9, 1946, issue of the Madrid newspaper *Arriba* which is the mouthpiece of the Falange Party of Franco Spain.

I have now had an opportunity to examine in detail the testimony of Senator McCarthy before the subcommittee, and my suspicions as to his sources have been fully confirmed.

I had thought that those accusations had long since been laid to rest. Both the charges and the exhibits which appeared to substantiate them were found to be entirely baseless and misleading by the State Department Security Committee in 1946. Even the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which had first given publicity to the charges, decided against pressing the matter any further. You have before you the letter, dated September 14, 1946, of Mr. Donald Russell, then Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Personnel Affairs, in which it is stated that the Security Committee, after reviewing the entire record as procured from all available sources, recommended favorably on me.

With only one or two easily refutable exceptions, Senator McCarthy has come forward with no new charges, and no additional material with which to support his accusations. I therefore cannot understand why the conclusions of the Security Committee and Mr. Donald Russell are not equally as valid today as they were in 1946. For the sake of clearing the record once and for all, and in the hope that these unfounded accusations will never again arise to disturb the peace to which my family and I are entitled, I wish to lay before you and the subcommittee the facts as they are known to me, and as they are known to the Security Committee and to all those responsible persons who have known me intimately for a period of many years. In this connection, I am attaching a biographical sketch of my family background and career.

The testimony of Senator McCarthy is based on (a) a United States Military Intelligence Report, dated June 4, 1946, which, in turn, is based on a report given the United States Military Attaché at Madrid by the A. C. of S., G-2, Spanish Central General Staff; (b) a report made by Mr. Indalecio Prieto on August 9, 1938, before the National Committee of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, and subsequently incorporated in a pamphlet entitled "How and Why I left the Ministry of National Defense"; (c) statements made by Lt. Edward J. Ruff, Assistant United States Military Attaché in the Dominican Republic; and (d) information allegedly obtained directly by Senator McCarthy or by his assistants.

(a) As I pointed out in my statement to the press, the Spanish Army Intelligence Report which was incorporated in the report of the United States Military Attaché was a literal reproduction of a scurrilous attack on me published in the April 9, 1946, issue of the Madrid newspaper Arriba, which is the mouthpiece of the Falange Party of Franco Spain.

The article in Arriba was published as part of the campaign of the Franco Government to counter disclosures that had been made by the United States State Department on the relations between Nazi Germany and Franco Spain during the last World War. These disclosures were actually excerpts from the captured records of the German Foreign Office, but the Franco Government broadcast the story in Madrid, first on February 28, 1946, and subsequently on March 3, 1946, that I had personally fabricated the disclosures. The Franco Government, which had paid no attention to me for seven years, suddenly undertook to make me an agent of Moscow and to smear my character in the vilest possible way.

A clipping of this article was forwarded to the United States Government by the United States Naval Attaché in Madrid, under Intelligence Report No. 135-46 dated April 15, 1946. I have a photostatic copy of the article in my possession, a copy and translation of which I am attaching hereto. Comparison of the article with the wording and very order of the Spanish Military Intelligence Report shows that both documents are identical.

When in May 1946 the United States Military Attaché requested information on me from the Intelligence Service of the Spanish Central General Staff, the Franco Government, feeling that at that moment it would serve its purposes to smear my character, and being unable to produce a single instance of substantial evidence, resorted to sending to the United States Military Attaché a literal copy of the Arriba article. Apparently the Military Attaché had no knowledge that the article had been already transmitted by the Naval Attaché at the time of its publication, and therefore accepted the Spanish Military Intelligence report as a bona fide document based on actual facts. Aside from the misrepresentations concerning my character and beliefs, the report contains such gross inaccuracies regarding easily ascertainable facts, such as my birthplace and residence, that had the Military Attaché taken the precaution of checking these facts, he would have questioned the validity of the report.

Having established the unreliable character of Senator McCarthy's chief source of information, I would like to examine the charges one by one.

that of Chief of the Mission beginning in February 1930 and ending in May 1941. I then went to Australia as American Minister and was there from September 1941 until April 1945. I retired from the Foreign Service on the first of April 1946 and have been temporarily employed by the Department of State since that date and acting as Secretary General to the Far Eastern Commission, which is an international organization established for the purpose of formulating policy in connection with the occupation of Japan.

Q. When did you become Chief of Mission in China, sir? What year was that?—A. It was—I presented my credentials, I think, on February 2, 1940.

Q. In 1930?—A. Yes; 1930.

Q. You're acquainted with Mr. Service, are you?—A. Yes; I know Mr. Service. I think my first acquaintance with his family was when I met his father and mother out in Chungking back in the early twenties. Then when I was in Peiping as Chief of Mission Mr. Service came to Peiping as a language attaché. I have forgotten the exact year, but I think it was about 1935. I'm not too certain about that year. He was there for the usual 2-year period of study, passed his examinations, as I recall, with ease, and then was assigned to the field as a vice consul and has continued in the career service since that time.

Mr. ACHILLES. Pardon me, may I ask a question at that point. Did you ever have any indication that Mr. Service's parents were in any way communistically inclined?—A. None whatever. I said that I met the parents there. I didn't know them but they were engaged in, I think, the YMCA, wasn't it?

Mr. SERVICE. Yes.

A. In western China, and I never heard the slightest report that the Service family was engaged in anything other than the most respectable and most respected occupations in China. If there had ever been any reports of that kind I'm certain that I would have heard some gossip about it. I never did. In fact they were held in the highest respect by those who knew them and by the Chinese.

Questions by Mr. RHERTS:

Q. After Mr. Service graduated as a language attaché and was assigned to the consulate, was his work in general under your administrative supervision at all?—A. No; it was not. And he did not come under my personal observation again until he was assigned to the American Embassy or that portion of the American Embassy which was temporarily stationed at Chungking. In April 1941, just about, well, I think it was less than a month before I left to go to Australia, Mr. Service arrived on that detail. I saw something of him during those days when I was getting ready to leave. I do not recall that I saw him again until I met him here in Washington in 1945.

Q. Now, during the period that you had occasion to know him in China, first in Peiping and later in Chungking, did you have an opportunity to form a judgment about his general competence and his general political orientation at all?—A. Well, I would put it this way, that during the period that Mr. Service was attached to the Embassy as a language attaché there was nothing that occurred that would have attracted my attention in any way, shape or form to his political activities because unless there was something peculiar about them I would not have paid any attention to them. He was a member of the group of students attached to the Legation at the time I mentioned who came under my observation who were intelligent and who did their work with credit and who were, insofar as the reports which came to me from those who I had immediate supervision over their studies, intellectually honest.

There was no occasion, so far as I can recall, for my being interested at all in Mr. Service's political orientation or outlook. Certainly when I was associated, on occasions, with Mr. Service and his wife and those of his group of students, nothing ever happened, nothing was ever said, nothing ever came to me, that indicated that I should be in any sense of the word interested.

Q. In that connection, sir, if—during this period in Peiping—Mr. Service had been in any way active politically and communistically inclined, would you have expected that his immediate supervisors would in turn have reported to you would have brought that fact to your attention?—A. Well, I would certainly expect that that would happen because the reports on the personnel attached to the Legation were all signed by myself once a year and, as my mind goes back to those days and to the preparation of those reports, they were discussed among the senior members of the staff and those who came into immediate contact with the subjects of the reports so that if there had been anything peculiar about any of these young men I would have known it.

I remember one or two who were peculiar and who eventually disappeared in that strange way that mist has of disappearing in the morning for this reason or that reason. Their reasons were never too clear but it was my recollection that their disappearance was due chiefly to lack of interest in their work or lack of interest in the particular subject of Chinese which they were concentrating on.

Mr. ACHILLES. Did you have at any time any indication that Mr. Service was opposed to or not in sympathy with American policy toward China at the time?—A. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Now the question you originally asked, counsel?

Questions by Mr. RHETTS:

Q. With respect to this particular period you mentioned, sir, I take it you are referring to the efficiency reports which are annually made on each of the Foreign Service officers?—A. The efficiency reports that were made on the personnel in the Embassy at Peiping that ran all the way from those immediately junior to me on down to the last messenger.

Q. In that connection, am I correct in believing that the matter of preparation of these annual efficiency reports in the Foreign Service is a matter which is given very careful attention?—A. In my own particular case I tried to give them a special personal consideration because I had served for 2½ years, I think it was, as an inspecting officer—through the years 1922, 1923, 1924, and I know it was a phase of the work that I was particularly interested in. I had been interested in the personnel of the Foreign Service. I have been connected with it quite a long time. I have seen it grow. I have been sympathetic with it. I have been interested in the kind of young men that have come out to the Far East and interested themselves in the service in the Far East.

I was instrumental in a small way when I served in the Department in working over the regulations for that service. I helped somewhat in the discussions connected with the examinations for those young men. And I have been extremely interested in the type of young men, the kind of young men, and the kind of work that they were doing. So that when we prepared these efficiency reports or these personnel reports once a year I tried to give them a special consideration for that reason.

Now, of course, in preparing an efficiency report you sometimes are reporting on personnel who you're not too intimately acquainted with. But you have to build it on that. And you should build on that. I have always understood that these reports were given very serious consideration here in the Department. And I have always felt myself that if the man in the field didn't put some of himself into it that they were of no use here whatever.

Q. Turning to the later period in Chungking when Mr. Service became attached to the Embassy there, did you, during the course of your conversation and contact with him at that time, have any basis to reach a judgment about his political views and outlook?—A. The time that Mr. Service was with me in Chungking of course was a very short one, extending from about the middle of April 1941 until I left. I left in about the middle of May. And during that period of time he was just newly attached. There was no occasion for me to have any reason to read anything. I don't know whether he wrote anything during that time that I should have read. But I'd like to say that during that period of time when I was preparing to leave and when I saw and greeted Service—as a young man in whom I had been interested and who was now rejoining my staff in a sense—I welcomed him there and I certainly did not at any time have the slightest indication from anybody or do I recall anything that he ever said to me or he ever said in my presence that would have alarmed me in any sense of the word as to his political views.

I'd like to say in this connection I have been in the service a long time and as young men come on in the service they all come with new ideas, ideas that are the product of their own environment, the product of their own training. And the first thing that I recognized or have tried to train myself to recognize in relation to the personnel that I have had to deal with was their right to see things as they saw them, and I certainly expected them to speak to me of them as they saw them and not as they thought I would like them to see them. It just happens that in this case there was never any occasion, as far as I know, for Mr. Service to make any reports to me about things that he saw. But I have been curious about this matter, of course, and I have within recent months turned up memoranda which have been attributed to Mr. Service and which have been printed in the volume issued by the Department of State having special reference to "United States policy with regard to China," and I believe

recognized because they were already so strong that it was impossible to overthrow them in any way by force of arms and a political accommodation was the only alternative to a civil war. He also did not feel that a hopeful future could be based on the Chinese Central Government in the absence of a reform program.

I am not a very good person to judge the rights and the wrongs of that attitude, but as to how possible it might have been or might not have been for the Chinese Central Government to carry on a reform program, but that the Central Government could not clean up on all of China by force of arms and win a civil war against the Communists without the involvement of this country on a scale which would really have been beyond our resources seems absolutely clear to me and reflects not just the views of Mr. Service but the views of people like General Wedemeyer and I am sure others of very high American officers who had to do with China at that time. As I see this difference it could only be this, that General Hurley felt that we should have been giving greater backing to the Central Government in its differences with the Communists than Mr. Service and others would have recommended.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any questions?

Mr. STEVENS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Mr. Counsel.

Questions by Mr. RHETTS:

Q. Mr. Kennan, in connection with this line of inquiry which General Snow has just been pursuing, in particular General Hurley has singled out a report No. 40, which is document No. 193 in the list that you have, General Hurley has stated that that memorandum in particular constituted in his judgment—and he has stated this, I may say, in the course of hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in December 1945—he has stated that this was a plan to bring about the fall of the Central Government, and that charge in turn had been picked up by Senator McCarthy and others and elaborated on. I wonder if you have any particular notes on 193?—A. I do, indeed. I would like to refresh my memory from the document itself.

Yes, my notes on it were here that:

"Service's denunciation is strong but based exclusively on the urgency of aiding the American war effort in the Pacific. There is no indication of political bias toward any faction but only against Kuomintang corruption and power politics. There is a tendency to underplay the usefulness of the Kuomintang to the United States war effort and to discount any worth in the movement as an interesting parallel to Yugoslavia."

If I might be excused, I would like to run my eyes over this again (referring to report 40).

The CHAIRMAN. Would you do that again, please.

A. (After reading the report.) Mr. Chairman, may I make a further statement with respect to this, since we are getting into the actual question of the content of these reports. I think that what is said here in one part is extraordinarily penetrating, and that is:

"Encouraged by our support the Kuomintang will continue its present course, progressively losing the confidence of the people and becoming more and more impotent."

That has been directly borne out by the course of events. There is no question about that. It goes ahead and says:

"Ignored by us, and excluded from the Government and joint prosecution of the war, the Communists and other groups will be forced to guard their own interests by more direct opposition."

That you can give as you like, that has happened. I have never known myself, never felt able really to judge, I have always been skeptical about it, I have never known whether any sort of a tolerable political accommodation could have been reached between the Chinese Communists and the Central Government in China. In other countries the Communists have never been comfortable bedfellows for anybody, and the ideologic instructions under which they work tell them to enter into alliance with political groups only for the sake of ruining these groups from the inside, and eventually emerging the sole victors.

Now there is a question of judgment here as to whether it would have been—the Chinese Communists were enough different from other Communists so that they would have gone into any coalition effort in good faith, and all I can say, I believe that there were some hesitations in Mr. Service's mind about that but as I gather it from the reports he felt that this was the only possibility, the only alternative possibility to a civil war which probably would have ended

only in the complete Chinese Communist triumph. I think I should explain that. I mean, at the time I would have been skeptical about the possibility of the lion and the lamb lying down together and anything resembling a real regime coming out of it, but on the other hand I don't know Chinese realities remotely as well as he does, and you can balance off the knowledge of Chinese realities on the one hand against the knowledge of the international Communist realities on the other.

Mr. ACHILLES. On that point General Hurley's writings indicate that he had no qualms about the desirability of the Chinese taking the Communists into the government. Had he had enough experience with Soviet communism in Moscow and so on so that he should have known better or was he too new to that?

A. His visits to Moscow consisted only of one or two brief stays in that capital, to my knowledge, and talks with Stalin and Molotov. I don't think that that was enough to enable him to know what he was talking about when he reported on the views of the Soviet leaders. On the other hand, there was ample advice available to him which he showed no desire to tap on these subjects. I mean, it is not surprising to me that Hurley didn't know that he was being given the usual run-around and the usual patter by Stalin and Molotov, but I think that if he had been a wiser and more thoughtful man he would have asked some people who would be familiar with those conditions for some years for commentary on those.

Q. In that connection I take it that what you have commented, that the essential question of judgment as to whether there was any future in attempting to effect a political accommodation is an open question. Is it not fair to say, however, Mr. Kennan, that that question of judgment as a matter of official American policy had been decided by the President and by the State Department and that General Hurley accepted, if he had not been a partial architect of, the judgment that we should seek to effect that political accommodation?—A. That is quite correct, and it is my understanding that General Hurley had in a sense launched the most vigorous phase of our effort to bring precisely that about and went himself to Yen-an and brought these Communist leaders down in his own plan and worked very vigorously toward the implementation of that idea.

Q. So that although that may have been questionable judgment, it was the unquestioned policy of the United States Government to seek to effect that accommodation?—A. Yes.

Q. Referring back to this Document 193 and to the other aspects of it, do you see any evidence in that document which would support the charge by General Hurley that it was a plan to bring about the fall of the Central Government?—A. No. My understanding of the document was that Mr. Service said we should not fear the fall of the Central Government and not permit ourselves to be blackmailed by the threat of it, but not that he himself advocated it.

Q. And, indeed, does not the document further suggest that this is the only way to avoid the fall, as he saw it?—A. Let me just finish my reexamination because among 127 documents I don't want to speak about this until I glance at it again.

(Reread the document.)

I must say that I found in this document a strong belief that the Chinese Government as it existed at that time did not have in it the qualities which would have made it possible for it to play a constructive role in the future of China and that we would not help to create those qualities in it by aiding it ourselves in the policies that it was then conducting, but I did not find in it a specific desire that the Chinese Government as existed then should fall from power entirely.

Now again I would say, reverting to a prior questions about conflict, about General Hurley's assertion that this involved some disloyalty to United States policy, that I could find in going through his reports no indication in anything there other than a desire to make plain to our Government what Mr. Service felt our policy should be. Now that has never been considered in Government practice to have in it any impropriety. It would have been, rather, improper if for some reason or other he had failed to tell the Government of his own true thoughts about it, had concealed them from the Government in any respect or for some motives of his own, and I would have found an impropriety in this only if he had been doing this on behalf of somebody else and had not let the Government know the real motives of his making these recommendations. To my mind they stand or fall on the question of whether they were honestly made

and honestly believed, and if then they were that, then the only other question could be, about them could have been whether they reflected good judgment or bad judgment, and that was a question, as I say, for the Government, which the Government was at liberty to examine. I would feel very alarmed for the future of Foreign Service reporting if we ever were to permit the implication to creep in that a policy recommendation contrary to the policy that was actually adopted by the Government was a sign of disloyalty to the Government purposes, because as ones who perhaps in making policy every day in this building here we know that—as most of us who are in this position—probably the majority of things we recommended are never accepted, but we must continue to recommend them and out of that discussion and difference of opinion will emerge a policy which people then loyal will accept.

I also gather from what General Hurley wrote here that there is an indication that these observers in Yenan had given the Chinese Communists a false picture of what to expect from our Government. I do not find any indication of that. On the contrary, I notice in one report here that there were warnings given to the Chinese Communists that they should not hope for too much, that no decisions had been made, and that there was a specific effort to keep them from getting their hopes too high and being carried away.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by that, in his talks with the Communists he had indicated that, as you just stated, to them?—A. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Not that the report itself had been made available to the Communists?

A. No, no. There would, I believe, have been an impropriety if one had gone to the Chinese Communists and promised them a line of conduct on the part of our Government which had not yet been sanctioned in any policy determinations at home, but I can find no indication of that in the reports. Rather, on the contrary.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

A. It was in Document 186:

"Every effort has been made to avoid encouraging any high expectations, to point out the practical difficulties in the way of direct cooperation, and to suggest that Japan may be defeated in other ways than as the Communists insist, a slow process of liquidating the armies on the Asian mainland."

Q. Now, on the basis of your examination of these documents, Mr. Kennan, I should like to call your attention that Senator McCarthy and others have charged that Mr. Service during this period was trying to turn the Far East over to Russia, and it has been further asserted that Mr. Service expressed the view that communism was the best hope of China or the best hope of Asia, variously. Do you find anything in any of his writings that tended in any way to support such statements?—A. No; let me think of those. Trying to turn it all over—

Q. Trying to turn the Far East over to Russia?—A. No; I find the direct contrary to that proposition in these reports. The second was that—

Q. That communism was the best hope of Asia?—A. No; my understanding of what he said in these reports was that the best hope in China, to which his observations were restricted, was a regime which would be considerate of the interests of the opposition elements including the Communists, which is quite a difference.

Q. Yes. By the way, Mr. Kennan, will you state to the Board whether you are acquainted with Mr. Service?—A. I had never met Mr. Service before he returned on this occasion, and I have never spoken with him except concerning the technical arrangements for my appearing here. I purposely did not discuss anything that I was going to say on this occasion with him or with anyone that I thought might be in communication with him and have never discussed the content of his reports. I had also not read the reports before this except insofar as they were contained in the white paper, so that they came to me fresh.

Q. And you have not discussed these reports with Mr. Service at any time?—A. No; at no time.

Q. Or discussed them with me?—A. No; at no time.

Mr. MORELAND. Or members of the Board?

The CHAIRMAN. That is also true of the members of the Board?

A. It is also true of the members of the Board. I had meant to make that clear myself.

I am sure that the only thing I could add, I think, to what I have said so far voluntarily about the reports is that in their entirety there is no question about it, aside from the question of whether they might have a bias in favor of the

Communists, that they represent an absolutely outstanding job of reporting, on general Foreign Service terms. Many of them have nothing to do with this matter whatsoever. They are an excellent series of reports and recognized as such by the Department. I don't know whether that has any bearing; that is why I didn't mention it before, except that people who write excellent reports are not apt to be guilty of the great oversimplifications which have been suggested by some people.

Q. Just one question. I believe that during the early forties, as you testified earlier, the officials of the Soviet Union had generally expressed the view that they were not interested in the Chinese Communists and that they did not really regard them as true Communists at all. While necessarily over-simplification, is that generally a correct characterization of the Soviet Communist Party line, that the Chinese Communists were not real Communists?—A. That seems to have been a line taken in conversation by certain of the Soviet leaders during the war. I don't recall ever having seen it in the very carefully controlled written line that they put out, and it is my belief that it was not part of that.

Q. It was at any rate, I take it, clearly the line as put out by Messrs. Stalin and Molotov to General Hurley?—A. That is General Hurley's report, and he reported—I was not there that night, Mr. Harriman went up with him and left that following morning—that Molotov agreed that that was the line that he and Stalin were taking, that these were not real Communists and that—just as you described.

Q. Did you detect any indication anywhere in Mr. Service's writing that he did not regard the Chinese Communists as true Communists?—A. Yes; I had the impression that particularly in the earlier period of his stay in Yenan he thought it possible the influences of their experience as a political movement, the extent to which they had been thrown upon themselves in their long march around China, and isolation during the war, and the pressures of purely Chinese psychological influences on them might have changed them in such a way as would make them untypical of the majority of Communists, of all the other Communist parties approved by the Kremlin, and might reconcile them to ruling by means which would be more like what we would consider democratic for a long period even if they came to power in China.

Q. In that connection do you recall any of his reports which commented particularly on whether or not the Chinese Communist Party was even though modified by its peculiar experiences essentially a Marxian political party?—A. Yes. There was one from Yenan in the earlier period there. I would have to look it up to be able to cite the exact one to you which did comment on that point. Just a moment now. It was No. 168, I believe. My recollection is that in that report he said that he believed that the Chinese Communist Party aimed for an orderly and prolonged progress toward eventual socialism and not for violent revolution, and that it would consider the long-term interests of China and would not seek for an early monopoly of political power. I believe however that those views changed in the course of his service in Yenan and that in the latter part of his service there he felt that there was less likelihood that they would not strive for monopoly of power. I hope I don't misquote him on that. I have here this report—let me see if I can find some of the passages that are pertinent. He did not say that they were not Marxists, I think I should add, but it was a question of what interpretation they would give to their own Marxism, and if you will permit me I will read this report, the passage that I recall.

"The Chinese Communist Party claims that it is Marxist. By this the Communists mean that their ideology, their philosophical approach, and their dialectical method are based on Marx materialism. Marxism thus becomes to it chiefly an attitude and an approach to problems. It is a long-term view of political and economic developments to which all short-term considerations of temporary advantage or premature power are ruthlessly subordinated. This interpretation of Marxist materialism means to them a certain logical development of economic society. It also means that this natural sequence cannot be short-circuited. To try to do so would be disastrous and a violation of their basic principles of strategy. Thus socialism in their view cannot be evolved at one jump from the present primitive agrarian society of China. It can come only after considerable development of the Chinese autonomy and after it has passed through a stage of at least modified capitalism. Their communism therefore does not mean the immediate overthrow of private capital because there is still almost no capitalism in China. It does not mean the dictatorship of the proletariat because there is as yet no proletariat. It does not mean



collectivism of farms because the political education of the peasants has not yet overcome their primitive individualistic desire to till their own land."

And he goes on at some length here to describe the view, ending with this conclusion:

"By this view the Communist Party becomes a party seeking orderly democratic growth toward socialism, as is being attempted for instance, in a country like England, rather than a party fomenting immediate and violent revolution. It becomes a party which is not seeking an early monopoly of political power but pursuing what it considers the long-term interests in China. It bases this seemingly idealistic policy on a rigid interpretation of materialism which holds it to be a violation of those materialistic principles to attempt to force the country into socialism before the natural development of the country's economy makes socialism possible."

That is the end of that quote.

Q. That, of course, is essential Marxism doctrine, too, is it not?—A. I would say subsequent history has borne out this analysis insofar as it related to the internal economic policies of the Chinese Communist Government. I don't think that Government has at the present moment any intention of collectivizing all Chinese agriculture or stamping out all Chinese capitalism. There is no question about that. It has a judgment here which I think has not actually materialized today and that is that "It is a party seeking orderly democratic growth towards socialism." However I must bear in mind in connection with that statement that he had prior to that time said that if this thing ended in a civil war with ourselves backing the central government of China these Chinese Communists would be impelled more in the direction of Moscow, and that after this time also his reports reflect greater skepticism on this point of whether you would expect a democratic development in the Chinese Communist Party.

Q. I have no further question.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Kennan, for taking your valuable time for our benefit. You did a very fine report.

(The witness was dismissed, a short recess was declared, and the Board reconvened to hear continuation of testimony by Mr. John Davies.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will recommence questions by Mr. Stevens.

Questions by Mr. STEVENS:

Q. Mr. Davies, you will remember on Saturday I asked you about your trip to Yen-an?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Sometime between October and January. I wonder if you are familiar with Mr. Service's memorandum 40, about which Mr. Hurley commented a considerable amount in his Senate testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. That is Document No. 193.

A. Yes, I recall this document. I had not seen it, I think, since 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to have a chance to look at it?

A. Well, I can identify it.

Q. Did you receive that when you were in New Delhi or in Yen-an, sir?—A. I probably got this in Yen-an. I think by that time—I have forgotten, when was Stilwell relieved?

Mr. SERVICE. October 19.

A. I may have gotten that in New Delhi. I doubt if it would have gone through that quickly. If not, I probably saw it in Yen-an or Chungking.

Q. Did you ever discuss the contents of that memorandum with other than a Government person in Yen-an, sir?—A. No. It was certainly our firm policy not to discuss with any Chinese any American official documents. We went so far as to mark our documents, many of them, "for American official eyes only," some such phraseology as that, because we suspected that some reporting documents by Foreign Service officers were being shown to Chinese officials in Chungking, and it was an established policy with us that we should not reveal to any Chinese in any position what we were reporting about the internal affairs in China.

Q. Would you have revealed that to any newspaperman, sir? Would you have shown that document to anyone other than an official of the United States Government?—A. This document I don't think I would have. I can't conceive of having shown this one because this was obviously a pretty hot document.

Q. Your answer then would be that you did not?—A. That I did not.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ACHILLES. You never gave a copy of that or sent a copy of that to anyone not in an official capacity?

A. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was examining? Were you, Mr. Counsel, examining?

Mr. RHETTS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you proceed?

Questions by Mr. RHETTS:

Q. We had, I believe, at the end of the proceeding on Saturday been discussing again this matter of the whole matter of policy and dealings with the press, and I believe the last thing we did was introduce an affidavit by Colonel Jones, who was the public relations officer for the theater, so unless the Board wishes to pursue that general subject matter further, I would propose to go on to some other topics.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, proceed.

Mr. STEVENS. May I ask, sir, Document No. 323 is the one you were talking about, that you introduced on Saturday, is it not?

Q. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEVENS. Was that placed in as a part of the transcript or as an exhibit?

Q. It is part of the transcript.

Mr. STEVENS. Right.

Q. Now, Mr. Davies, I wonder if you can summarize in some way for the Board the general views which the political advisers group, that is the group of political advisers attached to General Stilwell, came to hold regarding the type of solution of the political problems in China which the United States ought to seek to accomplish in order to further our interests in the prosecution of the war there?—A. I think that those views are fairly well summarized in the white paper on China. I don't see much point in reiterating those. You are familiar with them.

Q. But you would say that the views that are expressed there, and I take it you refer particularly to the annex 47 which deals with this phase.—A. Yes.

Q. Fairly represents the thinking of your whole group on this question?—A. Yes. There is one point in the summary or in the white paper which I would like to elaborate on a bit. I might say that I was the only one of the so-called political advisers who attempted to discuss in any detail the broadest problems of international politics, although the interpretations which I advanced were in no way binding on my colleagues, as they were simply the reporting efforts of one or of another junior officer. I believe I am accurate in stating that Mr. Emmerson went along with what I had to say regarding the international scene. I believe that Mr. Service shared with me a basic assumption that the U. S. S. R. would be the principal power rival of the United States in the Far East and that as such the U. S. S. R. was, although at the moment our ally, also our future enemy.

During the period 1943-45 this was not a theme which was widely proclaimed for obvious and sound reasons. However, it was introduced into our reporting at various times. You will find hints of it in the excerpts from our memoranda which I just referred to published in the white paper. I would, with the Board's permission, like to read several further paragraphs from my reports in an endeavor to throw more light on our attitude toward the U. S. S. R. In a memorandum dated September 17, 1943, I discussed Soviet policy in review of global policy, and I had this to say:

"Absorbed in their struggle with the Germans and realizing that they cannot depend upon Britain and the United States to defeat the wehrmacht for them, the Russian policy appears to have been less political than that of the British and the Chinese. In its singleness of purpose—confined to the defeat of the enemy—it has resembled ours.

"But while we follow such a policy from choice, the Russians have done so from necessity. A mortal struggle for survival leaves little slack for political picking and choosing. British policy in 1940 and 1941 and Chinese policy before Pearl Harbor had the same attributes of simplicity.

"Once the Russians feel, however, that they have won their fight for survival and that they have some leeway for maneuver, it will not be surprising if they begin to make their military strategy subservient to an over-all political policy. That point may already have been reached.

"It is perhaps not too early to suggest that Soviet policy will probably be directed initially at establishing frontiers which will insure Russian security and at rehabilitation of the U. S. S. R. There is no reason to cherish optimism regarding a voluntary Soviet contribution to our fight against Japan, whether in the shape of air bases or the early opening of a second front in northeast Asia. The Russians may be expected to move against the Japanese when it

sults their pleasure, which may not be until the final phases of the war—and then only in order to be able to participate in dictating terms to the Japanese and to establish new strategic frontiers.

"At this point it may be worth while to insert comments on our bargaining position. As the Soviet Union's peril diminishes its need for our aid diminishes. In direct proportion as the Kremlin feels its need of American assistance lessening, our bargaining position becomes weaker and we are less able to persuade the Russians to act as we desire. We appear to have made little use of our bargaining strength with the Soviet Union, because, perhaps, we were not prepared to force through what we wanted and because we would not have been prepared to exploit our advantage even had we done so. Now we find our bargaining strength with the Russians slipping away. \* \* \*

A few months later in June, June 24, 1943, I had this to say:

"It would only be natural that, should Chiang attack the Communists, the latter would turn for aid to their immediate neighbor, the Soviet Union. And as such an attack would probably not be launched until after the defeat of Japan, the Communists might expect with good reason to receive Russian aid.

"This would be so because following the defeat of Japan Russia would no longer be threatened on its eastern borders, because the Kremlin's present need of Chiang Kai-shek's cooperation would have passed, because Stalin would then presumably prefer to have a friendly if not satellite Chinese Government on his flank, and because the Soviet Union would then have surplus arms in abundance for export.

"A central government attack would therefore in all probability force the Communists into the willing arms of the Russians. The position of the political doctrinaires who have been subservient to Moscow would be strengthened by such an attack. The present trend of the Chinese Communists toward more or less democratic nationalism—confirmed in 6 years of fighting for the Chinese motherland—would thereby be reversed and they could be expected to retrogress to the position of a Russian satellite.

"In these circumstances they would not be a weak satellite. With Russian arms, with Russian technical assistance and with the popular appeal which they have, the Chinese Communists might be expected to defeat the central government and eventually to take over the control of most if not all of China. It may be assumed that a Russo-Chinese bloc, with China as a subservient member of the partnership, would not be welcomed by us. The effect of such a bloc upon the rest of Asia and upon world stability would be undesirable."

Then on February 19, 1944, I observed:

"Nowhere does Clausewitz's dictum that war is only the continuation of politics by other methods apply with more force than in the Asiatic theater. If we are to plan intelligently the conduct of our war against Japan we must clearly define and understand our long-range political objectives in Asia.

"Presumably we seek in Asia (1) the greatest possible stability after the war, and (2) an alignment of power favorable to us when we again become involved in an Asiatic or Pacific war."

That is the end of the reading.

Q. Now, in that connection you say that you were satisfied that Mr. Service in general agreed with those views, that they represent views held by him as well as by you?—A. Yes: I was convinced of that, and still am.

Q. Do you have knowledge that Mr. Service shared the views that you have just expressed?—A. We had discussed these questions back and forth. He left to me the reporting on the broader, international picture, but this general approach became really the tacit basis upon which the further development of our political ideas with respect to the local situation was worked out.

Q. And I take it that insofar as Senator McCarthy, for example, has charged that Mr. Service thought to turn the whole Far East over to Russia, you would say that that was not any part of his objective, if he shared the views that you just expressed?—A. It would be fantastic because this was the basic assumption, that there was the power conflict with the Soviet Union as the force which would challenge us in a power rivalry at the end of World War II, and that our next problem would be to prevent the Soviet Union from becoming the dominant power in Asia.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. Davies, did you send copies of your reports, such as the ones you have read, to Mr. Service?

A. Yes; copies—well, let me go on. Two of these reports I believe were written before Mr. Service joined me, but he went through the whole files and we discussed this general outlook together, so he was familiar with these and he expressed general agreement.

Mr. STEVENS. Did he express on any of the points you raised disagreement?

A. No, sir.

Q. Now I would like you to look at document No. 35-5. I show you document 35-5, which is already in evidence here, which represents a statement by General Hurley of the policy objectives or slightly varying versions of the policy objectives which he sought to pursue in China.

(Mr. Davies read document 35-5.)

Q. Now I would like to ask you whether on the basis of your knowledge of Mr. Service's writings and your knowledge of his views apart from his writings, whether Mr. Service ever was in disagreement with any of these stated policy objectives?—A. I can't see that he ever was, so far as my knowledge of Mr. Service's reporting and his personal ideas, and so on.

Q. Now referring to document No. 35-3, General Hurley has charged that Mr. Service and other Foreign Service officers in China were pro-Communist. Did you ever hear Mr. Service make any expression of view which would render any support to this charge by General Hurley?—A. American Foreign Service officers are trained to be pro-American first. They are dedicated to that proposition. They evaluate foreign situations—and I say this of Mr. Service now specifically. He evaluated the local Chinese situation, the political factors that were there in terms of what was best for American interests. I never heard him say anything which in my interpretation of the word would be regarded as a bias toward the Chinese Communists. I think that his comments were made as objectively as he knew how to make them, and in that sense I don't see how he could be regarded as pro-Communist.

Q. Do you know who Bishop Paul Yu-pin is, Mr. Davies?—A. I know who he is. I don't know him.

Q. You don't?—A. I am not acquainted with him.

Q. Do you know what his relationship was in 1945 to the Kuomintang, if he had any relation to it?—A. As I recall it, it was a very close relationship with the Chinese Government officials and the Kuomintang. I couldn't go into it any deeper than that because my memory on that question is not detailed.

Q. It has been charged by Bishop Paul Yu-pin, as well as by others including Congressman Dondero and Senator McCarthy, that Mr. Service in effect kept hammering at General Stilwell to force General Stilwell to make demands on Chiang Kai-shek to arm the Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party forces. Can you tell the board just how close a personal relationship Mr. Service had with General Stilwell?—A. General Stilwell had very few personal intimates. He took very few people into his confidence, including his intimates. His habit was to listen and to make up his own mind, and one was not always certain what his own conclusions were as a result of one's own comments. As for Mr. Service and his relationship with General Stilwell, I believe that General Stilwell had a feeling of considerable friendship for Mr. Service but obviously he regarded Mr. Service as a junior officer whose views he would listen to, take under consideration, but General Stilwell always made up his own mind as to what he was going to do.

Q. During the period Mr. Service was attached to General Stilwell's staff, Mr. Service was first in Chungking from August of 1943 until about July 1944—is that approximately correct according to your recollection?—A. According to my recollection; yes.

Q. And then at that time he went to Yen-an with the observer mission, did he not?—A. Yes.

Q. And was there until October 1944 when General Stilwell was recalled, is that correct?—A. As I recall it.

Q. During that period, did Mr. Service have frequent opportunity for personal contact with General Stilwell?—A. I was not in Chungking at the time, so I can't answer it except as I knew from what Mr. Service had told me, which was that it was not frequent.

Q. As a matter of fact, was General Stilwell in Chungking very much?—A. General Stilwell was—he went to Chungking always reluctantly and left always as soon as he could. I don't recall whether General Stilwell was there.

Q. I am talking roughly now about the period August 1943 until roughly the—well, the year from the middle of 1943 to the middle of 1944.—A. You are being very subtle with me now! Wasn't he in Burma then? I have forgotten.

Q. My impression is that he was engaged in fighting somewhere but I don't recall.—A. Yes. I imagine he was in the depths of the Burma campaign. Is that—

Q. My impression has been that he was largely engaged during that period in actual military operations elsewhere.—A. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that your impression?

A. Yes. I don't recall definitely; but yes, when the Burma campaign was going on—and that was in late 1943, I believe, and early 1944, and that is the period you are covering, isn't it?

Q. Yes.—A. The great complaint was that General Stilwell was down in the mud in Burma all the time, instead of up in his headquarters in Chungking. When he was in Chungking, as I said, he kept very much to himself. When one saw him, he listened, made his own decisions, but he was a man who operated and lived quite a lonely life with very few intimates. I would not consider Mr. Service as one of General Stilwell's real intimates.

Q. Now, during the period from July, end of July 1944 until October 19, 1944, which is when General Stilwell was recalled, Mr. Service was in Yen-an. Was General Stilwell, as far as you know, ever in Yen-an during this period?—A. No, he was not in Yen-an during this period.

Q. So that any attempts by Mr. Service to influence General Stilwell would have had to have been largely through the written reports that he prepared, is that correct?—A. That is correct.

Q. Are you familiar with—as I understand, all of the reports which Mr. Service prepared, copies of all reports which Mr. Service prepared were sent to you, is that correct?—A. That is right.

Q. Do you have any knowledge of Mr. Service's insistence in any of these reports to General Stilwell that General Stilwell make demands on Chiang Kai-shek to arm some 300,000 Communist troops?—A. I do not recall any such recommendation. Certainly there would be no insistence or importunities on the part of a junior reporting officer to a theater commander.

Q. Bishop Paul Yu-pin is reported to have said that Mr. Service made at least three such insistent demands, kept coming back at General Stilwell, and finally caused General Stilwell to go to Chiang Kai-shek and make these demands on Chiang, and that thereafter Chiang requested President Roosevelt to recall General Stilwell. Does that accord with either your understanding of the circumstances under which General Stilwell was recalled or is it consistent with any activities of Mr. Service that you knew about?—A. On the basis of my information, that is a ridiculous charge. General Stilwell, I might add, had been trying to obtain control over Chinese troops since 1942. That was the beginning of his attempts to get control over the Chinese armies because he had very little confidence in the Chinese generals with whom he was associated and he felt that there was no discipline in the higher echelons of the Chinese Army and that the only way the Chinese fighting forces could be made effective was to have them brought under American control. That was irrespective of what political stripe the Chinese troops might be, whether they were Central Government troops, provincial troops, dissident troops in the southeast, or Communist troops.

Q. Referring back to your testimony for a few moments ago about General Stilwell's personal relations with his associates, whom would you regard as possibly the person who was on most intimate personal terms with General Stilwell, in terms of his associates around him?—A. I should think General—now Colonel—Frank Dorn, who had been an assistant military attaché with General Stilwell in 1938, who was a China language officer from the Army, who had been General Stilwell's aide when General Stilwell first went out to China after Pearl Harbor, and who was later in command of the operations on the Salween River operating from Yunnan Province.

Q. Referring to Document No. 33-6, a newspaper reporter by the name of Ray Richards has stated, Mr. Davies, that Mr. Service allegedly made a special mission to Moscow, roughly in the summer of 1944, to aid the Red group of the United States Embassy there in weakening the will of Chiang Kai-shek not to submit to North China Communist demands. Do you know whether Mr. Service was ever in Moscow?—A. He was not. He was never in Moscow.

Q. And you have personal knowledge that he could not have been there during the year 1944?—A. I do.

Mr. ACHILLES. From the contents that looks like a journalistic slip, it is intended to be Chungking rather than Moscow.

Q. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any? (None.)

Thank you very much.

Mr. DAVIES. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been very helpful.

(The witness was dismissed, the board adjourned for a short recess and reconvened.)

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. RHETTS. At this point I should like to introduce into the transcript Document No. 46, which is an affidavit of Arthur W. Grafton, consisting of 12 pages, dated April 24, 1950. May that be included in the transcript?

The CHAIRMAN. That may be included in the transcript.  
(The material referred to is as follows:)

## DOCUMENT No. 46

## AFFIDAVIT OF ARTHUR W. GRAFTON

STATE OF KENTUCKY,  
County of Jefferson, ss:

Arthur W. Grafton, being first duly sworn according to law, states upon his oath as follows:

I am a practicing lawyer of Louisville, Kentucky. I was born in 1907 at Hsuehoufu, China. My father, the Reverend Thomas B. Grafton, was a native of Mississippi, and my mother, Lettie Taylor Grafton, was a native of Louisville, Kentucky. Except for a year in America when I was five and another year when I was twelve, in the course of my parents' sabbatical furloughs to the United States, I spent the first seventeen years of my life in China. For four school years (1919-1920, 1921-1924) I attended high school in the Shanghai American School, my parents at that time being stationed at Haichow, Kiangsu Province. During the course of my years in China I became well acquainted with John Stewart Service, who was likewise a missionary's son and went to Shanghai to school.

In 1924 I returned to the United States and for four years attended Presbyterian College of South Carolina, Clinton, South Carolina, from which I graduated in 1928. In that year I came to Louisville, attending Jefferson School of Law from which I graduated in 1930. I have been continuously engaged in the practice here since my admission to the Bar in the fall of 1930, except for a short period from January to June, 1942, when I was counsel for the Defense Plant Corporation in Washington, from June 1942 to August 1945 when I was on active duty with the Army Air Forces, and from August 1945 until December 1945 again with Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington.

In June 1942 I was commissioned a First Lieutenant in the Army Air Forces, went to the Air Forces Intelligence School at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and beginning about the first of July 1942, was assigned to the Current Intelligence Section of A-2 of the Headquarters, Army Air Forces in Washington. There I was also assigned to the China-Burma-India Theater of operations, with the primary duty of keeping the Commanding General, Army Air Forces, and his Washington staff informed daily as to significant developments in the CBI Theater. I remained at this station until March of 1943. At that time I proceeded under order to New Delhi, India, where I was assigned to the Rear Echelon Headquarters of the Commanding General, CBI Theater (General Stillwell) and placed in the G-3 Section under then Colonel later General Frank A. Merrill. Late in June of 1943 I was transferred to Kunming, China, where I was Assistant G-3 in the headquarters of the Commanding General of what was known as the Y Forces Operations Staff (YFOS), commanded by Colonel later Brigadier General Frank A. Dorn. November 25, 1943, I was transferred back to Delhi, and assigned in the Intelligence Section of the newly established headquarters of the Commanding General for the Army Air Forces in the India-Burma sector of the CBI Theater (General George E. Stratemeyer). In March of 1944 I moved with his headquarters to Hastings Mill outside of Calcutta where I remained stationed until sent home on furlough in April of 1945. My orders to return to General Stratemeyer's headquarters at the conclusion of leave were cancelled and superseded while I was in the United States due to V-E Day intervening, and I remained unassigned until shortly after VJ-Day in August when I was relieved from active duty.

During my entire tour of duty in Washington, India, and China, I was charged with the responsibility of keeping informed as to the general situation in India, Burma, and China, as such situation affected current military operations. Beginning in Washington in July 1942 I was required to and did study all available current information concerning our own and the enemy's actions in China in order to keep the Commanding General and his staff informed. This included the study of radio and written reports from the military headquarters in the theater, as well as State Department reports reflecting upon political developments. More than any other theater, the CBI Theater was one in which

the political situation played a major role. In 1942 we had no combat troops of our own in China except for a very small Air Force detachment of the 10th Air Force under General Chenault. This force was gradually built up between 1942 and 1945 into the 14th Air Force, but at no time did it constitute a major military force in comparison to our forces in other theaters, and the existence and effectiveness of the 14th Air Force was in large measure wholly dependent upon the cooperation of the Chinese and the ability of the Chinese to provide and protect suitable bases from which the 14th could operate.

Except for the action of the 14th Air Force (severely restricted as to the scope of its operations by the difficulty of supply over the Hump) our forces in China were largely bystanders without the means to influence the outcome of the struggle for the Chinese mainland. The actual fighting with the enemy depended upon the Chinese themselves and General Stilwell's staff was primarily concerned with encouragements and advice to the Chinese and such supplies as could be gradually built up over the Hump. The Chinese effort or really lack of effort was in turn dictated almost entirely by political considerations, and an understanding of at least the major forces in the political background was an absolute essential to any sort of study of the military problems we were considering. In fact, the more one studied and learned about the political forces at work, the more it became apparent that events in China were going to be dictated by political rather than military moves. Increasingly, therefore, it became necessary for me to devote time and attention to the political reports which came to us principally through the Embassy in Chungking and through General Stilwell's political advisers who were in turn members of the Embassy Staff detached to him for that purpose.

From the military intelligence standpoint, evaluation of the information coming out of China was impossible without an understanding of the political situation. In the first place, we had very few primary sources of intelligence of our own. Detailed information as to the enemy Order of Battle, both Air and Ground, their capabilities and intentions, originated almost wholly from Chinese sources and was traditionally edited and colored for the purpose of further political ends. We knew from experience that most of this information was fed to us not for the purpose of informing us as to the facts, but for the purpose of influencing particular attitudes or actions on the part of the Americans. The daily communiques issued by the Chinese Ministry of Information at Chungking were almost wholly fictional and fanciful and were never given any substantial credence by our Intelligence Staff. To a lesser degree, official intelligence reports made to us through Chinese Army channels were likewise suspect and had to be weighed against the known political objectives.

When I got to India in March of 1943 I was delighted to learn that Jack Service and John Davies were acting as political advisers to General Stilwell. I had known John Davies like Jack Service in China as a boy, and I knew them both to have an exceptionally broad understanding of Chinese thinking and politics. Knowing them personally, and particularly knowing their background in China, I felt that they could be of tremendous help in the job of sifting the wheat from the chaff in the intelligence reports which were emanating from Chinese sources. I read every report which came into our headquarters from these two men during my entire tour of duty in the theater.

In the spring of 1943 Davies was primarily stationed in Delhi and Service was in China. Service's reports came through the office of General Stilwell's G-2 in Chungking, who I believe at that time was Colonel Dickey. I am sure that Colonel Dickey was the G-2 later in 1943 and during 1944.

In June of 1943 when I reported to General Dorn's staff, I found our problem more than ever tied to and dependent upon the Chinese political situation. The YFOS was a headquarters set up by General Stilwell in Kunming for the purpose of directing the operations of an Infantry training school and an Artillery training school in the Kunming area, where, according to plan, some fifteen divisions of Chinese troops were to be trained and equipped to combat efficiency. In addition, this staff was charged with the duty of preparation of a plan, in collaboration with the Chinese military headquarters in Kunming, for an ultimate launching of an attack on Burma from the Chinese side with a view of making a juncture with the X Forces, which was a name assigned to the Chinese divisions being trained in India, and which were designed to and ultimately did attack the Japanese in northern Burma through the Ledo Road.

After the establishment of the Infantry and Artillery schools, it was the duty of YFOS to negotiate with the Chinese concerning which troops were to be trained

and equipped and to make estimates as to the progress of the training and the combat capabilities of the troops as trained.

The Chinese army then, as now, varied widely in quality as between divisions and armies, being largely the reflection of the personality, ambitions, and political power of their commanders. We obviously wanted to get the best divisions possible assigned for this training, but were constantly faced with the fact that political considerations in China dictated what troops were made available and when.

The determination of which divisions we would try to get for training and the estimate as to whether or not particular troops would be assigned was largely a question of understanding Chinese politics. Repeatedly we were promised that particular divisions would be moved into the training area and repeatedly these promises were broken or countermanded. The best troops, according to our information, were largely immobilized in northwest China facing the Communists and were not made available either for training for eventual combat in Burma or even for the important task of guarding the forward fields of the 14th Air Force from possible enemy ground action. The units that actually were assigned for training were far below these troops in numbers, physical condition, equipment, and morale, and as a result the target date for the beginning of actual operations from the China side was repeatedly postponed. It was one long frustration and in the end the attack which had been originally planned for early 1944 only materialized in 1945 and contributed but little to the reconquest of northern Burma.

While I was in Kunning, Jack Service was there on at least two occasions. The first, to the best of my recollection, was in July, and on that occasion he and I renewed our boyhood acquaintance and discussed the military and political situation in China at considerable length. Jack at that date had spent considerable time in northwest China in the general area where the Nationalist armies were engaged in containing the Communists, and personally knew a great deal about the strength and disposition of the Nationalist forces there. I had previously noted his reports on this subject and was glad to get from him first-hand information as to general conditions in that part of China. He was also able to give me some highly useful information as to the nature and position of the various Chinese political parties then engaged in the constant struggle for power within the Nationalist Government, and filled me in on the personalities of a great many of Chinese political and military figures whose names appeared in the many reports which I was studying.

Another occasion in Kunning when I had a chance to talk with Jack at length was in November 1943, just prior to my return to India.

I did not thereafter have contact with Jack until in April of 1945 when I was returning home on leave. At that time he was likewise returning to Washington to make a report on the situation in China, and he and I traveled in the same plane from Calcutta as far as Casablanca. In the three days we were together then he told me about his recent visit to Yenan and what he had learned of the Chinese Communists first-hand and his general impression, most of which had already been embodied in a series of reports which had come to me through Colonel Dickey's office in Chungking. Some of these reports have since been published, excerpts at least appearing in the State Department publications concerning our relations with China.

During all these times both in the consideration and study of the reports which Service prepared and in the personal conversations and consultations with him, I never had any reason to doubt nor do I now doubt his complete loyalty to the United States. In the face of the almost complete frustration to which we were all subjected by reason of the tactics of the Chinese Government, it was probably impossible for anyone to remain completely objective in reporting on the Chinese, but within this general limitation, I felt that Jack's reporting was the kind of objective, accurate, and searching analysis of the existing situation that was most sorely needed. I have had but little opportunity to check on the accuracy of the details contained in these reports, but the correctness of his over-all estimates of the situation was repeatedly borne out by the day-to-day events. Particularly it seems that his long-range predictions as to the course of political affairs in China were startlingly accurate, especially when considered in the light of the apparent capabilities of the Nationalist forces and the apparent weakness and geographical isolation of the Communists.

In none of the many conversations with Jack did I detect any indication of personal Communist leanings on his part, or any indication of sympathy with the aims of Soviet Russia and world communism. He expressed the conviction that



the Chinese Communist had found a way to gain and hold mass support from the people. We at the same time had prepared an intelligence estimate to the effect that the Japanese could at will overrun our forward airfields in China. If his opinion was pro-Communist, then ours was pro-Japanese. Events shortly demonstrated that both estimates were accurate. In my judgment Jack's reports were nothing more nor less than objective conclusions on a subject vital to every phase of our effort in China based upon first-hand observation by a man singularly well trained by background and experience to understand the reactions and probable attitudes of the Chinese people.

Such reporting was in my judgment invaluable. If we needed or could have used intelligence reports tinged with wishful thinking and ostrichlike ignoring of the basic facts, we were abundantly supplied with them through both Chinese military and political sources on the Nationalist side.

Since charges have been leveled at Jack Service based in part at least upon his reports on China, I have reread such of the reports as I could locate, and I am still unable to detect in them anything which would remotely justify the slightest suspicion that Jack was doing any more than the job that was expected of him by the Commanding General to whom he was attached, and that was to ascertain the facts, interpret them in the light of his broad Chinese experience, and express whatever conclusions resulted therefrom. The only thing to be regretted is that we did not have more men doing as good a job as Jack did, and that his reports and those of the few who saw as clearly as he did were not given more serious consideration in the making of our over-all plans for Asia.

I understand that there is some criticism or suspicion directed at Jack because certain of his political information was disclosed to and known by the press both through correspondents accredited to the theater and through reporters and editors located in this country. Without knowing what particular information is thought to have been wrongfully disclosed, I do think it important that people generally realize that in most operating theaters, according to my understanding, and in the CBI Theater, according to my personal experience, there was a very wide range of disclosure to the accredited correspondents of the American press of the type of information that for general security purposes was classified all the way from Restricted to Top Secret. The policy of keeping the press representatives thoroughly briefed was one initiated from the very top. The fact that the CBI Theater was, as heretofore stated, as much influenced by local politics as by enemy action, made it apparent to the respective officers in charge that political background was an essential to an understanding by the American press and people of the manifold difficulties confronting military operations. The representatives of the press in the theater were, with but few exceptions, men of understanding, capacity, and discretion, and in many instances were as well informed or better informed through their own sources than the military headquarters which they visited. There was a constant interchange of information along these lines which was helpful to a high degree. Not only, therefore, was there a general understanding that the accredited American correspondents were to be taken into our confidence in regard to most of our military operations, but we were permitted to discuss freely with them our information and personal ideas as to the political situation. On more than one occasion I was specifically directed by my superior officers to brief correspondents on matters which came to my knowledge through classified documents, and nearly all of the political reports to which I have referred were classified either Confidential or Secret.

The political advisers to General Stilwell were naturally the best sources for this type of information for the correspondents, and it was only natural that they tended to discuss these matters at length. Not only was it well known that such discussions took place, but I am under the impression that they were encouraged by the commanding officers involved. I certainly never heard anyone criticized or reprimanded for frank discussions with American correspondents.

So far as I can recall there were but two military subjects which were beyond the range of permissible discussion. One was anything relating to plans for future military operations and the other was any discussion of the intelligence gained from radio intercepts. These two subjects, however, were restricted within the ranks of military personnel themselves, and even in General Arnold's War Room in Washington, where admittance was only to the highest ranking Air Force officers, these two subjects were never discussed or hinted at.

I would be very much surprised to find that there was any substantial amount of information contained in the political reports which I received that was not well known by at least a half a dozen of the better-informed correspondents.

for the American press who were operating in China and India during the times that the reports were current.

Dated at Louisville, Kentucky, this 24 day of April 1950.

(S) Arthur W. Grafton,  
ARTHUR W. GRAFTON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, by Arthur W. Grafton, to me personally known, this the 24 day of April 1950.

My commission expires December 19, 1951.

(S) LILLIAN FLEISCHER,  
Notary Public, Jefferson County, Kentucky.

Mr. RHETTS. Now I would like to offer document No. 47, which is the text of a communication from Col. David D. Barrett, assistant military attache, at Taipei, Formosa, to John S. Service, dated April 1950.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be included in the record, in the transcript.  
(The matter referred to as follows:)

DOCUMENT No. 47

"TEXT OF COMMUNICATION FROM COL. DAVID D. BARRETT, ASSISTANT ATTACHÉ AT TAIPEI, FORMOSA, TO JOHN S. SERVICE, APRIL 1950

"Over 1 year ago at request of Department of State I made detailed report on subject of your radio and my letter should be on file. During period we served in Yen-an your views and recommendations on subject of Chinese Communists were set forth in reports submitted through official channels and I believe these should be carefully considered in connection with any investigation of your loyalty. In my opinion, these reports indicated that you, like myself and some others serving in China at that time, were deceived to some extent by Chinese Communist advocacy of agrarian reform, by careful soft-pedaling of their adherence to Marxian doctrine, by ardent professions of support of democratic ideals and undying friendship for the United States, and by other plays intended to gain United States support. I never saw in these reports any signs of disloyalty or desire to hurt the United States. In our discussions of Chinese Communists while we were in Yen-an our primary consideration was part they could play in fighting common enemy and I do not believe any idea of helping communism as such ever occurred to you any more than it did to me. Seems to me essential to bear in mind that Chinese Communists and Soviet Union and other nations and groups then fighting on our side presented much different picture than from what they do today. In my association with you in Yen-an and elsewhere in China theater I always considered you highly security-conscious and intensely loyal to your country. As for charges you passed secret documents to unauthorized persons anywhere it would require more convincing proof than has apparently ever been presented to agencies hitherto investigating you to make me believe them. Above included in written affidavit which follows by pouch."

(Mr. Robert W. Barnett, having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

Questions by Mr. RHETTS:

Q. Will you state your full name and address, please, sir?—A. Robert Warren Barnett, 4225 Forty-ninth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Q. Are you acquainted with Mr. John Service, Mr. Barnett?—A. Yes.

Q. Will you describe when you first met him and the nature of your association with him since that time?

The CHAIRMAN. Before you do that why don't you qualify Mr. Barnett? Just state what he is doing.

Q. What is your present position, Mr. Barnett?—A. Mr. Chairman, I am now an employee of the Department of State. I am assigned to the Office of China Affairs, where I have the title of Officer in Charge of Economic Affairs. I have been working in the Department of State since the fall of 1945, and until my assignment to the Office of China Affairs I was in the economic part of the Department working primarily on Japanese questions.

Q. And you came with the Department in the fall of 1945?—A. That is right.

Q. What were you doing prior to that time?—A. I was in the Department of the Army, the War Department, immediately prior to coming to the State Department.

Q. In what capacity?—A. I was in the Military Intelligence Service of G-2, and I had been assigned there in May of 1945. Prior to that time I had been on the staff of General Chenault in China for some 22 months, where I was the assistant A-2 in charge of all combat intelligence for the Fourteenth Air Force Headquarters. Prior to then I was in Army schools in this country.

Q. Now, I believe you have stated that you were acquainted with Mr. Service. Would you tell the Board when you first met him and describe your association with him since that time?—A. My father happens to be the general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association in this country, and prior to that he was the head of the YMCA in China. Mr. Service's father was a secretary of the YMCA, too. Our families were intimately acquainted with each other for many years. The Services were stationed in Szechwan and my family lived in east China in Hangchow and Shanghai. In 1922 I entered the Shanghai American School, which was an American institution and mainly supported by the missionaries throughout China that wanted an American school to which to send their children, and also supported by the business community and some of the official American community in China. Sometime following 1922, I think it must have been about 1925, the Service boys—there were several of them—started coming to Shanghai, and I first became acquainted with Jack in Shanghai in the mid or late twenties. I forget exactly what year it was. Jack was 2 or 3 years ahead of me in high school and grammar school. He was active in the Boy Scouts and various campus activities, and we got to know each other quite well, but not terribly intimately at that time. Jack went away to college and so did I, and our paths did not really cross in such a way that we could get acquainted with each other well until 1940, when Jack was assigned to the consulate general in Shanghai and I was in Shanghai writing a book on Shanghai under the joint sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Institute of Pacific Relations.

My book was to be a part of the so-called inquiry series and was published in 1941. Jack was on Consul General Lockhart's staff and I saw a good deal of him socially. I didn't see too much of him in connection with my research because Jack's interests were not primarily economic and my connections with the consulate were primarily with Bland Calder and some of his Chinese assistants. The consulate general's staff was very cooperative in assisting me to make contact with members of the British and American and the Japanese business community and also in providing me with statistical and factual information which would have been quite difficult for me to have compiled myself in the short period that I was in Shanghai.

Jack was at that time hoping to be assigned to west China, and the next time I saw him was in 1942 when I was sent out by United China Relief to do an economic survey of China. The survey was intended to assist United China Relief in developing a program of relief for free China after the Burma Road had been lost. Jack was very helpful to me at that time in making contacts with members of the Chinese Cabinet people, like Wang Chung Hui—I believe he was Foreign Minister at the time—T. F. Chiang, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, the Kungs—in fact, the whole range of people in Chungking who were anxious to establish an effective working arrangement with the people in this country who were interested in going on supplying relief to the Chinese.

As you know, United China Relief was supported primarily by existing relief agencies but had been brought together through the active intervention of Mr. Henry Luce, who was the principal angel of the enterprise, coming in with financial assistance in a magnitude that would make it worth while for the agencies to work together rather than to work separately. My trip to China that time was a brief one. I was there only six weeks.

The next time I saw Jack was in the fall of 1943, when I had been assigned to General Chenault's headquarters, and Jack, I believe, had just been assigned to General Stilwell's headquarters, and we of course were very glad to see each other for personal reasons, but since his functions were largely in the political sphere and mine were exclusively in the military sphere, we did not have continuous or very close connections with each other during the war. In fact, I left Kunming during my 22 months' assignment out there only once prior to preparing to leave the theater. It was in early March that I had occasion to go to Chungking, and while in Chungking I saw Jack, together with a great many of my other friends there.

The occasion for my going, if you wish me to just continue in this manner—

Q. Go right ahead.—A. The occasion for my going was to obtain theater clearance for a manuscript which I had prepared at the request of General Chennault and General Glenn. This manuscript was entitled, "An Orientation Booklet for United States Military Personnel in China." It was written at a time when we thought that the war might last another year or two and it was intended for use by officers and noncommissioned officers already in the theater or who were expected to arrive in the theater. The Burma Road had quite recently been opened and we expected a huge expansion of American personnel in China. For some 15 to 18 months it had been one of my functions at the Fourteenth Air Force Headquarters to give daily briefings to General Chennault and weekly briefings on the military and economic and political situation in China to all transient personnel passing through Kunming who had any right to this kind of information. We had generals coming in and we had Intelligence sergeants coming in on Friday mornings, map room, and so on, so it was not very much of a trick for me to put in the manuscript what I knew to be the answers to the questions which this type of officer had on his mind.

I am sorry I don't have a copy of the book with me, but it breaks down into some 12 to 14 chapters something on the historical background of the war, organization of the Japanese Army, the organization of our own forces, the economics of the war, the combat record, our own combat record, the history of the campaigns that the Japanese had fought, some comment on the place of the China war and the Pacific war, and I had written a chapter on the Chinese political situation which I knew had to be handled discreetly, because although the booklet was classified "Restricted" we intended to print 10,000 copies of the booklet and it was quite certain that at least 1 copy would fall into the hands of the Chinese.

I chose to write this political chapter in such terms that neither the Kuomintang Party leaders nor the Chinese Communist Party leaders could find offense in it. That was a hard thing to do, but I thought it was a possible thing to do, because at that time both parties argued that they stood on the principles of the San Min Chu I of the Sun Yat Sen, so I described Sun Yat Sen's position in Chinese history, the development of the Kuomintang, an explanation of the way they applied the political doctrines of Sun Yat Sen to the China situation, and then concluded with a section on how the Chinese Communists had interpreted the same principles as their body of doctrine.

This manuscript was cleared by the Fourteenth Air Force Headquarters, the A-2 Colonel Williams, and the Chief of Staff General Glenn, it had been read by other members of the headquarters: Hank Byroade, for instance, was in headquarters at that time. I went to Chungking to clear this manuscript and it was read there by the G-2 Colonel Dickey, members of the G-2 staff, and other general headquarters staff officers, and generally cleared through all of these people with a few revisions and amendments, but it was felt that the political adviser to General Stilwell's headquarters should have a crack at it and approve it if possible, and that was Jack, so I had a professional reason for calling on Jack. I let him see the manuscript and he kept it a couple of days and he returned it to Colonel Dickey with a recommendation that this political chapter be deleted from the book on the grounds that whereas it was a fair and fairly innocuous treatment of the problem of the Kuomintang-Communist ideological friction, the Kuomintang would find offensive any Government publication which recognized the existence of the Communists. Now that was unquestionably the case, and I had not thought of that. Actually a few weeks later the theater headquarters under General Wedemeyer brought out a directive which prohibited the discussion of any political issues at all by military personnel in China. With that amendment in the manuscript, the manuscript was cleared, I brought it back and it was published. I would be glad to give you a copy at some time.

Q. I don't think that will be necessary.

(Off-record discussion.)

Q. Now, based on your knowledge of and acquaintance and association with Mr. Service, and apart from the instance that you have just given concerning his acute sensitivity to avoid political friction between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists, would you be able to express an opinion to the Board as to whether Mr. Service has ever to your knowledge expressed any views or in any other way conducted himself so as to indicate that he was a Communist or a Communist sympathizer?—A. To my knowledge Jack has never done or said anything which would lead me to think that he was either a Communist or

We made the further distribution of it other than plane mail going back and forth.

Q. Now, when was it that General Wedemeyer appeared on the scene?—A. Well, it was the end of October, or the first of November; just a matter of days in there.

Q. Did you have the responsibility for briefing him when he arrived with regard to things that had happened prior?—A. That's right.

Q. Do you know what of Mr. Service's materials were specifically called to his attention? Can you remember anything or would you have given him a composite report which would have contained materials possibly reflecting Mr. Service's comments?—A. No, sir; I can't remember specifically. As I said, Mr. Service's reports after they were circulated in our headquarters came back and I used to have them in a file there which I imagine I gave him to read, but I can't state that definitely. I did, of course, do a good deal of verbal briefing.

Q. Yes. Do you know much of Mr. Service's association with General Wedemeyer during the short while that they were together, that they were in the same theater?—A. No; I don't. He didn't have too much chance to see General Wedemeyer during that period that General Wedemeyer came to our headquarters, as Mr. Service was in Yenan most of the time.

Q. I see. Did you know of Mr. Service's relations with the American press during this period in Yenan? Were you any way involved in his relationships, in briefing sessions or anything else with the American press?—A. Not in Yenan I wouldn't have been; no.

Q. That wouldn't have been—

A. No, that would have been done by Colonel Barrett who was on the spot.

Q. I see. I have no more questions.

Questions by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you have a relationship with respect to the briefing of correspondents at any other place than Yenan?—A. No, no briefing with relationship to them. I remember after they came back there was some flurry where they wanted to get back to the States rather quickly and I refused them passage.

Q. What I was referring to was the liberty that the correspondents had or that the political reporters had to discuss what they had observed with correspondents, were you familiar with that?—A. No. We took a rather careful position there that anything regarding China was a matter for the Chinese to censor, that we were not going to be placed in the position of censoring Chinese news by our own reporters because we took one definite stand: If it had military implications or violated military security we took out the material that they had. If it concerned Chinese politics and things like that, had we not had the Chinese censorship available we would have censored, that's true, as allies, but since they were, in turn, censored we took the stand: You do the censoring of what you consider objectionable, we will not.

Q. How would the Chinese go about censoring a conversation or a briefing session between, say, a political reporter like Mr. Service and the American correspondents still on the staff, connected with the staff?—A. Well, they wouldn't have had any opportunity to sit in on that. A briefing could have been a conversation.

Q. Yes.—A. But it was the writings, everything was written, every dispatch had to go through Chinese censorship.

Q. That is, dispatched to the home papers?—A. That's right, sir, anything that was to go out for dispatch.

Questions by Mr. SERVICE:

Q. Just as any mail the correspondents might wish to send back was also subject to Chinese censorship if it went through open channels?—A. If it went through open channels, if it went back through our couriers it was not subject to Chinese censorship.

Q. Subject to yours?—A. Subject to ours.

Questions by Mr. STEVENS:

Q. Was there objection on your part to a political reporter like Mr. Service giving background information in a briefing session to American correspondents orally on Chinese matters, not military matters?—A. No, not at all.

Q. Was he expected to do that sort of thing?—A. I don't know if it was actually assigned as part of his duties, certainly there was no objection interposed.

## Questions by Mr. ACHILLES:

Q. Colonel, you have read Document 193, which is Mr. Service's Report No. 40 of October 10, 1944?—A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Service has stated that he ascertained later that General Stilwell had prior to the date of that report transmitted substantially the same recommendations to Washington. Do you recall from your own knowledge whether General Stilwell had expressed similar views?—A. You place me in a hard position, Mr. Achilles; I lived with General Stilwell. In other words, a good deal of things were said at the table. What was said in messages and what was said in table conversations is a little bit hard—

Q. I was referring to his official reports.—A. Most of his official reports I never read. They were his "eyes alone" message, as back here, and "eyes alone" we were not circulated, of course.

Q. They went as "eyes alone"? On pages 68 and 69 of the white paper are given extracts from certain messages from General Stilwell in September 1940; do you have that?—A. I have it; yes, sir.

Q. Could you state from your knowledge whether those represented General Stilwell's views, personal views at that time or the views of his staff as a whole?—A. I would say that they were General Stilwell's personal viewpoint. This reads like him. General Stilwell did not make use—in other words, a staff paper being drawn up and then revamping it and then sending it, he wrote his own material. And you see he came there early in September and remained there until he was sent home working on this type of thing by himself with General Bergin, and General Merrill came up there, but they actually worked in the general's quarters, and we, of course, were down at headquarters. This was, of course, a separate thing from our normal activity. This reads like the general himself; undoubtedly, he wrote this himself, I would say.

Q. You would say that was the general's statement himself rather than reflecting Mr. Service or his staff, that was the general's statement himself?—A. Oh, yes.

Q. You have stated that as G-2 you were responsible for the security of the intelligence material in the headquarters at Yenan.—A. Well, of anything classified, our counterintelligence, you see, is responsible for.

Q. While you were G-2 in Chungking do you recall any cases of violation or alleged violation of security with respect to material furnished by Mr. Service?—A. No; I can't think of any. There was an occasion after the war was all over—no, right after General Stilwell had left when we had some people there writing up the history now of the history during General Stilwell's time, during which a man lost a notebook which could have contained some of Mr. Service's material, as the fellow had made extracts from all of the different things available, and he lost that on the street.

Q. Was that an official, or a newspaperman?—A. It was an official, one of our officers, but he had it in a musette bag. He was all through and yet he lost his notes. He was sent home in a great hurry, rather harsh disciplinary action taken.

Q. In your capacity as G-2 did you have any view of the public relations director?—A. Yes, I did in Chungking during General Stilwell's time in office there. Public relations were actually a branch of my own office. In other words, I had people there who handled it and I consequently, had knowledge of policy and, in general, what was going on. I usually received a general briefing; under General Wedemeyer we made it a separate office.

Q. Your public relations activities were also under your responsibility as security officer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there any cases while you were there of alleged improper briefing by Mr. Service of any correspondents or persons?—A. I don't quite get your implication, Mr. Achilles, of improper briefings.

Q. That is, the improper disclosure of classified information to correspondents or others?—A. No, I can't remember anything like that. You oftentimes take a correspondent quite a bit into the bosom of the family so that he is able to write more intelligently. I refer, for instance, to reporters coming and asking: "Is this a good time to leave Chungking? Are things going to be quiet here? Is it safe to go down to the front? Is trouble going to break out in this spot or this spot?" Now, that is highly classified, and yet you will tell them: "If I were you, I would go to this spot." You have got to move them to the spots where things are happening. It is highly classified, no doubt about it, but you tell them.

Q. I have nothing further.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a short recess.

## Questions by the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Now, Mr. Service, I want to turn to another occasion. This has reference to a meeting between you and Mr. Jaffe on May 29, 1945. On this occasion it is stated that Mr. Jaffe informed you that Kate Mitchell was writing a book for which the publisher had suggested the title "China Without Confucius." It is stated that you told Mr. Jaffe that you yourself had written a report on the setting up of the Confucian Society in China and that you asked Mr. Jaffe if he had ever seen this report of yours. Do you remember such a conversation, Mr. Service?—A. I remember such a conversation; yes, sir.

Q. What report would that be? Is that one of your reports that we have before this board?—A. No, sir; because it would have been a report, I assume, written while I was in the Embassy attached directly to the Embassy. It would have been a dispatch for the Ambassador's signature, of which—of course, as I have testified before—I never retained any copies. I believe that that Confucian Society was established in 1941 or early 1942. And we made no effort to have the State Department assemble all of those early dispatches which I drafted for the Ambassador's signature while I was in the Embassy.

Q. Why would you have assumed that Jaffe would have seen such a report?—A. Perhaps I didn't hear your question.

Q. I said that, at the end of my question, you asked Mr. Jaffe if he ever saw your report on the matter.—A. I'm sorry; I didn't hear that.

Q. Why would you have asked him that question if, as a matter of fact, the report was one which you yourself had never seen which was made by the Ambassador?—A. Well, of course I had seen it since I drafted it, but I don't remember asking Mr. Jaffe whether or not he had seen it. I don't understand that statement.

Q. Did you have any basis for assuming that Jaffe had seen any of your reports previous to the time of your meeting?—A. Yes, I had some basis to believe that some types of material were being made available; the information in some types of reports were being made available to writers here. I mentioned earlier the fact that it seemed to me that Mr. Gayn had certainly had a chance to read my memorandum of June 20, since there was similarity between his article in Collier's and some of the things that had been said in that report.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. Service, did you at that time have any knowledge of the fact that Mr. Jaffe had in his possession United States Government documents?

A. No, sir; I did not. I'm not sure whether I made myself clear. My feeling, my assumption, was that a good deal of background information was being made known to writers generally. I had no reason to assume or believe that Jaffe had any copies of any documents.

Q. Or any more information than was being made generally available to other writers?—A. That is correct; yes. A great deal of the writing on China by magazine writers and other people in the United States had to be and was obviously based on information which they could not obtain directly since they were not in China, which I assume was made available to them in one form or another as was the policy at that time.

## Questions by Mr. ACHILLES :

Q. Hadn't Jaffe told you on at least one occasion that he had obtained a copy of one of your reports and given it to Gayn?—A. I can't recall any such statement at the moment. Can you give me more information on it, sir?

Q. I believe it was the report which had been prepared in connection with Mr. Wallace's visit to China and Mr. Jaffe is stated to have told you that the report had been passed around at the Institute of Pacific Relations conference and that he had obtained a copy of it and had given it to Gayn. Do you recall him ever telling you that?—A. I think that may be true. I do have a hazy recollection now of my surprise that this thing had been passed around and I think you're right, sir, that I did hear that it had been passed around at the IPR Conference which I think was held down at White Sulphur Springs, or some place like that. I'm not sure, but I had forgotten all about that, but I think I did hear that this report had been passed around.

The CHAIRMAN. To go on with this statement, it is stated that Mr. Jaffe told you that he had not seen the report and that you told him that, because of your work in writing that report on the Confucian Society, you had gotten an excellent rating from the State Department and that, as a matter of fact, in that work you had made a collection of about 300 slogans used by the society and that you told Mr. Jaffe you would try to dig up the report for him?

A. I think there is a very great condensation and telescoping here. This concerns two entirely separate reports. The report on the Confucian Society, as I recall it—and as I say I haven't seen it since it was drafted back in 1941 or early 1942—was quite a routine report from public sources. The Confucian Society was inaugurated with great publicity and the patrons were H. H. Kung, who was a lineal descendant of Confucius, and Chen Li-Fu, Minister of Education, and a number of other important figures in the Government. And, as I remember, I simply transmitted the published accounts and some of the published material about the objectives and purposes of the organization and made some brief comment.

Q. Was that a classified dispatch?—A. I don't recall.

Questions by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You said you didn't see the dispatch?—A. No; I drafted the dispatch, sir, but I had no copy of it.

Q. Would you have known whether or not it was classified?—A. Yes. In 1941 and 1942 I was an officer in the Embassy, and was simply drafting it as the political reporting officer. I would have to look up the matter, whether we wrote one unclassified dispatch simply sending in the public material and then wrote another dispatch commenting on it or whether we simply wrote one dispatch with both public information and comment. In any case, as I remember the comment very vaguely, it would not be very highly classified.

Mr. STEVENS. This was in 1941 or 1942?

A. Yes; I think so. Now, the other report, which is apparently referred to here, was a dispatch which I wrote from Lanchow when I was an Embassy observer up there in the summer of 1943. It would be probably June or July 1943. That is a dispatch which, as I say, consisted really of a compilation of these propaganda slogans with some comment on them. The dispatch which I wrote earlier on the Confucian Society was not one I received any commendation on. The one I received the commendation on was the one on wall slogans. This may be an unintelligible phrase.

Newspapers are scarce in China. Movies, radio, other media of propaganda don't reach very many people so that one very common propaganda media is to paint these very large slogans, these large characters, on walls of a building or the wall along a street, or particularly facing a Chinese gateway there is always a wall. The superstition is that evil spirits can only go in a straight line so that opposite any important entrance there is a sort of spirit screen, so that you have to go around the wall to go into the gate and these walls or screens are favorite places for painting a four-character slogan.

I had in my travels all through North China in 1942 and again in 1943 made a practice of jotting down these various slogans, of noting the relative frequency of different slogans, or noting as far as I could the date on which they were painted, because usually down below them there would be in small writing the name of the organization which put it up and the date. So that I was able to trace, I think with some accuracy, the trend of the propaganda line and to note the various organizations which were active in painting the slogans and to some extent the different lines adopted by the different propaganda organizations. As I say, this was a report which I sent in from Lanchow, which was transmitted to the Department by the Embassy and on which I received the rating of excellent. But it is an entirely different one from the one that this material starts talking about.

Questions by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Was it a classified report?—A. I do not remember, sir. It may have been classified "confidential" or "restricted" because of my comments on the propaganda lines indicated there.

Q. It is stated that you told Mr. Jaffe that it might be sort of hard for you to get this report because it was kept in a section where you were not assigned and where you did not work and that Mr. Jaffe asked you, if you were successful in obtaining the material, to mail it to him in New York or whether you would rather wait until he came to Washington in 2 or 3 weeks and you told Mr. Jaffe, if you could dig up a copy of it, it would be the Far Eastern Division copy and they might not be willing to part with it. But you were sure you would be able to run off a copy for him?—A. I must say that that is very different from my recollection of the conversation. I remember the conversation because I was quite annoyed at Mr. Jaffe and I went into considerable detail to explain to him first why I did not have any copy of my own, any personal copies of these dispatches.



He thought that I would of course have a personal copy. And I explained in considerable detail, as I recall, the difference between an Embassy dispatch which was signed by the Ambassador and the type of memoranda which I had had in my possession, as he knew and which I had allowed him to see some of. I also went into considerable detail why I could not turn them over to him, why I could not remove these from the files and turn them over to him.

My recollection is that I said that I would try to look the dispatch up if I could find it. I pointed out, as I remember it, that that might be difficult because the files in the China Division were quite chaotic and this was a very old dispatch. My recollection is that I told him I would try to look it up and give him the dates of the events, the establishment of the Confucian Society, so that he would have some guide in searching through published materials. It's quite possible that I may also have said that if I found that it was not classified and the Division of Chinese Affairs was willing that it might have been possible for him to see it. But I don't recollect saying that at all.

My chief recollection of the conversation is that my explanation—I remember a rather lengthy explanation as to the difference in character between the Embassy dispatch and the papers I had shown him and the reason why I could not give him copies of the Embassy dispatches. I certainly have no recollection of ever offering to run off a copy for him. I may have said I would copy some of these wall slogans. I told him some wall slogans from memory. I may have said that I would try to copy off some of the more common wall slogans.

Q. Your recollection is in part confirmed by the final statement on this subject that Mr. Jaffe said that it was funny that you did not keep a copy of the report since you had written it and that you said that it was against regulations to keep copies of your reports.—A. I remember considerable discussion and quite a bit of annoyance on my part. This was the first time I think that he ever asked me to obtain copies for him of dispatches.

Q. Now to turn to another subject on the discussion on the same occasion it is stated that you and Mr. Jaffe talked about the "lowdown" on the Hurley story and that Mr. Jaffe told you that Ambassador Gauss told Randall Gould that Gauss resigned because Hurley broke his pledge to Britain by "monkeying" with politics in China.

Mr. RHERTS. Will you read that again, please?

Q. This is a statement that Jaffe is alleged to have told Mr. Service, that Ambassador Gauss had told one Randall Gould that Mr. Gauss had resigned because Mr. Hurley broke his pledge to Britain by "monkeying" around with politics in China and that Mr. Gauss and Mr. Gould never got along well and discussed the possibility of Mr. Gauss giving Mr. Gould some wrong "dope" and that General Stilwell was down in the Pacific and Mr. Jaffe asked you if this were true or whether you could verify the information.

Now I give you all that as background for the statement that you're alleged to have made, which was that it was heard confidentially but "you weren't supposed to talk about it." Thereupon, Mr. Jaffe stated that Gauss had told this fact to an OSS man and that the OSS man had told it to Gayn. Whereupon it is alleged that you told Mr. Jaffe that, so far as you knew, the whereabouts of General Stilwell was very confidential. Mr. Jaffe is alleged then to have stated that whether or not General Stilwell was in the Pacific would be known shortly, would be known on Saturday night, because he was due to speak at some gathering and later to have a meeting with General MacArthur. It is then alleged that you said, "That is how top secrets get out."

Now will you explain what you said on that occasion? Can you recollect any such discussion and can you state what you said?

To review the several statements in the course of this conversation you are supposed to have made, they are in substance: (1) that the fact that Stilwell was down in the Pacific was heard confidentially but you weren't supposed to talk about it; (2) that the whereabouts of General Stilwell was very confidential; and (3) that if it got out, as Jaffe had stated, "that is how top secrets get out." Those are the statements you are alleged to have made. Perhaps you might explain what information, if any, you had about the whereabouts of Stilwell and what you may have said or can recollect having said on the subject.

A. Well, I don't recall this conversation. I think I have already testified that, since it is all a mystery to me, perhaps if we had the complete text—but it seems to me that, if this is a correct and complete text, I was being very discreet. I don't have any recollection of hearing of this alleged conversation or conversations between Gauss, Gould as relayed to Gayn and as repeated to

Jaffe. Nor do I remember anything about this conversation, or hearing anything about this conversation of the OSS men and Gayn. It seems to me I avoided saying anything definitely about the whereabouts of General Stilwell except that people were saying he is in the Pacific. But the whereabouts of high officers during wartime is a secret.

Q. Did you, as a matter of fact, know where he was, Mr. Service?—A. I knew that he was going out to the Pacific. I don't know when or where. I knew it first from General Stilwell himself. I think that he was planning to go. I was seeing his associates all the time. Now, this business of Saturday night confuses me except that he was expected to speak to a meeting in New York and the reference to that may simply have been that if he is unable to appear on Saturday night why it would be obvious that he is away some place.

Q. That was, of course, the remark that Jaffe was supposed to have said.—A. But my statement of this, "that is how top secrets get out," I suppose was referring to all the various rumors and statements by OSS people and Randall Gould and so on and so on.

Q. Who was Randall Gould?—A. Randall Gould had been for many years the editor of the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, a newspaper published in Shanghai by C. V. Starr. During the war he was in the United States. He wrote a book on China. And then later he went to Chungking and set up the Chungking edition of the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury which came out weekly for a while in Chungking. After the war he returned to Shanghai and was finally, I think, forced to close down publication after the Communists occupied Shanghai and imprisoned him in his offices and that caused a great deal of trouble for him.

Mr. ACHILLES. Do you recall whether on that same occasion you again discussed the possibility of American landings in China and the location of those landings?

A. I have no recollection, sir, but it's quite possible that in a speculative way there might have been some such discussion. I think by this time we were finding probably in the middle of the Okinawa campaign that there was general speculation that any landing, if we made one, would be further north in China than it might have been at an earlier stage of the war. If we held Okinawa it might seem more logical to any armchair strategist to hit straight across in North China.

Mr. STEVENS. Do you recall any?

A. No sir, I have no such recollection.

Q. I should complete my statement of this alleged conversation you are supposed to have had with Jaffe by saying it is stated that Mr. Jaffe asked you whether you thought that the United States would land on the shores of China, and that you told him, "I don't believe it has been decided. I can tell you in a couple of weeks when Stilwell gets back. I rather think we will." It is then stated that Mr. Jaffe remarked that, if we did land in China, it would probably be in Shanghai and that then we would accept aid from anybody, Communist or non-Communist.—A. This is Mr. Jaffe?

Q. Yes; and you agreed with Mr. Jaffe that that was correct.—A. I don't remember making any such statement and I don't see how I could have made a statement like that, that "I can tell you in a few weeks when General Stilwell gets back," because that assumes in the first place that General Stilwell was going to tell me what his plans were and General Stilwell never confided in me. He confided in very few people.

Mr. STEVENS. Do you know whether General Stilwell was going to get back in 2 or 3 weeks?

A. No, sir; I don't recall that I did know it. As a matter of fact, he didn't come back. He stayed out there. That statement is rather incomprehensible.

Mr. ACHILLES. That statement carries the implication that you were offering voluntary information as to the whereabouts of General Stilwell, which is obviously a serious implication.

A. It's just incomprehensible to me. I don't have any such recollection of such statements and I don't see how I could be in any position to promise, since I never received any information on high military plans from General Stilwell ever.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you said a minute ago that General Stilwell had told you something: what was it?

A. Well, I saw General Stilwell some time in that spring after I came back. And he said that he wanted to go out in the Pacific and get himself a job.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that is what you referred to.

A. He wanted to get a fighting job. He didn't want to be sitting in a desk here in Washington. But that is the sum total of what I remember that General Stilwell told me.

Questions by Mr. ACHILLES:

Q. Had you discussed any military plans, anything of that nature, with General Stilwell?—A. No, sir.

Q. At that time did you not know where General Stilwell was?—A. My recollection is that all I knew was that he was going out in the Pacific. Of course he was going to see General MacArthur, wherever General MacArthur was. That could be assumed. I don't know that I had any specific knowledge as to where he was at any particular time.

Q. So far as you know, all that General Stilwell was doing was looking for a fighting job?—A. That is correct, sir.

Mr. RHETTS. I wonder if the Board can tell me what this purports to be. Does this purport to be an account given by Mr. Jaffe? Does this purport to be a recording of a conversation made by some mechanical device? Does it purport to be the notes made by some person listening to the conversation? Is there any way that the Board can enlighten us at all on that? My reason for asking the Board this question is this: Of course Mr. Service was questioned earlier in these proceedings on this same general subject matter. He has been questioned again in these vague terms within the past 2 days before the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and it is obviously of the greatest importance to ascertain precisely what source, what reportorial source, the Board has available to it. Because it seems to me I think anyone who has any dealings with these matters will recognize that an actual recording of a conversation is one thing. Notes taken by a person listening with earphones and a person who may or may not be familiar with the subject matter of the discussion is another thing. And a summary prepared by another person, someone who had no knowledge of the matter is still a third and different thing.

The material which General Snow has been referring to here so obviously suggests condensations, epitomizations, and the like, which makes it, it seems to me, extremely important that we try to ascertain the exact source of the material which the Board is using.

The CHAIRMAN. I'll say for the record that the Board has only the reports of the FBI on which to rely. We do not have the exact texts of these supposed statements. The source, as far as the Board is free to reveal, is a confidential source from the FBI. We have nothing further. It is a source which is unavailable for appearance before the Board. According to the public press in yesterday's hearing the actual source of these statements is a recording. As to the facts, the Board is unable to make a statement.

Mr. RHETTS. In that connection, if I might comment, I too am aware of the report in the public press. On the other hand, I'm still not enlightened as to whether it is an actual recording or whether it is notes purported to have been made by someone who was listening or whether they are stenographic transcripts or what.

The CHAIRMAN. The reports of the FBI do not advise the Board on that subject.

Mr. SERVICE. It seems to me that even if there is a recording we still have the question of the completeness and clarity and the perfection of those recordings because in a conversation which I'm alleged to have had on May 19—

The CHAIRMAN. May 29.

Mr. SERVICE. May 29; yes, sir. It would appear that they have exactly reversed the intent of what I seem to recall saying possibly by the omission of a few words or failing to catch a few words.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the Board is unable to give you any further enlightenment on the subject.

Mr. ACHILLES. To return to the specific statements that you are supposed to have made to Mr. Jaffe, Mr. Service, that you did not believe it is decided whether we would land on the shores of China but that you would be able to tell him in a couple of weeks when General Stilwell got back, would you have told Mr. Jaffe such information had you known it, as to whether or not the United States would in fact in future land on the shores of China?

A. It all depends. I mean—I'm trying to just speculate as to what was in my own mind if I made such a statement, which I don't recall making.

Mr. ACHILLES. Would you please read the question again.  
(Whereupon the reporter reread the previous question.)

A. No; I would not have told him if they were secret plans. I would not have told him any secret war plans. The reason I was trying to speculate what was in the back of my mind was that I understood that the whole subject was under discussion and that if there had been a large open build-up for a landing such as, shall we say, on the Normandy coast—and that was no secret about the fact that we were going to land in Europe—I believe that what I was thinking was that after General Stilwell came back that it would probably become obvious, because presumably he wanted to be in command of a preparation for a large-scale operation, whether or not we were preparing to build up for an operation on the mainland. That is the only basis I can think of that I would have been able to tell anyone whether or not—

Questions by Mr. STEVENS:

Q. This is pure speculation?—A. This is pure speculation. I certainly would not have told him any secret plan. I probably wouldn't have known any secret plan. If I had known any I never would have told him.

Q. If you had known that we were going to land in China would you have told him?—A. It all depends on the circumstances. That is, what I'm trying to say, I would not have told him anything which was not well known. But there was no secret that we were going to land on Sicily long before we did. There was no secret that we were going to land in Italy. There was no secret that we were going to land somewhere on the coast of France. That is the only basis on which I can think that I would have any way of knowing or telling anyone.

Questions by Mr. ACHILLES:

Q. As I recall, those cases of where we were going to land was a matter of vital secrecy.—A. Where, yes, but am I not purported to have said that I simply would not be able to tell him whether we were going to land in China?

Q. That is correct.—A. And Jaffe goes on to speculate that it would be in the vicinity of Shanghai, I don't know where.

Q. Mr. Jaffe is purported to have said if we did land in China it would probably be in Shanghai and that then we would accept aid from anybody, Communist or non-Communist. And you are said to have agreed that that was correct. It does not indicate which of Mr. Jaffe's statements you agreed was correct. It could be either the landing in Shanghai or if we did land in Shanghai we would accept aid from anybody there.—A. If I remember, I mentioned earlier it was General Stilwell's hope—I think I used the word "dream" before—that he would have the chance to be in command of a landing operation in China. It was his private hope that he would be able to march back to Peiping, and so on. And I may have assumed that after his return there would be public indication of, as I say, a build-up for a large-scale landing. But that is just pure speculation. I think that I ought to make that clear.

I think I ought to make it clear to the Board that I would never have known any of the secret plans, never did know them, and never would have revealed them to Mr. Jaffe or anyone else, that the only conceivable basis for this statement was that possibly within a few weeks—since the progress of the war was rapid at that time—that it would become obvious whether or not we were preparing to mount a large-scale-offensive landing in China.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. Service, in your experience out there or anywhere with respect to the war, was it ever common knowledge as to whether a build-up was for one area in the Pacific or another? If I recall correctly, the assembly lines were sending things out. We knew that material was going out to the west coast, as far as the United States was concerned, but I don't think it was common knowledge in the United States as to where any material was going which left the west coast. And that was something that was considered rather secret here, as to whether we were going into any particular section of the Pacific. I doubt very much, if my memory serves me correctly, that that was ever common knowledge here, whether there was a build-up in China or for some other place. In your experience was it otherwise?

A. I have only been speculating here, sir, because I have no positive recollection.

Questions by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. As a matter of fact, you were also speculating, weren't you, when you referred to the common knowledge of the landing in Sicily? As a matter of fact, that never was common knowledge. Sicily is a small place. If it had been

common knowledge that we were going to land in Sicily the landing place would have been pretty well known.—A. Well, I was speculating.

Q. You weren't here and didn't know whether it was or was not common knowledge, did you?

A. My recollection of the chain of events at that time was that we knocked out Pantelleris and did other actions, bombing preparations, and so on, which pointed toward the occupation of Sicily before we went on to attempt an occupation in Italy. It was generally assumed, I imagine, that it would be dangerous for us to attack Italy directly without first taking Sicily.

Questions by Mr. STEVENS:

Q. I think if you look back, Mr. Service, none of this, as far as the United States was concerned, was common knowledge at any time until after the matter was an accomplished fact. I think that is true with regard to the build-up that took effect in the United Kingdom with regard to North Africa, if I'm right. All of it, there was a speculation in the United States, but there was never any common knowledge as to whether it was likely to be in a theater of war. I'd just like for you to search back and see if in any of your visits to the United States, of which there were not many, you could get anything which you would have considered common knowledge of an act before that act occurred. Certainly in my memory, being in Washington all during the war, I cannot recall any such thing.

A. I'm not sure that I understand your question, Mr. Stevens.

Q. I'm not just sure that in your speculation you used the word "common knowledge" advisedly, Mr. Service.—A. Common knowledge?

Q. Yes.—A. Common assumption, perhaps.

Q. It is necessary for the Board to get that clarified a bit. If you speculated about Sicily and Normandy and others—A. I should have limited it to Normandy, I suppose. I should have included the whole coast of France.

Q. Was there any common knowledge as to what the plans of General MacArthur and the people—Admiral Nimitz and others—where we were going to strike next?—A. Well, we get into a problem of what point. Certainly I would say that our maneuvers toward the Philippines indicated at a very early point our intention to recapture the Philippines.

Mr. ACHILLES. On the occasion of one of your conversations with Jaffe, I believe you discussed with him a report which you and a Mr. Adler worked on jointly. Who was Mr. Adler?

A. Mr. Adler was the United States Treasury attaché in Chungking from about 1942 through to the end of the war. I believe he remained Treasury attaché until 1946 or '47. I'm not sure just when he came back to the United States. He was also the American member of the Chinese Stabilization Board.

Q. I believe you testified you lived with him.—A. I lived with him for a period in Chungking, I believe for about a year. That was chiefly because living in Army officer's quarters had been very hampering to my work which involved a great deal of contact with the Chinese. I could not entertain Chinese in the Army mess. There was no sitting room or other place available where I could meet people and talk with them. Mr. Adler had an apartment, had an extra room, which he offered to me, so I shared his apartment with him.

Q. Do you have any particular impression as to his political views at that time?—A. Well, it's very hard to describe the word "Liberal." I would say he is a liberal. I had no indication or ever any reason to believe he was a Communist or even close to a Communist.

Q. That follows now as well as then?—A. Yes, sir.

Questions by Mr. ACHILLES.

Q. You did know him, I assume, quite well, having lived with him for a year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the nature of your duties and his duties, did you and he have occasion to collaborate in preparing reports on more than this one particular occasion?

Mr. RHETTS. On what particular occasion are we referring to now, sir?

Q. This was a report prepared in connection with Mr. Wallace's visit to China, which I believe Mr. Service stated he and Mr. Adler worked on together.—A. Mr. Adler was a very active person and lived in the city away from the Embassy. He spent a great deal of his time with the Chinese and particularly with Chinese people in financial and economic fields, bankers, government officials, in those fields. And he developed an unusually broad circle of Chinese contacts along those lines.

I also developed an unusually broad circle of contacts, an entirely different one, among entirely different ones, among entirely different groups, so that we had very little overlapping. But between the two of us we—how shall I say—we covered a good deal of ground. So that we, living together, seeing each other usually in the latter part of every evening, talked to each other, exchanged views, news, and we did, I think you might say, work together continually. Certainly the news which he obtained from me entered in a way into his reports and the information which I got from him was at times invaluable to me in broadening my own knowledge and perspective of what was going on.

Mr. Adler was, as I say, in an independent position. He had weekly or monthly reports for the Treasury and occasionally if negotiations were going on he had more frequent reporting in connection with those negotiations. Similarly I had only a limited number of required duties. Both of us spent a good deal of time picking up information, doing some voluntary reporting. A great deal of his information went through conversations, and so on, to the Embassy. Mine also, of course, went to the Embassy eventually.

But on our own initiative we did undertake what you might call several projects. One of them was this memorandum, which is our Document 157, which as I have said was written shortly before Mr. Wallace's visit—Vice President Wallace's visit. I did most of the initial drafting and then I would go over it with him and he would suggest some changes. Perhaps he would work over a draft and then I would rework it, and so on, so that both of us made some contributions.

Now, another independent voluntary enterprise that we undertook was the translation and summarization and comment on the Generalissimo's book of the Chinese economic theory. We introduced that into the proceedings here a few days ago. I have forgotten the B number.

Q. Adler was at that time recognized, was he not, as probably the best informed person on the Chinese economic situation?—A. I believe he certainly was, sir. He was extremely well informed. And he was the only man we had in Chungking who was well informed on Chinese finance and economics. He was invaluable to the Embassy and he assisted the Embassy a great deal. He was in the closest, most intimate contact with the Chinese economic figures from H. H. Kung on down.

Q. Turning to a different matter, some days ago I remember questioning you concerning your discussion with Jaffe of April 20, 1945; as I recall you stated that you had arrived at Mr. Jaffe's room in the Statler Hotel only shortly before luncheon and that I advised you according to the FBI you were reported to have gone to Mr. Jaffe's room at the Statler Hotel at about 9:30 o'clock that morning, that you were unable to recollect having done so or having gone there earlier than shortly before lunch. I wonder in the meantime if you had a chance to recollect anything further about that morning? Where you might have spent the morning?—A. I'm still unable to recollect, sir, having spent any long time in conversation with Mr. Jaffe on that morning. And, therefore, I'm still of the belief that my hypothesis was correct that I may have taken these memoranda to his hotel in the early forenoon, perhaps at the time 9:30, which has been mentioned, and that I left them with him. I left the hotel and returned there shortly before lunch, expecting to have them returned to me. There is one recollection—it's a vague recollection—which may relate to that day.

Q. What is that recollection?—A. That is that I believe at some time in my early association with Mr. Jaffe this book of the generalissimo's on the Chinese economic theory was mentioned and that he said that he had not seen it and that I took to him, among the papers, memoranda and so on, a translation of the book and this summary and comment and that Jaffe was interested and asked me if he could make some use of the material. I told him that he could not, meaning he could not use the summary and analysis which had been prepared in the major part by Mr. Adler, which I had no authority to allow him to use.

Q. The point is of some interest because it is the only point, as I recall, at which the statements you have made—both to the FBI in 1945 and to the board—differ from information furnished by the FBI. But I take it that your best recollection is still that you did not spend that morning in Mr. Jaffe's room at the Statler Hotel?—A. That is correct. Might I suggest, sir, if in fact I did remain the whole morning in conversation with Mr. Jaffe, which I have no recollection of doing, there should be substantial evidence of the fact since Mr. Jaffe was under such close surveillance. And if there is such evidence I would appreciate having it made known to me.

Q. We have no such evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. I'd like to ask you, Mr. Service, if you care to give us a comprehensive statement of your attitude with reference to communism as a dogma with application to the United States. Are you a Communist or do you believe in the Communist theory of government and social and economic order or not? Or do you believe in what we call the capitalist system? I don't know that you have given us anywhere in your statement a comprehensive statement of your personal beliefs on that.

The board would like a short recess.

(Whereupon the board recessed at 12 noon and reconvened at 12:05 p. m.)

Mr. RHETT. I'd like to make a preliminary statement. When Mr. Kennan testified here on May 29, 1950, in the afternoon session, the board may recall that at the conclusion of his testimony he submitted to the board the notes he had made on the various reports. The board will also recall that while most of these papers consisted of actual reports written by Mr. Service there were a few memoranda included in this group which constituted memoranda made by other agencies concerning interviews with Mr. Service.

One of these reports, which is our Document No. 200, is a memorandum dated November 8, 1944, and entitled "Interview with John Service" and under that "Japanese Communists." This memorandum is a memorandum of notes of an interview held with Mr. Service evidently at the offices of the Research and Analysis Branch of OSS. In the course of this memorandum or notes is stated at the top of page 2 in connection with the discussion of the extent of contact with the Japanese Communists have with the outside world—this is the Japanese Communists who were then in Yen-an—"Material cannot be sent through Russia, although they undoubtedly have contact with a Russian station. Actually, they can get no information out except by radio, although Service mentioned that he himself had helped in carrying information. Material going out of Yen-an is heavily censored by the Chinese."

Now, amongst the notes which Mr. Kennan prepared on these documents we have noted two references to this particular statement which I have just read from Document 200. Mr. Kennan's notes on this appear on page 15 of his notes which are attached to the transcript for the afternoon session, May 29, 1950. In view of the implications of that statement, it seemed desirable for us to attempt to clarify it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Kennan say about it?

Mr. RHETTS. Mr. Kennan merely noted with respect to this Document No. 200. His notes are as follows:

"Interrogation of Service while on consultation in Washington. Views on Japanese Communists. Appears to be purely factual information. Service states that he himself helped carry information for Japanese Communists, apparently out of Yen-an to Chungking for relay elsewhere. No elaboration."

Now, it is in connection with this matter that I would like to interrogate Mr. Fisher briefly and then Mr. Service again.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Thereupon Mr. Francis McCracken Fisher, being produced, sworn and examined as a witness for and in behalf of Mr. John Stewart Service, testified as follows:

Questions by Mr. RHETTS:

Q. Will you please state your full name for the record?—A. Francis McCracken Fisher.

Q. And your address?—A. 2313 South June Street, Arlington.

Q. What is your present position, sir?—A. A student at the National War College, detailed from the State Department.

Q. Were you in China during the period approximately of July to October 1944, Mr. Fisher?—A. Continuously.

Q. What was your position there at that time?—A. The head of the Office of War Information activities throughout China. Might I add to that, I had been told unofficially by General Stilwell soon after he arrived there that he wanted me to be in charge or at least pass on all matters of psychological warfare against the Japanese.

Q. So that you were particularly concerned with that range of matters in relation to the Japs?—A. Certainly.

Q. During that period did you have occasion to visit Yen-an?—A. I was asked to do so by the commanding general. Might I add to that?

Q. Yes.—A. We had heard rumors that the Japanese and the Communists themselves were having some considerable effect in securing the surrender of

Japanese prisoners. This was rather unique in 1944 and it was felt apparently worth while exploring the methods and means and so forth that they were using in their psychological approach to the Japanese. Therefore, I was instructed in my capacity that I just mentioned to go to Yen-an and contact those people I could find who were engaged in the psychological warfare against the Japanese, to study their methods as fully as possible and report thereon.

Q. During what period were you in Yen-an, sir?—A. Approximately 2 weeks, from the latter part of August to early September. I can't give you the exact dates.

Q. In 1944?—A. Yes, 1944.

Q. And did you know Mr. Service there, at that time?—A. I did.

Q. Did you have occasion to work with him in Yen-an?—A. I took occasion to, sir. May I explain that?

Q. Yes.—A. Very soon after I had talked to the various Chinese Communists, the Army people in charge of psychological warfare, they put me on to Okano, who was the head of the Japanese People's Emancipation League and was mainly the main spring or brain of the psychological-warfare effort. I had long interviews with him. On numerous occasions I had long talks with him. At one point he said that tomorrow he would be glad to tell me what the postwar Japanese Communist program was. I felt that this was something outside my particular range and should be of interest politically to the Government as a whole and suggested to Mr. Service that he sit in on that interview. That is why, on the occasion, I sought his help on a matter outside my range. But I thought it would be of importance to the United States Government.

Q. Were there also Japanese located in Chungking who were also working in the general area of attempting to convert the Japanese away from support of the Japanese war efforts?—A. There were two groups in general. They were under two Japanese. One was named Kuji Wataru and his wife. There was another group working under a man named Ao Yama. I don't recall the rest of his name. These two groups or cliques or factions had been in China for a considerable period of time. They had been working, some of them, with the Chinese Government and the Kuomintang even before the war. And they were in touch with or had been contacted, had been sought by the OSS in particular during the preceding months there in Chungking.

These two groups appeared to be somewhat ineffectual. Their activities seemed to be mostly directed toward news sheets and pamphlets. I never knew just what the circulation of them was. But some of them were in contact with the very small number of Japanese prisoners captured by the Chinese and were attempting to, under the direction of the Chinese Government, utilize these prisoners in psychological warfare in that realm.

Q. That was also one of the activities in which Mr. Okano was engaged in and around Yen-an?—A. As far as I know, principally he was engaged in that, yes.

Q. Now, do you have any knowledge whether there was any communication between Mr. Okano and his group in Yen-an and the groups in Chungking, of which you just spoke?—A. I noticed that the transcript stated that the Chinese severely censored all material going out of Yen-an—that is of course, as you know, the Chinese Government, the Kuomintang secret police, and so forth established more or less a blockade there and as a result of that there was very little communication as far as I knew between them. Occasionally some publication or some leaflet would get across and there was vague knowledge on both sides, if you want to call them sides, between the Japanese group in Chungking and the Japanese group in Yen-an. There was vague knowledge about what the other group was doing and what it was interested in.

Q. Do you know whether you or the American Government officials had any occasion or interest in attempting to permit some communication between Okano and his group from Yen-an with the other groups in Chungking?—A. I can't testify as to a specific instance but I can testify as to background. The answer in general is "yes," that would be parallel to the general theory at that time, and I want you to mark that time, early September 1944, in uniting all elements available in fighting effectively against the Japanese. I think shortly after I came back from Yen-an General Hurley went to Yen-an with exactly, precisely the same mission.

There was interest in seeing whether increased effectiveness could be obtained in psychological warfare effort by an increase in communication between these two groups. I know that on one occasion at least—I can't testify as to the exact time, but my impression is that it was October or November of 1944—there came through the regular communications channels some sort of communication, either



a statement or a letter or something, from Okano which was made available to Kaji and Aoyama in Chungking in the hopes there would be coalescence—not coalescence but it would be increased effectiveness through cooperation.

Q. Now, as I understand it, Kaji and Aoyama were working for the American forces? Or was it for the Chinese?—A. Cooperating. It's a little hard to describe the exact part—

Q. Perhaps I may make my question a little clearer. They were working in cooperation with your group which was interested in promoting the psychological warfare?—A. They were. When we would evolve a leaflet in Japanese to be dropped we would naturally seek to get the best critique from the Japanese viewpoint as was possible and we would ask them to criticize it, as we would the group in Yen-an.

And, may I add one more thing. I gathered there was perhaps a closer relationship on the part of the morale operations branch of the Office of Strategic Services in Chungking with these two groups. I don't know how effective or useful it was, but I know they sought to maintain contact with these two groups.

Q. When you referred a moment ago to your general recollection of some communication coming through the regular official channels from Okano in Yen-an to the group in Chungking, would that have been through Army channels?—A. All channels. I should describe the set-up as far as I know it, and that is that the observer mission in Yen-an transmitted documents and so forth, reports, to headquarters, to Army headquarters in Chungking. It was an Army mission there. We maintained an observer with it from time to time. But, as far as I know, all communications coming from Yen-an were screened at the input end. The chief or his designated authority in Yen-an would receive them at headquarters in Chungking—whether they were checked or not I don't know, I assume they were all checked. We got them I believe, as I recall, from the G-2 office. When some things were addressed to us they came through that channel and we picked them up through G-2. The regular practice was that everything was checked at both ends.

Q. During the period that you were either in Chungking or Yen-an, did you ever have any knowledge that any communications were being sent out by Okano other than this limited communication with the Kaji group in Chungking that you referred to?—A. Well, I should refer here to one general means of communication they had in a sense, and that was the Japanese People's Emancipation League and Okano frequently published articles and reviews and things in the Chieh Fang Jih Pao.

Mr. SERVICE. It means the Liberation Daily.

A. That was the official Communist newspaper.

Q. Where?—A. In Yen-an. And, as I recall, from time to time some of these articles were broadcast. I would have assumed that some of them would have been broadcast by the Eighth Route Army radio in their daily news through the Communist newspapers through all the liberated areas. So I assume in addition to this limited communication that we just referred to that there was a certain amount of sort of semipublic broadcast of articles and information and things from that source. I don't know if that adds anything. I don't know of any other specific direct communication, nor do I have any knowledge or suspicion that there was any, what you might term, irregular communication.

The CHAIRMAN. Surreptitious communication?

A. Surreptitious. It was not subject to the complete approval or screening of headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Fisher.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. RHETTS. Will you take the stand, Mr. Service.

Thereupon Mr. John Stewart Service, a witness previously produced and sworn in his own behalf, resumed the stand and testified further as follows:

Question by Mr. RHETTS:

Q. Can you shed any further light on this quotation from Document 200 which I have read into the record?—A. Well, I think that I'm perhaps a victim in a way of extreme condensation. This was an interview which undoubtedly lasted for 2 or 3 hours, which has been condensed into 3 pages. And I believe that what I said was something that we or the observer mission had allowed some communication with these other Japanese groups. I'm sure that there was some explanation and further on in the paper I mention Ao Yama and the other Japanese who were cooperating with us on psychological warfare work in Chungking. My recollection is that fairly soon after the arrival of the observer mission in Yen-an—that would be in July.

The CHAIRMAN. 1944?

A. Yes, 1944. There were a number of people in the group who were Japanese specialists who came in contact with Okano and had to find out as part of their work what the Japanese were doing with the prisoners and Okano asked whether or not it would be possible for him to send a letter to these other free Japanese groups in Chungking. I remember his intent was to establish some sort of consultation on the work they were doing, their objectives; I think perhaps to explore the possibility of whether or not they could more or less agree on their objectives.

We agreed—I say “we,” I mean the observer group—to allow such a letter to be sent. I remember the group I was living with—Colonel Barrett, the Commander, I remember having a translation made and carefully studied by some of our Japanese experts and we agreed to forward it through official channels over the G-2 in Chungking for transmission, if G-2 thought wise, to the Japanese groups. That is the only occasion that I can remember of having any knowledge or where I was in any way connected with the transmitting of messages for these Japanese Communist leaders to anyone outside.

Q. As far as you recall, did you ever personally carry any communication of any kind from Okano or any of the Japanese Communists out of Yensen?—A. No, sir, I have no recollection of every carrying any messages.

Q. So far as you know?—A. I was concerned only in consultation as to whether or not the group would transmit, by official channels through G-2, this letter.

Q. So it is your belief that this reference in the memo, this assertion that you mentioned that you yourself had helped carry information merely refers to the fact that the observer mission officially permitted Okano to transmit written communication through official channels to Chungking for delivery to the other Japanese groups there?—A. That is correct.

Q. And the inferences which Mr. Kenman may have drawn in his notes on the document are not proper inferences?—A. Let's say they go even beyond this. They are not proper inferences. Even this [indicating] I think is incorrect.

Q. By “this” you mean the document, Document 200?—A. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now could you answer the question asked before the recess, the general question as to your respect for communism, as to theory?—A. It's difficult to talk about a man's philosophy. That is something I'm not used to doing. I'm not a deeply religious man in a conventional sense of the word. But I think that I could sum it up by saying that it is my belief that life was not created accidentally, that there is a divine cause, and that man was not created accidentally but created as the ultimate and highest form of life.

I think that man's responsibility, or his destiny if you wish, is to seek to achieve or live up to his highest potentialities, not only as individuals but as a race. We have not succeeded in doing that. We are very far from doing it. There have been certain individuals in history—Jesus Christ was one—who have given us an insight into the qualities of mind and spirit for which man is unique and which makes him the highest product of creation, which serve as examples of what we should seek to achieve.

Now, this whole basic philosophy is built on the idea of, shall we say, the dignity of man. Man cannot advance toward this goal of perfection without the greatest freedom of expression, greatest freedom of experiment, greatest freedom to improve and develop himself. That whole idea is absolutely contrary to a fixed and rigid dogma.

I don't believe that there is any fixed dogma which is the ultimate truth. I'm sure that communism is not because it is completely contrary to human nature and would put us in a strait-jacket and instead of giving the fullest scope for individual development it puts man in a strait-jacket and subordinates him to a monolithic state or a completely monolithic totalitarian party.

The political expression, of course, of this kind of philosophy is democracy, democracy of a very complete developed sort which must be centered about the recognition of the dignity and rights of the individual.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the basis of the philosophy which you are expounding?

A. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Not the basis of communism?

A. No, the philosophy which I'm expounding, which is the antithesis of my view of communism. Related to my own view of the rights and dignity of men and the political expression which I think is democracy, is my idea on economics, because the kind of democracy which I believe in must be based on free enterprise. It must be based on the opportunity of the individual. I think that com-

petition is necessary and is basic for this whole process of self improvement, of trying to develop ourselves, that complete controls stifle, restrain our own efforts at progress.

I think that one of the strengths of the American system is that we ourselves are not tied to any rigid plan, or dogma—I use this word “dogma” over much perhaps. What I’m saying is that I’m not a complete believer in unrestricted capitalism, that my deep feeling about protection of the rights of the individual necessitates some restrictions and control on capitalism. But we in the United States have been able to achieve a balance between the protection of the rights of the individual and the affording of the fullest opportunity for improvement and advancement with competition and encouragement and free enterprise, all of which I think are important.

I think it’s obvious, from this clumsy effort to state what I believe, that I am not a Communist, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. ACHILLES. In my opinion, that is a very fine statement.

Mr. SERVICE. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Board is adjourned.

The Board adjourned at 12:50 p. m.

EXHIBITS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE LOYALTY SECURITY BOARD—  
PROCEEDINGS IN THE CASE OF JOHN STEWART SERVICE

EXHIBIT No. 1

This exhibit not available.

This was a compilation of material collected for reference use of members of the Loyalty Security Board which retained all copies. All important material has been incorporated in the transcript.

Contents were:

Chronology of movements and events relating to John S. Service, 1941-49.

Quotations from material containing charges against Mr. Service.

The texts of a number of significant reports drafted by Mr. Service.

The transcript of testimony before the subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee (Hobbs committee) during its investigation of the Amerasia case (from Congressional Record, May 22, 1950).

Excerpts from the China white paper including annex 47 which was largely made up of quotations from Mr. Service’s reports.

EXHIBIT No. 2

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]

EAST ASIAN INSTITUTE

433 West One Hundred and Seventieth Street.

MARCH 28, 1950.

Mr. JOHN R. PEURIFOY,

*Assistant Secretary of State, United States Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. PEURIFOY: Allow me to offer myself as a character witness for Mr. John S. Service in the event this is necessary in the forthcoming investigation. Mr. Service and I have been closest friends since boyhood days in Shanghai, we roomed together in college, and have kept in close touch with one another ever since. I should count it an honor to testify as to his absolute integrity and loyalty to the United States, as well as pay tribute to his intellectual honesty and idealism.

If there is any way in which I can assist in this matter of clearing up his record in the public mind please call upon me. No such clearance is necessary so far as the Department is concerned, I am sure.

Very truly yours,

C. MARTIN WILBUR,

*Associate Professor of Chinese History, Columbia University.*

## EXHIBIT No. 3

BOARD OF ECONOMIC WARFARE,  
Washington, D. C., January 2, 1943.

Mr. MAX THORNBERG,  
Petroleum Adviser, Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. THORNBERG: This is in reference to a report from Third Secretary John S. Service, at Chungking, dated November 11, 1942, and entitled "The Kansu Oil Wells." This report comprised several enclosures to Report No. 755 from Chungking, which bears the date November 24.

The Petroleum Division of this Branch has asked that I request you to transmit our particular thanks and appreciation to Mr. Service. His despatch is exceedingly thorough and comprehensive, and is all the more commendable since it was not written by an oil technician.

All phases of the subject covered by Mr. Service have been of marked interest to us. We will be grateful if we are given any further information on this subject which may become available from time to time.

With my very best regards, I remain  
Sincerely yours,

CHARLES B. RAYNOR,  
Chief, Technical Branch.

## EXHIBIT No. 4

CHUNGKING, August 16, 1943.

JOHN S. SERVICE, Esquire,  
Second Secretary of Embassy,  
Care of General Stilwell's Headquarters, Chungking.

SIR: Upon the termination of your detail to Lanchow and your detachment from the Embassy to service on the staff of General Stilwell, the Embassy wishes to express to you its appreciation of the political and other reports it has received from you during your tour of duty at Lanchow.

Your reports were clearly and concisely written, they reflected ingenuity in observation and in the gathering of information under difficult circumstances, and industry and awareness of developments and trends of interest and of the importance thereof. Your reports contained information of much interest and value to the Embassy and the Embassy considers that your reports, and your activities in connection with reporting, were of high quality and may in general be characterized as excellent.

A copy of this letter is being forwarded to the Department of State.  
Very truly yours,

GEORGE ATCHESON, Jr.  
American Chargé d'Affaires a. i.

A true copy of the signed original.

## EXHIBIT No. 5

OCTOBER 1, 1943.

Copy: ap.  
No. 411.  
The Honorable CLARENCE E. GAUSS,  
American Ambassador, Chungking.

SIR: The Department has noted with gratification the quality of the reporting from Second Secretary Service while he was on detail at Lanchow. In particular, the reports submitted under cover of the Embassy's despatches no. 1485 of August 18 and no. 1493 of August 20 have impressed officers of the Department with their value and timeliness, as has also the report which formed the subject of the Embassy's commendatory despatch no. 1411 of July 31, 1943. The thorough and objective manner in which Mr. Service covered "The Political Situation in Kansu" in his despatch no. 9 (Embassy's no. 1485) has afforded officers of the Department a very useful guide to an understanding of conditions in Kansu, and his report on "Treatment of Foreigners in the Northwest," no. 21 (Embassy's no. 1493), contains evidence not only of careful study of the subject but also

2476 STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

of successful activity on the part of Mr. Service in ameliorating difficulties encountered by American citizens.

The Department requests that the Embassy bring this expression of appreciation of his work to the attention of Mr. Service.

Very truly yours,

G. HOWLAND SHAW  
(For the Secretary of State).

FE:JCV:ALM/MS. FE.  
9-28-43.

EXHIBIT No. 6

Copy for FP.  
No. 431.

The Honorable CLARENCE E. GAUSS,  
*American Ambassador, Chungking.*

SIR: In acknowledging the receipt of the Embassy's despatch no. 1410, dated July 31, 1943, enclosing despatch no. 6, dated July 5, 1943, entitled: "Chinese Propaganda as Shown by Wall Slogans in the Northwest" prepared by Mr. John S. Service, American Foreign Service Officer on detail at Lanchow, it is a pleasure to inform you that the Department has accorded to the latter despatch a rating of EXCELLENT, in view of the timeliness and value of the information contained therein and the careful analysis it presents of the subject matter.

The contents of this instruction should be brought to the notice of Mr. Service who should be commended for his initiative in preparing a report on this subject.

Very truly yours,

(For the Secretary of State).

DCR:GHK:AGH. FE. FP. 10/14/43.

EXHIBIT No. 7

Copy: ap.

JUNE 21, 1944.

Unrestricted.  
No. 698.

The Honorable CLARENCE E. GAUSS,  
*American Ambassador, Chungking.*

SIR: In connection with current developments in Sinkiang having an important bearing on Sino-Soviet relations, the Department has found of much interest and value the report on the situation in Sinkiang submitted under cover of the Embassy's despatch no. 2461 of April 21, 1944, by Second Secretary John S. Service, on detail to General Stilwell's staff. This report has been given the grade of "Excellent."

The timeliness and high standard of Mr. Service's reporting continues to be a cause of satisfaction to the Department.

It is requested that you inform Mr. Service of this further commendation of his work.

Very truly yours,

G. HOWLAND SHAW  
(For the Secretary of State).

761.93/171.  
CA:ASC:MHP.  
6/13/44. FE.

EXHIBIT No. 8

Copy: ap.

JANUARY 13, 1945.

No. 5.

The Honorable PATRICK J. HURLEY,  
*American Ambassador, Chungking.*

SIR: Officers in the Department have read with interest and appreciation the report entitled "The Development of Communist Political Control in the Guerrilla Bases," which was prepared by Second Secretary of Embassy John S. Service

and transmitted under cover of the Embassy's despatch no. 3022 of September 29, 1944.

In view of the importance of the subject matter of this report, of the thoughtful and comprehensive character of the study, and of the clear and logical manner in which the information and views are presented, it is considered that the report is of outstanding merit and usefulness to the Department. It has been given the grade of "Excellent."

Mr. Service, who is now in Washington, has been informed of this commendation of his work.

Very truly yours,

(JGE)

(For the Secretary of State).

CA: ASC: MS.  
1/4/45.

EXHIBIT No. 9

CHUNGKING, CHINA, May 10, 1945.

Subject: Letter of commendation.

To: The honorable the Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. John S. Service is highly commended for outstanding aid rendered Headquarters, United States Forces, China Theater, in advising the Commanding General on political matters which have direct and important bearing on the military situation in China. Mr. Service was influential in the establishment of a Military Observer Group in Yen-an, accompanying the initial group there himself. His thorough knowledge of Chinese customs and language enabled him to develop and maintain cordial relations with Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, and other Communist leaders. During his extended residence in Yen-an he wrote a great number of detailed reports on military, economic, and political conditions in areas under Communist control, a field in which the American Government had previously had almost no reliable information. He prepared valuable analyses of the political situation as it affected the war potential of the Chinese Government and by correlation that of the United States Forces in China.

In recognition of his outstanding performance of duty, the Commanding General, U. S. Forces, China Theater, expresses to Mr. Service the appreciation of the United States Forces in China.

A. C. WEDEMEYER,  
*Lieutenant General, U. S. A., Commanding.*

EXHIBIT No. 10

Standard Form No. 64

OFFICE MEMORANDUM—UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Date: June 16, 1947

To: FP—Mr. G. Ackerson, Jr.  
From: BC—Mr. E. T. Wailes.  
Subject: John S. Service.

I quote the following excerpt from a personal letter received by Mr. Richards from the Minister to New Zealand, Avra Warren:

"Service is doing a splendid job of work and is moving among people in an eminently desirable way. While he has only made a few public addresses so far, he presents himself in an entirely representative manner. His remarks at the Memorial Day service held at the Anglo-Cathedral in Wellington, with the Prime Minister present, were so well phrased and had such widespread support they were carried in the editorial space of the not so friendly Wellington Evening Post."

We agree with Mr. Warren that John Service is doing an outstanding job as First Secretary of the Legation at Wellington.

T. W.  
E. T. WAILES.

A. L. R.  
BC: ALRichards: vg.

## EXHIBIT No. 11

APRIL 1, 1949.

Mr. DONALD W. SMITH,  
*Chief, Division of Foreign Service Personnel, Department of State.*

DEAR MR. SMITH: On the eve of my departure from the States, I wish to express my appreciation at having been given the valuable experience of serving on a Selection Board, and to express my high regard for the performance and ability and character of the other members of Selection Board "B" 1949. Dr. Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University was an almost ideal public member, bringing to his task a profound knowledge of international affairs and the importance therein of a competent Foreign Service.

Foreign Service Officers Clarence C. Brooks, Parker T. Hart, and John S. Service were also ideal. Brooks, with his long service experience and wide acquaintance, his common sense and spirit of justice, was very helpful to the Board in its deliberations.

Both Hart and Service worked almost double time in their determination to insure that the Board would give a correct and just rating to the Foreign Service officers available for promotion and in studying and drafting recommendations which might be helpful to FP and the Board of Foreign Service for improving the work of future Selection Boards.

These three men are splendid types of the American Foreign Service Officer.

Sincerely yours,

DONALD R. HEATH,  
*American Minister to Bulgaria.*

## EXHIBIT No. 12

APRIL 4, 1949.

JOHN S. SERVICE, Esquire,  
*American Foreign Service Officer,  
 % Department of State, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SERVICE: I wish to thank you for the work which you completed as a member of the 1949 Foreign Service Selection Board B.

In choosing the members of the Selection Boards, the Office of the Foreign Service was fully aware that the arduous and exacting nature of the work that would confront them, and its supreme importance, constituted a challenge to the best that the Service could produce in the way of intelligence, fairmindedness, and a realistic grasp of personnel problems. I am happy to say that you met this challenge with complete success.

The very existence of a career service such as ours is dependent upon the confidence of its members in the absolute fairness and utter impartiality of the manner in which promotions are made in it. You and your colleagues on the 1949 Selection Boards have done much to enhance that confidence, and you have earned the gratitude of the entire Foreign Service Officer corps.

Sincerely yours,

CHRISTIAN M. RAVNAL,  
*Director General of the Foreign Service.*

OFS:FP:SHBrowne:mgc.

## EXHIBIT No. 13

Copy: ap.

GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF CHINA,  
 April 18, 1950.

The Honorable, the CHAIRMAN OF THE LOYALTY SECURITY BOARD,  
*Department of State, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: As an American-born Chinese, I have known for some thirty years Mr. and Mrs. Robert Roy Service, parents of the Hon. John Stewart Service, and also him for over ten years in the United States and in China.

The late Mr. Robert R. Service was for probably two decades a secretary of the International Committee of Y. M. C. A.'s (headquarters in New York) and served most of that time as a Y. M. C. A. secretary in West China and Shanghai. He had traveled widely in all parts of China, beloved by thousands of Chinese of

all classes, Christian and non. My family and I have been for many years intimates of the Service family in Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Church and Masonic activities in China. In all these organizations, both father and son, the Services, showed sympathetic understanding, and had a genius for friendship with the Chinese people, especially with the underprivileged. These qualities character the whole Service family. I had come to know Robert and John Service quite closely in community church and Masonic lodges, and admire them for their genuine humanitarian spirit, their devotion to the Protestant missionary enterprise in China and their love of the Masonic Craft.

I write this unsought testimonial, Sir, not just as a gesture of confidence in a brother Mason, nor yet as a friend of Mr. John S. Service and his truly Christian family, but fundamentally as one who keenly appreciates his character to be utterly alien to anything approaching Communist leanings, for I am firmly convinced that his proud educational, cultural, family, and religious background and professional career negate everything Communism stands for. I feel it is due to Mr. Service, as well as to your Board, interested in ascertaining the facts of that background, that I address you, for that background speaks louder than words his loyalty to his country and the Protestant faith, of which all the Services have been such outstanding exponents all their lives.

Very respectfully,

HCM: JMT.

Dr. H. C. MEL.

EXHIBIT No. 14

*March 1937*

Frederick V. Field  
Philip J. Jaffe  
T. A. Bisson  
Ch'Ao-ting Chi  
Kenneth W. Colegrove

Owen Lattimore  
Cyrus H. Peake  
Robert K. Reischauer  
William T. Stone  
Hester Lorn

*March 1940*

Frederick V. Field  
Philip J. Jaffe  
T. A. Bisson  
Lillian Peffer  
Ch'Ao-ting Chi  
Kenneth W. Colegrove

Owen Lattimore  
William W. Lockwood  
Kate Mitchell  
Cyrus H. Peake  
David H. Popper  
William T. Stone

*March 1941*

Frederick V. Field  
Philip J. Jaffe  
T. T. Bisson  
Kenneth W. Colegrove  
Owen Lattimore

William W. Lockwood  
Kate Mitchell  
David H. Popper  
William T. Stone

*March 1942*

Frederick V. Field  
T. A. Bisson  
Kenneth W. Colegrove  
William W. Lockwood

Kate Mitchell  
G. Nye Steiger  
Harold M. Vinacke  
Benjamin H. Kizer

*March 1943*

Frederick V. Field  
Philip J. Jaffe  
T. A. Bisson  
Kenneth W. Colegrove  
William W. Lockwood

Kat Mitchell  
G. Nye Steiger  
Harold M. Vinacke  
Benjamin H. Kizer  
Harriet Moore

*January 1944*

Philip J. Jaffe

Kate Mitchell



EXHIBIT 15

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
AMERICAN EMBASSY

102.91/6-349.

No. 218.

STOCKHOLM, *June 3, 1949.*

Unclassified.

Rec'd Jun. 13. Action Labor Enc. Info. FR. ITP. EUR. C.

Subject: Transmittal of Swedish text of 1949 agreement and English text of 1948 agreement with changes.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE, *Washington.*

SIR: I have the honor to refer to the Department's A-102 dated April 16, 1949, and A-144 dated May 27, 1949, requesting text of agreement reached between Swedish Shipowners' Association and Swedish Seaman's Union, March 1949, and to transmit the Swedish text of the 1949 agreement and the English text of the 1948 agreement with marginal notations of all changes from the 1948 to the 1949 agreements.

This Embassy has had repeated assurances from the offices in Gothenburg that the English text of the 1949 agreement would be in our hands shortly. Copies will be forwarded in quantity as soon as possible.

Respectfully yours,

HUGH S. CUMMING, Jr.,  
*Counselor of Embassy,*  
(For the Ambassador).

Enclosures:

1948 Agreement between Swedish Shipowners' and Seamen's Union

1949 Avtal Mellan Sveriges Redareförening och Svenska Sjöfolksförbundet

OAPeterson:rep.

File No. 560.1.

DE.

ACTION COPY. Return to DC/R files within 14 days, with a notation of action taken.

AB.

EXHIBIT No. 16

Unclassified.

No. 13.

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL,  
*Tientsin, China, April 12, 1950.*

Subject: Accounting Transactions of American Consulate General, Tientsin.

123 Wellborn, Alfred-T.

17 Rec'd May 16. Action FE. Info. DCR. DS. DF. CS/P. CS. c.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,  
*Washington.*

SIR: I have the honor to refer to this Consulate General's despatch no. 11, March 17, 1950 entitled "Final Accounting Transactions of American Consulate General, Tientsin."

At the time despatch no. 11 was written it was believed that the last remaining American member of the staff of this Consulate General would have left Tientsin by the afternoon of March 17. However, two hours before my scheduled embarkation, the local authorities revoked my exit permit because of a claim made on March 16 by the People's Government to certain furniture in the United States Government premises here (see despatch no. 14, April 12, 1950). The settlement of this issue took to April 8 and during that period certain additional transactions occurred.

As the duration of my enforced stay in Tientsin was indefinite and depended entirely on the length of time necessary to come to terms with the local authorities, the arrangement made with the British Consulate General, Tientsin, for payment of last minute expenditures of this Consulate General was continued. This arrangement was made inasmuch as the accounts of Disbursing Officer Gordon Tullock were closed March 13 preparatory to his departure which actually took place early on the morning of March 15. As I was to have left on March 17, it was deemed preferable not to transfer to me the accounts for such a short period.

Bills paid in behalf of this Consulate General by the British Consulate General, supported by vouchers and signed receipts, will be presented to the Department for settlement through the British Foreign Office.

There has also been in this period a number of receipts of funds obtained from the sale of United States Government property. A tabulation of these transactions is as follows:

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EXHIBIT No. 17

See transcript of proceeding for afternoon of May 27, 1950, commencing at page 81.

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EXHIBIT No. 18

SERVICE

1. 5-14-42. Chungking.

Two memos.

The first is solely report to Con. Gen. of conversation.

Second is a similar report but with some interpretive comment, which is factual and does not reveal bias.

Subject of both memos is the "Chinese Industrial Cooperatives."

2. 7-24-42. Chungking.

Despatch (called for) on propaganda and psychological warfare by Chinese Gov't.

Generally factual and detailed. Received commendation from Dep't. Repeats some Communist criticism of Chinese Government organs, which was probably accurate, as commies have generally been perceptive and keen as critics of others, even when (and especially when) they were guilty of the same things, or worse.

3. 1-23-43.

Memo prepared in Dep't. A key document.

This is a thoughtful and well-written memo, pointing to the danger of impending civil war in China, from both military and political standpoints. While it relays, perhaps somewhat naively, certain Communist suggestions for bettering the situation, it does not recommend that these suggestions be accepted and followed up. On the contrary, it recommends that U. S. officials be detailed to the Communist-held area to provide the answers to a number of questions concerning the Communists and conditions in the area they hold. There was obviously no intent to influence the Government along pro-Communist lines, for the author complains that such information as is available stemmed in part from journalists "who appear to have a bias favorable to the Communists." And he warns against any brief visits during which our representatives "would be under the influence of official guides."

4. 2-11-43.

Innerdepartmental memo drafted by S. and Smyth. Repeats briefly warning of unfavorable course of events in China and points out that "one possible course of action" might be sending U. S. representatives to Communist areas. Warns that Chinese Gov't will probably not sanction this, but will be resentful if it is done without its consent.

5. 8-6-43.

Despatch from Lanchow.

Called for report on Gold Market and Trading. Purely factual. No political implications.

6. 8-6-43. Lanchow.

Reporting experiences of an American agricultural expert. Completely nonpolitical. Points out exaggerated hopes for Chinese government organs for U. S. aid and tendency to enlist that aid even when they have no real need for it.

7. 8-16-43. Lanchow.

Reporting forced organization of professional people in Lanchow, for purposes of extortion and political supervision. Unsparing of Party, but factual. Essentially nonpolitical.

8. 8-17-43. Lanchow.  
On evidences of anti-Russian and anti-communist feeling in Chinese officialdom. Seems to be purely factual. In describing the restrictions placed upon the local Soviet consul, Service was perhaps unaware that this sort of treatment had been accepted general practise in the Soviet Union for at least a decade. Nevertheless, despatch contains no statement condemning Chinese Gov't for this treatment.
9. 8-17-43. Lanchow.  
Service states that Soviet diplomatic representative has been very friendly to himself and to Capt. Tolstoy "and has been willing to discuss general problems with an openness and apparent frankness rather unusual for our Russian colleagues". Otherwise, report contains no independent comment by Service, and is restricted to a recounting of the views expressed by the Soviet representative.
10. 8-18-43. Lanchow.  
Military notes. Purely factual. Describes deplorable state of Chinese troops passing through city, and brutality with which they were treated; but description is impassive, and without independent comment.
11. 8-18-43. Lanchow.  
A report on political unrest and banditry in Kansu. Little relation to communists. Report is detailed and factual.
12. 8-19-43.  
Embassy at Chungking refers in a despatch to certain of Service's reports. No comment on communists involved. Service speculates on Chinese Government's plans with respect to communists. No bias apparent.
13. 8-20-43. Lanchow.  
On reception of U. S. broadcasts in Kansu. Factual and objective. A long report on activities of local Chinese police with regard to foreigners: restrictions of movement, observation, curiosity, suspicion, etc. Speaks of Chinese police using "Russian treatment of aliens as a model."
115. 9-10-43. Stilwell mission.  
Reporting statements made to Stilwell by Chinese (Nationalist) General, obviously sympathetic to communists. No independent comment. Views expressed by General are somewhat similar to those expressed by Service in item 3.
116. 9-23-43. Chungking.  
Two interpretative memos by Service concerning Eleventh Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. The memos subject the decisions of the gathering to a searching and skeptical scrutiny, but the conclusions were borne out by subsequent events.  
(NOTE.—These memos should be compared with communist publicity at the time).
117. 9-29-43. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Describes the circumstances of the withdrawal of the communist representative from a meeting of the People's Political Council, as represented by a communist source. Service adds no comment of his own.
118. 10-27-43. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo asserting, and stating reasons why Chinese public opinion will be offended if Burma campaign is not soon inaugurated. No apparent relation to communist problem.
119. 10-28-43. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Describes the bickering and bad blood between the Government and the minority groups over the composition of the Committee for the Establishment of Constitutional Government. Report is objective and describes the Committee as "not a bad one; but states that "it is a rather unfortunate omen that the committee is starting its existence with a background of petty and acrimonious politics."
120. 11-13-43. Stilwell. (Military report).  
Report on "willingness of Chinese Military leaders to become puppets." An important memo, which should be compared with communist line of the same period. Service rejects the communist thesis that the Kuomintang was encouraging defection to the Japanese-occupied area in order to improve their prospects for combatting the communists after the war. Says this is the result rather than the design. Says

large-scale defections are due primarily to Chiang's policy of placing in front line war-lord forces which are of doubtful loyalty to himself and which, being mercenaries from the beginning, are naturally amenable to Japanese promises of better pay and treatment.

121. 2-2-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Unimportant. Relaying of report that airport construction is causing discontent in a certain district.
122. 2-3-44.  
Memo from Kuomintang source about conspiracy against Chiang. Questions Kuomintang tendency to blame communists.
123. 2-15-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Also about plot against Chiang. Adduces further proof that plot existed, and that it was an inner-army affair.
124. 2-15-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
A further report about the dissatisfaction caused by airport construction and Government's policies concerning compensation to land owners and conscription of labor. Factual.
125. 2-21-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Giving background on certain feelers for direct negotiations between Government and communists. Factual. Reflects, like all of this reporting, good contacts in the communist camp.
126. 2-21-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Reporting information released to correspondent by Government on extent of Jap-controlled area. Points out that Government spokesman listed certain communist-controlled areas as entirely Jap-controlled, evidently communist domination the more humiliating. Service points to this as indication of bitterness now existing between two factions.
127. 2-16-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Reporting interview with Madame Sun-yat-sen. Factual.
128. 3-2-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Further report, detailed and objective, on Chinese unrest in Chengtu arising out of construction of U. S. air bases. It is evident that Chinese officials somewhere along the line are pocketing funds appropriated for compensation of conscripted labor, knowing that resulting bitterness will attach largely to Americans; but Service does not charge this directly.
129. 3-14-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Commentary on a report submitted by an OWI official from Kweilin. Contains following significant passage:  
"The war in China has stimulated political consciousness to the point where loose separatism, which is the goal of the provincialists and which will mean a return to the chaos of the early years of the Republic, is impossible. By present indications it *does not* seem likely that the existing Kuomintang Government will collapse during the war. But if the present conflict is followed, as *does* seem likely, by civil war \* \* \* out of this civil war \* \* \* there can be expected to emerge either a more progressive Kuomintang Government or a communist state, probably of the present modified Chinese communist type."
130. 3-14-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Another interview with Madame Sun Yat-Sen. Purely factual. No independent comment.
131. 3-17-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
An excellent analysis of T. V. Soong's position—thoughtful and objective—acknowledged with special commendation by the Department.
132. 3-14-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Commentary on another personal incident in the Chiang entourage. Extremely moderate in tone, ending with the suggestion that "the real importance of this story, and of the many similar ones regarding the misdoings of the Soong-Kung family, is the readiness of the public to believe them."
133. 3-14-44. Military.  
Review of second edition of Chiang's book—"China's Destiny." Points out changes since first edition. Severely critical of book ("a bigoted, narrow, strongly nationalistic effort at a special interpretation of history")—says that it reflects "unchanged a bitter anti-communist bias."

134. 3-24-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo on Chinese Territorial Claims in North Burma. Detailed, authoritative, analytical. "Chiang may have great ambition and vision. But his statesmanship does not ordinarily go far beyond shrewd, realistic, but often short-sighted bargaining."
135. 3-23-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo on the rumored plan to reduce China's armies. Service is skeptical about this.  
"China remains a country where life is valued very little, where corruption is deep-rooted and prevalent, where economics have been consistently ignored or not understood, where power derives from military strength and that strength is measured in numbers, where the interests and welfare of the people have not (except perhaps in Communist North China) been a concern of their rulers and where the basic, overriding consideration is the struggle for power."  
Discusses incident of bombing of Chinese forces in Sinkiang, obviously by planes having something to do with the Soviet Union. Reflects a certain naiveté about Soviet Union in assumption that Soviet Kazakhs might have taken initiative in Sinkiang and that Soviet Government might have been "willing to lend a little unofficial assistance."
137. 3-23-44. Military.  
Reporting views of Chiang Kai-shek; critical of Chiang's attitude but offers explanation for it. Concludes Chiang is responsible for situation in China and will continue in his present ways until the U. S. formulates and applies a strong China policy. Analysis appears objective and unbiased. (Chiang mentions *Amcrasia*.)
138. 3-22-44. Military.  
More about bombing incident in Sinkiang. Warns against U. S. involvement, particularly if we want to run convoy through that area.
139. 4-5-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
More on bombing incident. Without particular interest.
140. 3-26-44. Military.  
Transmitting report prepared by Englishman who had been residing in communist area.
141. 4-4-44. Military.  
Memorandum. Miscellaneous news items. Purely factual.
142. 4-21-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Chungking Embassy despatch transmitting memo on situation in Sinkiang. Specially commended by Department. Objective analysis of Chinese Nationalist Government's motives in the Sinkiang incidents and the success of the move. Service's recommendations include: "We should make every effort to learn what the Russian aims in Asia are. A good way of gaining material relevant to this will be a careful first-hand study of the strength, attitudes, and popular support of the Chinese communists. But in determining our policy toward Russia in Asia we should avoid being swayed by China. The initiative must be kept firmly in our hands." . . . "Chiang unwittingly may be contributing to Russian dominance in Eastern Asia by internal and external policies which, if pursued in their present form, will render China too weak to serve as a possible counterweight to Russia. By doing so, Chiang may be digging his own grave; not only North China and Manchuria, but also national groups such as Korea and Formosa may be driven into the arms of the Soviets."
143. 4-17-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Transmitting text of an interview with General Lung Yun. No comments.
144. 4-21-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo reporting views held by leaders of some of the minor parties of China. Service's comments relate only to the relative importance of these minor parties and are purely factual.
145. 5-18-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Service's critique of a Military Intelligence Dispatch. Objectively points out fallacies in the MI dispatch. Outlines activities of Nationalist Government in attempting to discredit the Communists in a purely factual manner. Makes three points: (1) that there is a fundamental conflict between Communists and Japanese and puppets;

- (2) Kuomintang is attempting to convince foreign opinion that Communists are in league with Japs and puppets; (3) that Kuomintang actually is in contact with Japs and expects puppet support. Justifies his points factually. (Rated Very Good in Department.)
146. 5-20-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo on plan to bring Chinese-American technicians to China. States objections to plan factually. Totally nonpolitical.
147. 5-20-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo offering possible drawbacks to U. S. Army plan to pay benefits to families of Chinese soldiers killed in Burma. Nonpolitical.
148. 5-23-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo recounting rumors of domestic trouble in the Chiang Household. Factual reporting.
149. 5-11-44. Military.  
Transmitting a speech of Chou En-Lai; summary without comment.
150. 5-12-44. Military.  
Memo on effects of Japanese victories in Honan. States objectively various interpretations which will be placed upon this in Chinese circles.
151. 5-24-44. Chungking. Stilwell. Military.  
Transmitting translation of statement of League of Democratic Parties. Summary without comment.
152. 5-25-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Recounting views of Lin Tsu-han, Chairman of Yen-an Border Government. Presented without comment.
153. 5-25-44. Military.  
Transmitting information on the status of communist negotiations with the Central Government as received from the Communists. Presented without comment.
154. 5-31-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Factual account of an interview with Counselor of French Delegation at Chungking. Reported without comment of political nature.
155. 6-9-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo of interview with Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, presenting Marshal's views without comment as to their validity. Purely factual.
156. 6-7-44. Military.  
Presentation of the views of David An on Chinese Treatment of Koreans. Reported without comment or interpretation.
157. 6-20-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Important memo, widely circulated with favorable comment in Department. Strong denunciation of the weakness, corruption, and venality of Kuomintang. Apparently written partly from exasperation at the Nationalist Government but criticism appears to be justified. Only political bias visible is that of American official trying to turn China into an asset to the American war effort. Encourages American contact with Communists as with other minor parties and liberal elements to stimulate the Kuomintang to a reform program. No interest displayed in Communism as a movement in itself. Contact with Communist areas desirable from an intelligence standpoint in the war effort. \* \* \* "We should select men of known liberal view to represent us in OWI, cultural relations and other lines of work in China."
158. 6-23-44. Military.  
Memo of conversation between Chiang Kai-shek and V. P. Wallace, J. C. Vincent, Gen. Ferris, Owen Lattimore, and JSS. Factual account.
159. 6-24-44. Military.  
Reporting communist agreement to the sending of a U. S. "observers' section" to Yen-an. Objective report of communist views on the matter, presented without bias or comment.
160. 7-6-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo on communist map showing contraction of communist-held territory. Service cites contemporary Central Government map which contradicts Communist claim. Illustrates distortions of Central Government map and comments that communist map may not be more than generally true and may not give whole picture. Objective, without political coloration.

161. 7-11-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo transmitting a report from communist sources on communist military operations against Japan during May 1944. Relayed without evaluation although several Japanese news items are submitted in conjunction with the report as some possible confirmation of communist claims. No political implications.
162. 7-20-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Memo transmitting a personal letter from Chinese intellectual expressing disillusionment with present Chinese regime and hopes of constructive American aid. JSS feels letter reflects present state of mind of large part of Chinese intellectuals and liberals. Objective presentation, pointing out strength as well as weakness of viewpoint.
163. 7-21-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Transmitting a statement of Chinese intellectuals "Appeal for Revolutionary Democratic Rights." Covering memo indicates approval of intellectuals' denunciation of Kuomintang suppression of freedom of speech, thought, study, and expression.
164. 8-26-44. Chungking. Stilwell. Yen-an.  
Memo of first impressions of Yen-an. Is highly favorable in comparison with Kuomintang-held areas. "There is a bit of smugness, self-righteousness, and conscious fellowship" \* \* \* but "most modern place in China." "What is seen in Yen-an is a well-integrated movement, with a political and economic program which it is successfully carrying out under competent leaders. \* \* \* One cannot help coming to feel that this movement is strong and successful and that it has such drive behind it and has tied itself so closely to the people that it will not easily be killed." Service understandably favorably impressed by comparison between Yen-an and Kuomintang areas in matter of material conditions, morale, and efficiency.
165. 8-26-44. Chungking. Observer Section in Yen-an.  
Memo of conversation with Mao Tse-Tung in Yen-an in which Mao sounded Service on the possibility of opening an American consulate in Yen-an. Factual reporting.
166. 9-1-44. Chungking. Observer Section in Yen-an.  
Transmitting reports of interviews with various Chinese communist leaders. Factual.
167. 9-1-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Transmitting report of interview with Chief of Chinese General Staff. Factual account of diametrical opposition of views between communists and National Government.
168. 9-8-44. Chungking. Observer Section in Yen-an.  
Important memo outlining Service's interpretation of communist motives. Inclines to think the best of communists. Offers arguments in opposition to this attitude but explains why he does not feel the opposing arguments are justifiable. Believes the CCP aims for orderly prolonged progress to eventual socialism, not violent revolution, and in achieving that aim will not seek an early monopoly of political power but considers first the long-term interests of China. Service shows a certain naiveté in his grasp of Marxist doctrine and ignorance of some changes incorporated in that doctrine during and after Lenin's time, e. g., that capitalist development is an unavoidable stage of economic development. Service believes the CCP will initiate (or had initiated) a type of NEP program which will last indefinitely into the future—ignoring or ignorant of the fate of NEP in the U. S. S. R. Appears to be an objective analysis of the situation. (The conclusions appear to be what might be expected from one judging on the basis of Chinese experience only, not with reference to experience with communist seizures of power elsewhere.) The Chungking Embassy takes issue with Service's views that the CCP is not aiming for a monopoly of power in the near future.
169. 8-29-44. Chungking. Observer Section in Yen-an.  
Memo reporting on economic conditions in communist-controlled North Shensi. Tone is favorable toward achievement but information is presented in factual manner without comment.
170. 9-19-44. Chungking Observer Section in Yen-an.  
Memo on *Chieh Fang Jih Pao*, communist newspaper in Yen-an. Submitted without comment save that the paper was well edited and of high caliber. Unimportant.

171. 10-11-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Memo summarizing lectures given by the Communist General, Chief of Staff of 18th Group, to officers of U. S. Army Observers Section regarding the situation behind the enemy lines in North China. Service comments only on the fact that the communist army is a political army as much as it is military. Factual.
172. 9-21-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Report designating communist-controlled areas of China. No political comment.
173. 9-21-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Transmitting report of a reception given the Observers Section. No political comment. Unimportant.
174. 9-21-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Report on communist charges against Gen. Yen Hsi-shan. Details given factual without apparent bias.
175. 7-21-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Reporting on inauguration of daily news broadcasts from Yen-an. Purely factual.
176. 8-24-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Transmitting map of communist border area. No comments.
177. 9-8-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Well conceived analysis of the strength of the communist movement with the recommendation that American military aid be extended to the Communist forces, to aid in the struggle against Japan. Service expects the Kuomintang will object to such aid and stated the U. S. must soon formulate a policy to decide the question of this aid, keeping in mind that "the nature, policies and objectives of the CCP are of vital long-term concern to the U. S."; the "CCP under any circumstances must be counted a continuing and important influence in China." Arguments in favor of extending aid are presented factually. The interview with Mao transmitted with this dispatch indicates Service's views regarding the question of U. S. relationship with the CCP parallel to a certain extent those of Mao himself. Service specifies his reasons.
178. 10-11-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Memo of lecture by communist military leader on strength, distribution and arms of communist forces. Factual account.
179. 10-13-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Memo of lectures by communist military leader on operations of 8th Route Army. Factual account without comment other than to point out the importance the communists attach to political programs as the basis of their military strength and success.
180. 9-29-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Report on possible usefulness of old communist bases in Southeast China. Objective account of facts. Specifies in connection with communist reasoning on matter that "it would be a mistake to assume that the communist consideration of the problem is all on the high-minded and unselfish plane." No political bias apparent.
181. 10-2-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Memo on personal impressions of communist leaders. Highly favorable of the personal qualities of these men. (Strikingly like the impressions of the old Bolsheviks which foreign observers acquired at the time of the Russian Revolution). Service's favorable attitude obviously in part stems from the contrast with Kuomintang leaders. Apparently unaware of the potential dangerousness of the type of character molded in the communist school, especially when the CCP holds the reins of power. Objective in all.
182. 10-13-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Report on the popular appeal of the communist party. Outlines tactics employed by the communists which win popular support, i. e. reduced rents, elimination of banditry, popular election of officials, and converting the army from instrument of oppression to one of aid to peasantry. Service views the accomplishments with favor tempered with reserve. Can find no other explanation of popular backing of the communists. (NB. Service apparently consider "democracy" as synonymous with popular support, a definition which would apply to Hitler's regime as well. On basis of this definition, Service's opinion that the CCP is democratic is justifiable.)



183. 9-20-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Extremely well-balanced report on the development of communist political control in areas under their domination. (Rated Excellent in Department.) Report is well-rounded, presents a factual picture and appears to be very perceptive in divining the purpose of communist actions in many fields. Explains both how the communist program wins popular support and at the same time serves communist interests. No political bias evident and no effort to condemn or praise. Factual reporting. (Should be noted that CA's comments in Department on Service's reporting consistently put communist in quotation marks, implying something distinct from the Soviet brand. No evidence of this attitude has yet appeared in any of Service's work.)
184. 10-9-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Reports decision of CCP to change its name in foreign publicity to avoid the stigma of "communism." Service interprets it as a desire "to allay any foreign fears and to win foreign good-will." No political comment otherwise.
185. 10-25-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Transmitting communist views on treatment of Japan. No comment made but appears to be evident that Service accepts sincerity of communist spokesman and feels views expressed are honest aims of CCP.
186. 10-25-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Interview with CIC of communist military forces. Service states "I am in general agreement with the views expressed by such communist leaders as Gen. Chu. Every effort, however, has been made to avoid encouraging any high expectations, to point out the practical difficulties in the way of direct cooperation and to suggest that Japan may be defeated in other ways than as the communists insist, a slow process of liquidating the armies on the Asian mainland." Chu's views followed the usual pattern that cooperation with the Kuomintang was impossible and U. S. strong role necessary in China.
187. 9-27-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Report of interview with Hungarian national. No political content.
188. 9-28-44. Yen-an.  
Memo on the orientation of the Chinese communists toward the USSR and toward the U. S. Key document. Essentially, reasons that CCP orientation is exclusively pro-China. Ties with the USSR are of the past. Interests of the CCP are best served by cultivating ties with the U. S. which can aid the industrialization of China. USSR can't and China can't do it alone. Service states "I believe that the Chinese Communists are at present sincere in seeking Chinese unity on the basis of American support. This does not preclude their turning back toward Soviet Russia if they are forced to in order to survive American-supported Kuomintang attack." Service's account appears to be an eminently fair statement of communist views as evident at that time—his conclusions, a reasoned choice between the lesser of two evils. Reveals ignorance of some of the finer points of communist doctrine, particularly in regard to the manner in which Marxism is to be applied outside the USSR.
189. 10-1-44. Yen-an.  
Transmission of communist newspapers. No comments.
190. 10-25-44. Chungking. Observers Section in Yen-an.  
Memo on communist success in eliminating banditry. Cites communist explanation for this situation—economic improvement, mobilization of entire population in the war effort and removal of feudal basis of banditry—as only apparent explanation for its elimination. Objective reporting.
191. 11-24-44. Yen-an.  
Reports of imprisonments of American medical officer and several foreign correspondents on popular support in communist areas. Presented without comment.
192. 11-24-44. Yen-an.  
Transmission of memos on conditions in communist areas and on Communist-Kuomintang relations. Service's observations are, that the communists are fighting the Japanese, successfully because they have the people behind them mobilized. Mobilization based on economic, political and social revolution, gains of which the people will fight

- to keep. Kuomintang will be unable to repress these mobilized people or the communists as long as the latter have popular support. Communists will continue to be important part of China's future and unless Kuomintang institutes extensive reforms (unlikely) Communists will be dominant force in China in a few years. Service's observations have been borne out by subsequent events.
193. 10-10-44. Chungking. Stilwell.  
Important memo on need for realism in U. S. relations with Chiang. Anti-Chiang, not pro-communist. Holds Kuomintang dependent on U. S., U. S. not dependent on Kuomintang. We do not need it militarily, we do not need to fear its opposition or fall or its international importance. Chiang does not represent pro-American or democratic groups, we owe him no gratitude and he understands only force. Need hard-boiled policy toward him to aid U. S. war effort. Only reference made to communists is that "we cannot hope to solve China's problems without consideration of the opposition forces, Communist, Provincial, and liberal." Service's denunciation is strong but based exclusively on the urgency of aiding the American war effort in the Pacific. No indication of political bias towards any faction, only against Kuomintang corruption and power politics. A tendency to underplay usefulness of Kuomintang to the U. S. war effort and discount any worth in the movement.
194. 10-10-44. Yen-an.  
Memo on communist interception of State Department radio bulletin. No political comments.
195. 11-24-44. Yen-an.  
Memo on present communist attitude toward relations with Kuomintang. Service displays great insight into tactics of communists in increasing demands as the situation turns more in their favor. Reveals acute observation and understanding of the power politics involved. No personal comments of political nature appended.
196. 10-15-44. Yen-an.  
Memo regarding censorship of escape stories coming out of communist territory. Unimportant.
197. 10-17-44. Yen-an.  
Memo transmitting the published policies and administrative program of the CCP. No comments.
198. 10-18-44. Yen-an.  
Memo on communist propaganda use of statements of foreign correspondents. Deplores the extravagant statements made by some promising American aid to the communists, but comments on the fact that many correspondents have been converted to a pro-communist attitude. Unimportant.
199. 10-21-44. Yen-an.  
Transmitting communist newspapers. No comments.
200. 11-8-44. Washington.  
Interrogation of Service while on consultation in Washington. Views on Japanese communists. Appears to be purely factual information. Service states that he himself helped carry information for Japanese communists, apparently out of Yen-an to Chungking for relay elsewhere. No elaboration.
201. 11-44. Washington.  
Interrogation of Service on Washington consultation. Views on probable developments in North China in the event of a U. S. landing. States that communists will cooperate with allied troops as long as allies do not interfere with their politics. Will not allow military considerations to prejudice their political program. Service suggests however "that it would be well to put out a rather large number of U. S. officers," since the communist area is decentralized. Chiefly factual evaluations.
202. 11-8-44. Washington.  
Interrogation of Service while on Washington consultation. Predominantly factual information. Service states "China's first need is economic development, and U. S. must do it. Russian help would divide China, but U. S. will unite them." \* \* \* "Chinese communists are not radical at present. They are still Marxists, but are against subjectivism. Marxism points to ideal socialism." Little political comment.

203. 2-12-45. Chungking—for Wedemeyer.  
Military only.
204. 2-14-45. Chungking—for Wedemeyer.  
Memo on military weakness of our Far Eastern policy. States recommendations to aid communists parallel Churchill's policy in Yugoslavia, aiding the faction which would assist most in the war effort. Support of Chiang is only a means to an end but we tend to confuse the means with the end. We must clarify issue to restore our primary objective, defeat of Japan with smallest possible loss of life. Well-constructed analysis of situation.
205. 2-14-45. Chungking.  
Recount of the current status of Kuomintang-Communist negotiations. Purely factual reporting.
206. 2-16-45. Chungking.  
Views of Russian officials in China. No comments.
207. 2-17-45. Chungking.  
Memo on Kuomintang hopes to make a deal with Russia. Service's opinions are contradicted by later events but analysis is interesting. Feels USSR will not deal with Kuomintang in view of its decided objections to the regime, no likely quid pro quo exists and besides Chinese Communists are stronger than Kuomintang. Unaware that USSR would be willing to sacrifice interests of a local communist party for Soviet interests.
208. 2-17-45. Chungking.  
View of Sun Fo. No comments or analysis.
209. 2-19-45. Chungking.  
Memo on Chinese feelers regarding Formosa. Purely factual.
210. 8-28-45. Chungking.  
Criticism of proposal to declare Shanghai an open city. Military interest primarily. Good analysis. No political application.
211. 2-28-45. Chungking.  
Views of Captain (Joseph) Alsop. Diametrically opposed to Service's opinions. Alsop argued on the line that U. S. long-range interests were more important than the immediate ones of winning the war; that long-range interests involved allying China on our side as a balance against Soviet influence—our greatest threat—and destruction of the Chinese communists. Believed in necessity of getting involved in the inevitable civil war which would follow from U. S. complete backing of Kuomintang against communists.
212. 3-4-45. Chungking. Military.  
Request to visit Yen-an. No political coloration.
213. 3-21-45. Chungking.  
Memo of communist attitude toward Central Government. Notes change in CCP attitude toward U. S. cooperation in China and possibility of cooperation with Kuomintang. Service notes this change dates from Stilwell's departure. Communist expansions southward followed belief that U. S. would support only Chiang. Notes communists seem to be expecting large-scale Japanese activity in North China and are getting out of way of these Japanese efforts to consolidate on mainland. Communist determination to control China proper growing.
214. 3-13-45. Yen-an.  
Views of Mao Tse-tung. Factual reporting. Opinions similar to those expressed in earlier papers.
215. 3-14-45. Yen-an.  
Memo on communist expectations of Soviet aid and participation in the Pacific war at a late date. Probable course of military tactics to be followed by communists. Notes that communists will strive to gain control of Manchuria, that they have already infiltrated the area, because of its industrial importance. (Feeling that CCP did not expect USSR to strip Manchuria, as CCP intended to have benefits of its industrial potential.) Factual analysis.
216. 3-16-45. Yen-an.  
Transmission of communist views regarding Sinkiang. Relayed without comment.
217. 3-16-45. Yen-an.  
Communist views on Mongolia. Transmitted without comment.

218. 3-16-45. Yen-an.  
Policy of the Chinese communists toward the problem of national minorities. Service states that while communists claim their program is based on Sun Yat-Sen's, in actuality it is based directly on that of the Russian communists (from whom Sun got most of his ideas). Service feels that some of these ideas (Stalin's "Marxism and National Question") may be unworkable in China because some of China's minority nations exist close to other strong states and because China is weaker than Russia was at time of 1917 revolution.
219. 3-17-45. Yen-an.  
Communist plans for a relief and rehabilitation organization in communist liberated areas. No comments. Purely factual.
220. 3-17-45. Yen-an.  
Evidence to substantiate communist claims as to the extent of territory under their control. American observers evidence. No political comment. Purely factual reporting.
221. 3-19-45. Yen-an.  
Comments on communist report of Kuomintang exile government organizations in parts of China. Analysis of moves shows no political bias. Factual reporting.
222. 3-20-45. Yen-an.  
Transmitting information regarding dealings of Chinese Central Government military official with the Japanese. No political coloration evident.
223. 3-21-45. Yen-an.  
Memo on Chian Kai-shek's treatment of the Kwangsi Clique. Decidedly critical of Chiang's activities. Service's interpretation not necessarily accurate—CA disputes some points. Memo involves no mention of our references to communist movement. Factual reporting.
224. 3-22-45. Yen-an.  
Significance of personnel appointments made by Chiang. Service interprets these appointments are signs that Chiang is preparing for civil war with the communists, rather than peaceful cooperation. Factual.
225. 3-23-45. Yen-an.  
Memo on contact between the Chinese communists and Moscow. Service's interpretation is good. Gives known facts and distinguishes between governmental contacts and contact between communist parties. Appears to be a realistic view of situation. Service feels communists probably do not have relations with Soviet Government but contact between the Soviet CP and the Chinese is likely to exist.
226. 4-1-45. Yen-an.  
Statement of communist policy to be adopted by the communist congress as given by Mao and other leaders. Offered without political observations other than to point out highlights.
227. 3-18-45. Yen-an.  
Memo on establishment of unified labor organizations and women's groups for the communist liberated areas. Factual account with comment that this step constituted a direct challenge to the Central Government, almost bringing the future conflict into the open. No political bias evident.

EXHIBIT No. 19

[Doc. 327]

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INCORPORATED

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## EXHIBIT No. 20

## THE STATE DEPARTMENT ESPIONAGE CASE

(By Emmanuel S. Larsen)

## WHO IS LARSEN?

Emmanuel Sigurd Larsen was catapulted into the international lime-light early in June 1945, when as an official of the State Department he was one of the six arrested by the FBI under the provisions of the Espionage Act. Born in 1897 in San Rafael, California, of Danish parentage, Larsen was taken to China in 1906 by his father who went there to teach at the Imperial University in Chengtu. After a boyhood in China, Larsen completed his college education in Copenhagen. Returning to China he spent nearly twenty years in private and government service. Back in the United States in 1935, he soon joined the Office of Naval Intelligence in Washington as a civilian expert on Far Eastern affairs.

Behind the now-famous State Department Espionage Case, involving the arrest of six persons of whom I was one, an arrest which shocked the nation on June 7, 1945, is the story of a highly organized campaign to switch American policy in the Far East from its long-tested course to the Soviet line. It is a story which has never been told before in full. Many sensational though little-explained developments, such as the General Stilwell Affair, the resignation of Undersecretary Joseph C. Grew and Ambassador Patrick Hurley and the emergence of a pro-Soviet bloc in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, are interlaced with the Case of the Six, as the episode became known.

I have devoted many months to a plodding investigation of the case in which I had become entangled, primarily to rehabilitate my reputation and to establish my complete innocence. I have collaborated with Congressman George Dondero of Michigan, who sponsored the creation of the House Committee which is about to undertake an inquiry into all the circumstances of the disposition of the State Department Espionage Case, and have offered my fullest cooperation to the chairman of that committee, Congressman Samuel Hobbs. In the course of my own explorations, I have uncovered sufficient material to convince me that further probing into the matter might assume proportions even more far-reaching than those of the Pearl Harbor Investigation.

It is the mysterious whitewash of the chief actors of the Espionage Case which the Congress has directed the Hobbs Committee to investigate. But from behind that whitewash there emerges the pattern of a major operation performed upon Uncle Sam without his being conscious of it. That operation vitally affects our main ramparts in the Pacific. In consequence of this operation General Marshall was sent on a foredoomed mission to China designed to promote Soviet expansion on our Asiatic frontier. It was a mission which could not but come to grief and which may yet bring untold sorrow to the American people.

How did it happen that the United States began to turn in 1944 upon its loyal ally, the Chiang Kai-shek Government, which had for seven years fought Japan, and to assume the sponsorship of the rebel Communist regime which collaborated with the Japanese during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact?

How did it come to pass that Washington since 1944 has been seeking to foist Communist members upon the sole recognized and legitimate government of China, a maneuver equivalent to an attempt by a powerful China to introduce Earl Browder and William Z Foster into key positions in the United States government?

How did it transpire that our top-ranking military leader, General Marshall, should have promoted an agreement in China under which American officers would be training and equipping rebel Chinese Communist units at the very time when they were ambushing our marines and when Communists the world over were waging a war of nerves upon the United States?

Whose was the hand which forced the sensational resignation of Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew and his replacement by Dean Acheson? And was the same hand responsible for driving Ambassador Patrick Hurley into a blind alley and retirement?

The answers to all of these questions came to me as I unraveled the main threads of the tangled State Department Espionage Case. But many more questions still remain to be solved.

On June 7, 1945, while a tense nation was entering upon the climax of the war with Japan, and exactly five weeks before the atomic bomb was dropped upon

Hiroshima, our country was shaken by an announcement from Washington: the FBI had the previous night arrested on charges of violating the Espionage Act two State Department officials, one Naval Intelligence officer and three New York Journalists.

I was arrested in my home in Washington the evening of June 6, after a hard day's work in the State Department where I was employed as a research expert in Chinese affairs. When two FBI agents knocked at the door of our modest apartment as I sat down to dinner with my wife Thelma and our little daughter Linda, I could not believe it and thought it was some sort of a joke when they informed me that I was under arrest.

The search of my home lasted late into the night, and it provided the saddest hours of our lives. After a gruelling interrogation, I was brought, still in a state of utter bewilderment, to the office of the United States Commissioner.

There I found myself sitting next to John Stewart Service, a leading figure in the pro-Soviet group in the China Section of the State Department, and to Lieut. Andrew Roth, liaison officer between the Office of Naval Intelligence and the State Department, whom I also knew as an adherent of pro-Soviet policies. Both of them were arrested separately the same night in Washington.

In New York that night of June 6 three other arrests were made simultaneously. Philip Jacob Jaffe, publisher and editor of the obscure magazine *Amerasia*, specializing in Far Eastern affairs, was picked up after a raid on his offices. At the same time Kate Louise Mitchell, coeditor of *Amerasia*, a companion and intimate collaborator of Jaffe's for years, was put under arrest. Another colleague of Jaffe, the journalist Mark Julius Gayn, a contributor on the Far East to *Amerasia* and leading national magazines, was also taken into custody in New York.

The search in the offices of *Amerasia* yielded a trove of more than 100 files containing, according to Congressman Dondero, top secret and highly confidential papers stolen from the State Department, War Department, Navy Department, Office of Strategic Services, Office of Postal and Telegraph Censorship, and the OWI at a time when we were at war with both Germany and Japan. Mr. Dondero described some of these documents before the House of Representatives on April 18th last as follows:

"First. One document marked 'secret' and obviously originating in the Navy Department dealt with the schedule and the targets for the bombing of Japan. This particular document was known to be in the possession of Philip Jaffe during the early spring of 1945 and before the program had been effected. That information in the hands of our enemies could have cost us many precious American lives.

"Second. Another document, marked 'top secret' and likewise originating in the Navy Department, dealt with the disposition of the Japanese fleet subsequent to the major naval battle of October 1944 and gave the location and class of each Japanese warship.

"Third. Another document, stolen from the Office of Postal and Telegraph Censorship, was a secret report on the Far East and so stamped as to leave no doubt in anybody's mind that the mere possession of it by an unauthorized person was a clear violation of the Espionage Act.

"Fourth. Another document was stolen from the Office of Military Intelligence and consisted of 22 pages containing information obtained from Japanese prisoners of war. When our military officials question prisoners of war, it is for the purpose of getting secret military information of the enemy's plans.

"Fifth. Another stolen document, particularly illuminating, and of present great importance to our policy in China, was a lengthy detailed report showing complete disposition of the units in the army of Chiang Kai-shek, where located, how placed, under whose command, naming the units, division by division, and showing their military strength. It is easy to visualize the consequences of this information in the hands of the Communist forces in China, then and now."

As disclosed by Congressman Dondero, one of the documents was "of such exceptional military importance and so closely guarded in its limited transmission that it was delivered personally into the hands of the Chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence." Many of the confidential papers bore this imprint:

"This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Act, 50, United States Code 31-32, as amended. Its transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law."

In the offices of *Amerasia*, which boasted a total circulation of 1,700, the government agents found a large photocopying department, the operation of which,

according to Congressman Dondero, could not possibly have been an essential part of the business of such a limited publication. "This department," stated Mr. Dondero, "was working through the night, in the small hours of morning and even on Sundays." Where these photostats went and how far they traveled is one of the several pivotal mysteries awaiting solution in the whole case.

Probably not one informed American in 20,000 had ever heard of *Amerasia*. But those of us who had to do with research or policy-making in the field of our international relations in Asia were well aware of the potent influence this almost unknown publication exercised upon the conduct of American foreign policy.

The magazine first came to my attention during my employment as an analyst in Chinese affairs in the Office of Naval Intelligence, where I had served for about nine years from October 1935, to September 1944. After having spent nearly twenty-five years of my life in China, where my father was a university instructor and where I grew up and mastered Chinese like a native, I returned to the United States. Before entering the government service, I did post-graduate work at the University of Chicago and later at Columbia University on a Rockefeller scholarship.

It was during the war, while working in the Office of Naval Intelligence as a civilian, that circumstances led me unsuspectingly to my fateful meeting with Philip Jaffe, the dominant figure in the Espionage Case.

One of the officers I had met in the Far Eastern branch of the Naval Intelligence was a brilliant young man, Andrew Roth, who had been commissioned a junior lieutenant after completing a special course in the Japanese language. My friendship with Roth, who was a youth of 26, never became intimate. We frequently lunched together. Occasionally we met in the evening for a pot-luck dinner and a good argument.

Roth knew my special hobby, as did many of my associates and acquaintances. Ever since 1923 I had been collecting patiently from every conceivable source biographical data on Chinese personalities, military and political, and my file of several thousand cards contained off-the-record material about the careers of the chief figures in the great drama of modern China.

\* \* \*

One day Roth came to my desk in the Navy Department around noon time and asked me whether I had had my lunch. As I was free, I accepted his invitation to join him for a snack. While we walked up Pennsylvania Avenue, Roth asked me whether I knew Philip Jaffe, the publisher and editor of *Amerasia*. My answer being in the negative, he remarked that Jaffe was a friend of his and that he was interested in the biographies of Chinese leaders, so that the two of us should have a lot in common.

Roth suggested that I get together with Jaffe who was in a position to trade information with me about personalities. When asked how I could meet Jaffe, he smilingly informed me that Jaffe was in Washington that day, that he, Roth, was just then on his way to meet him for luncheon, and that he would be glad to take me along and introduce me.

We walked over to the Statler Hotel and met Jaffe in the lobby. First we had a cocktail in his room and then we had lunch in the restaurant. We discussed the conditions under which we could exchange information about Chinese leaders. Jaffe said that he visited Washington about once a month and that he would ask me on these visits for certain biographical material. If I didn't have it ready on my cards, I would prepare it for him and he would pick it up on his next trip. In return, he would supply me with information about the individuals I was studying. I was quite happy to have this new source of information, especially since I expected to get data on the Communist figures in China, a little-known field.

Most of the China experts in the Office of Naval Intelligence were satisfied with the superficial and generally negligible official biographies, whereas what I sought for my collection was the "dirt" about a man's career, the unpublished facts about his past and the real reasons for his switching from one faction to another. I had a hard time explaining to my superiors the importance of collecting such data about China, which was governed not so much by ideologies as by personalities.

It was not until after my arrest a year later, when I went over in my mind again and again the various conversations I had had with Roth, that I began to question the seeming coincidence of my meeting with Jaffe. I asked myself why Roth, who had been so interested in bringing us together for the exchange of information, never once inquired afterwards about my relations with Jaffe.

It now occurred to me that Roth's avoidance of the subject was not quite normal. And ever since I have been pestered by the thought: "Had not that casual meeting with Jaffe, which brought so much distress to me, been carefully pre-arranged?"

After meeting Jaffe, I naturally began to follow *Amerasia* with increased interest. Often I was surprised to discover how closely the situation in Asia as presented in Jaffe's magazine corresponded to that given by our naval and military attachés and by the State Department's field representatives in China.

In June 1944 *Amerasia* came out with a sharp attack on Undersecretary Grew, who was opposed to the proposed bombing of Emperor Hirohito's palace and who was reputed to favor the retention of the monarchy after the defeat of Japan as a stabilizing element in the Far East. This view of Mr. Grew's, which General MacArthur later put into effect, was a challenge to the pro-Soviet group in the China Section, whose objective was internal revolution in Japan.

Never having been identified with any Communist organization or "front," I did not suspect anything untoward in the attack upon Mr. Grew. I did notice, however, that Roth had taken a deep interest in Jaffe's criticism of the Undersecretary. Roth told me that he was working on a book in which he would arraign Grew's policies.

I ascribe the anti-Grew campaign to the differences between the Grew school in the State Department which favored a stable Japan as the keystone of American postwar policy in the Pacific and the school which favored a strong China as our best security in Asia.

When Jaffe came to Washington on his next trip, he invited me and my wife to dinner at a Chinese restaurant. In the course of our conversation he told me that he was worried by a report that Undersecretary Grew had been angered by the attack in *Amerasia*. It was obvious that the report had come to him from an inside source in the State Department.

At the same time Vice President Henry A. Wallace was dispatched on a mission to China, the main purpose of which was to induce Chiang Kai-shek to form a united front with the Communist insurgents. The mission followed upon the outbreak of the so-called Kazak incident in the early part of 1944 in which Soviet Russia was involved.

The American public was not allowed to know the facts reported by American observers in China, namely, that Moscow had come to the aid of the Chinese Communists in the remote Sinkiang province by engineering an uprising there. This was two years before the Iran Incident. It was done to divert Nationalist troops from the Communist areas. Five full divisions were sent by Chiang Kai-shek into Sinkiang, thus weakening the front against the Japanese and opening the gates of the northwestern Shensi and Kansu provinces to the Communists.

Even before Wallace returned from the Far East, Moscow which was not at war with Japan, launched a propaganda drive against the recognized government of China. On July 18, the mouthpiece of the Kremlin, *War and the Working Class*, published a warning to Chungking to end its conflict with the Communist forces.

This was the opening gun in a smear campaign which soon was reflected in the so-called liberal press in the United States. Our veteran ally Chiang Kai-shek was denounced as a Fascist. Correspondents and commentators who had never raised their voices against the dictatorship in Russia now echoed the Soviet-inspired vituperation of the Kuomintang regime as a dangerous dictatorship.

The question as to whether Soviet Russia would enter the war against Japan was uppermost in Allied councils in those days. China's foreign minister, T. V. Soong, told our Ambassador Gauss that he was convinced that Russia would attack Japan when Germany was defeated, but would do so for the sole purpose of sovietizing the Far East. Soong warned that America's headaches would commence only then. It was a warning which Washington completely disregarded.

\* \* \*

On September 1, 1944, I was transferred from the Naval Intelligence to the State Department, where I was attached to the planning and research unit entrusted with the drafting of basic post-war policy toward China, Japan, Korea, Siam, and other Far Eastern zones. I discovered to my amazement that the State Department had no clear-cut general policy, but was run by cliques which pursued their own preconceived aims and were often in violent conflict.

The pro-Soviet group in the China Section, whose views were reflected by *Amerasia*, and whose members were in touch with Jaffe and Roth, formed a particularly compact clique. Secretary Ludden of the American Embassy in



Chungking was a leading figure in the group. So was John Davies, a native of Chengtu, who acted as State Department attaché with our military observers in China.

He seemed to believe and report almost anything in the way of information against the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, swallowing whole and relaying nearly everything that the Communists gave him. Mr. Davies held the view that the Chinese Communists were a breed apart from the Soviet elements and had no intention of aligning themselves with Soviet Russia.

John Stewart Service, a junior colleague and friend of Mr. Davies, who was stationed as a field representative in China and acted as political adviser to General Stilwell, tried hard to convince Washington that the rebel Communists were pursuing a policy of avoiding civil war. I remember that Ambassador Gauss did not quite subscribe to this theory. I also recall that in an attempt to discredit Ambassador Gauss's analysis of the Communist-Kuomintang conflict, Mr. John Carter Vincent, chief of the China Section, suggested that it was the failure of the Kuomintang to back the reforms championed by the Communists that was largely responsible for the difficulties in China.

Playing the part of a lone wolf, although one hundred percent in accord with the pro-Soviet China Group, was John W. Emmerson, who served as political adviser to Admiral Chester Nimitz in both Chinese and Japanese affairs.

I remember how our Consul in Kweilin had interviewed General Li Chi-shen on the subject of the Democratic League which was represented in official dispatches as a liberal organization, and how he waxed hot in his report in an effort to impress Washington with all the abuses heaped by General Li upon the Chungking government. It appeared strange to me that a United States official should have been so receptive to violent criticism of the government to which he was accredited. At no time did any of these field representatives report upon the Communists who had helped create the Democratic League and who manipulated it as a leftist "front."

The encouragement extended to the Chinese Communists by many of our officials there and by some of the writers whom they were inspiring was such that the Reds in China declared they would sit back and wait for stronger United States pressure upon Chiang Kai-shek. This pressure did not fail to be forthcoming.

In the early fall of 1944 Donald M. Nelson and General Patrick Hurley were dispatched to China as the President's special envoys to inform Chiang Kai-shek of American disappointment over his failure to form a united front with the Communists. The two envoys requested the Generalissimo to reorganize his Cabinet and to place an American general in command of the Chinese armies. It was understood that General Stilwell would be the American commander.

Chiang Kai-shek was at first inclined to make some compromise for the sake of Allied unity but not at the expense of Chinese sovereignty. President Roosevelt exerted his own direct pressure on the Generalissimo to back up his envoy's demands.

Then came the Stilwell incident. John S. Service, Stilwell's political adviser, accompanied a highly secret military commission to Communist headquarters at Yen-an. Upon the return of this mission, old "Vinegar" Joe demanded that Chiang Kai-shek permit him to equip and arm some 300,000 Chinese Communists and put them in the field alongside the Nationalist armies against the Japanese. Chiang Kai-shek saw in this American proposal a Soviet plot to build up the very rebel forces which had been waging civil war against his government. He requested the recall of General Stilwell.

The day before President Roosevelt announced that Stilwell had been relieved of his command, on October 30, 1944, John S. Service submitted his report No. 40 to the State Department. As disclosed months later by General Hurley in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that report was "a general statement of how to let fall the government I was sent over there to sustain. The report was circulated among the Communists I was trying to harmonize with the Chiang Kai-shek government."

During these and the ensuing months Philip Jaffe and Kate Mitchell made numerous trips from New York to Washington. Mr. Jaffe would call me and collect whatever biographical data on Chinese personalities I had, but I found it increasingly strange that he would not reciprocate with the promised biographical information on the Communist figures that I needed.

\* \* \*

The Espionage Case itself had its origin with the appearance in the December 1944 issue of *Amerasia* of an article containing unadulterated passages from

an extremely confidential report to the Office of Strategic Services. Two employees of the OSS were struck by the passages which they had read in the original and became curious as to how the information turned up in the columns of *Amerasia*. A preliminary investigation conducted by OSS disclosed that various other secret documents were in possession of Jaffe, Kate Mitchell, and Mark Gayn, all of *Amerasia*.

The FBI then took charge of the affair. As established by Congressman Dondero, the government agents spent several months on the case. In the course of their quest, it was found that John S. Service was in communication from China with Mr. Jaffe. The substance of some of Service's confidential messages to the State Department reached the offices of *Amerasia* in New York before they arrived in Washington. Among the papers found in possession of Mr. Jaffe was Document No. 58, one of Mr. Service's secret reports, entitled "Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek—Decline of his Prestige and Criticism of and Opposition to his Leadership."

In the course of the FBI investigation *Amerasia* was revealed as the center of a constellation of Communist zealots and their satellite fellow-travellers. The ramifications of *Amerasia* reached far beyond those of a modest academic publication. It appeared, for instance, that Owen Lattimore, consultant to OWI and to the State Department on Far Eastern affairs, was formerly an editor of *Amerasia*. Another former editor was Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a columnist for *The Daily Worker* and secretary of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, with which Kate Mitchell had been affiliated in various capacities since 1933.

The publisher of *Amerasia* was a prosperous manufacturer of greeting cards who had a rather unusual record for a well-to-do businessman. Mr. Philip Jacob Jaffe, naturalized in 1923, had served as contributing editor of *Labor Defender*, monthly magazine of the International Labor Defense, a Communist organization, in 1933. From 1934 to 1936 he had been a member of the editorial board of *China Today*, publication of the pro-Soviet American Friends of the Chinese people, under his admitted alias of J. W. Phillips. Under that name he presided in 1935 over a banquet at which Earl Browder was a speaker. He had lectured at the Jefferson School of Social Science, an avowed Communist Party institution. In addition to several other pro-Soviet organizations, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. *The New York Times* described him on June 7, 1945 (subsequent to his arrest) as "an active supporter of pro-Communist and pro-Soviet movements for a number of years."

What *The New York Times* did not know and what I could not possibly know, but what was established during the investigation, according to the information gathered by Congressman Dondero, was the following: that Jaffe is known to have visited Earl Browder's apartment several times in the spring of 1945; that he dined on more than one occasion at the Soviet consulate in New York; that when the Chinese Communist delegate, Tung Pi-Wu, while in the United States in April 1945 to attend the San Francisco Conference, visited New York, he met Earl Browder one day in Jaffe's apartment; that Jaffe had been a liberal contributor to pro-Soviet causes and funds; and that at one time Jaffe had in his possession a message sent by Ambassador Hurley to his wife, advising her not to rent their home in Chesapeake Bay for the summer, inasmuch as he expected to return to the United States before the end of the summer.

How this strictly personal message fell into Jaffe's hands was never ascertained. But Congressional sources did establish the remarkable fact that Mr. Jaffe once reserved two tables at a hotel banquet held to launch a pro-Communist China front in the name of "The fifth floor, 35 East 12th Street," the national headquarters of the American Communist Party.

Kate L. Mitchell, co-editor of *Amerasia*, was a Buffalo heiress whose income from a trust fund has been estimated to run as high as \$15,000 a year. Born in 1908, a graduate of Bryn Mawr, widely traveled and a student of Asiatic problems, Miss Mitchell was so close to Jaffe that she had in her possession keys to all the files in the office of *Amerasia*. When John Stewart Service returned from China, Miss Mitchell gave a party at which he was present. He had previously attended a special press conference held by the Institute of Pacific Relations in which he supported the position of the Chinese Communists.

Lieutenant Andrew Roth, a rising *Amerasia* star and protégé of Jaffe's is a native New Yorker who had attended City College. Mr. Dondero disclosed that Roth had been placed in his key post of liaison officer between Naval Intelligence and the State Department "despite a totally unfavorable report result-

ing from an investigation by the Office of Naval Intelligence itself when he first applied for his commission."

Mark J. Gayn, a native of Manchuria, whose articles in leading magazines were based upon confidential documents supplied by Jaffe, was frequently consulted by the latter after his Washington trips, particularly in Japanese affairs. On at least one occasion John S. Service was known to have visited Gayn in his apartment. I have never met Gayn and was barely acquainted with Service.

\* \* \*

Of many of these vital facts I was ignorant before my arrest. The political background of Jaffe and Miss Mitchell and their conferees was completely foreign to me. I knew Jaffe and his group as the editor of a magazine which had almost semi-official standing among the left-wingers in the State Department. In spite of the fact that I was gathering biographical material on Chinese leaders for Mr. Jaffe, I did not do along with the *Amerasia* circle in questions of our policy in the Far East.

In the spring of 1945, when it was generally believed that our next step in the war would be an invasion of China, the problem of Manchuria came up for discussion and analysis in the State Department. In the event of our seizure of Manchuria, were we to hand it over eventually to any local Chinese faction, even the Communists? Mr. Robert Feary, a well-meaning former official of our Embassy in Japan, who drew his knowledge of China largely from the field dispatches of the pro-Soviet school, proposed that we turn over Manchuria to the Chinese Communists if Chiang Kai-shek's troops were not there to take it over immediately.

This proposal struck me as outrageous, since President Roosevelt had promised Chiang Kai-shek at the Cairo Conference that Manchuria would revert to his nation, by which we unmistakably meant the properly constituted government of China. I launched the initial protest against this and was able to bring about the defeat of the plan.

Shortly after this meeting on Manchurian policy, I was warned by a young foreign service officer of Scandinavian extraction in a friendly way that I would soon get into trouble if I opposed the anti-Kuomintang group in the China Section. Soon afterwards I ran into Lieutenant Roth in the street, and he told me that John Carter Vincent, head of the China Section, suspected me of being "too close to the Chiang Kai-shek crowd." I resented the remark, since I had but purely social relations with the Chinese Embassy in Washington. I wondered afterwards whether Roth had used a fabricated story merely to test me.

Late in May, I was surprised to find Andrew Roth in my apartment when I returned home from the office. He was in an extremely nervous state. He told me that he and his wife had intended to drop in upon us that evening, that she had gone shopping, and that in the meanwhile he had received some upsetting news which he was anxious to convey to her. It appeared that he had been ordered to go to Honolulu and that he was making preparations to leave when suddenly his orders were canceled. He evinced so much uneasiness and seemed so reluctant to talk about the matter that I was somewhat baffled.

When his charming wife Renee arrived about an hour or so later, happy and smiling, she was dumbfounded and put out by the bad news. I tried to comfort her by saying that the Navy probably would have a better job for her husband, but she brushed my remark aside in a peeved manner that indicated anxiety and fear.

Is it possible that both Roth and his wife were already aware then that they were being shadowed and investigated, but said nothing about it to me? I myself felt perfectly at ease, for I had not the faintest notion that I was standing on the brink of disaster.

\* \* \*

It was just about this time that Mark Gayn, who had made his plans the previous year, prepared to go abroad as a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Sun*. He suddenly called upon George Taylor, in charge of the Far Eastern Section at the OWI in Washington, and asked him to authorize the decontrol of some confidential government documents which Gayn claimed to have used for current articles.

Mr. Taylor issued a letter decontrolling certain papers. This letter Mr. Gayn presented at the New York office of the OWI, and is alleged to have persuaded the person in charge of the files there to interpret Mr. Taylor's authorization so broadly as to cover all the documents Gayn had in his possession.

My arrest in the evening of June 6 came to me like a bolt from the blue. The FBI agents found in my apartment three to four thousand cards of my collection

of data on Chinese personalities, and half a dozen folders of reports and memoranda dealing with political and geographic problems in Asia. Some of these were confidential papers I had taken home to study. None of the documents was of a military character which would affect national security. It was a common practice in Washington among overworked government employees to take home confidential papers to work on.

When word of our arrests had spread through Washington, there was general burning of official papers, taken home innocently or otherwise, all over the Capital.

The strange course which the Espionage Case took from the moment of our arrests became evident to me that night, even when I was led into the office of the United States Commissioner for arraignment. On June 6 Andrew Roth was still a uniformed lieutenant in the service of the United States Navy. That night, as I beheld him a fellow-prisoner, I was surprised to find him wearing civilian clothes. Upon inquiry I learned that literally overnight Lieutenant Roth had been mustered out of the service. It was not until later that it had dawned on me how grave it might have been for Roth to face charges under the Espionage Act in wartime while still an officer in the Naval Intelligence.

When Kate Mitchell was arrested in New York that night she had in her possession, according to Congressman Dondero, a highly confidential military document entitled "Plan of Battle Operations for Soldiers." It was a paper of such importance that army officers were subject to courtmartial if they lost their copies. Also in the possession of Miss Mitchell were found documents from the OSS and the Office of Naval Intelligence. These were part of the huge files of top secret material gathered by Jaffe.

Mark Gayn, who had made use at various time of *Amerasia* files, had more than 200 secret documents in his apartment at the time of his arrest. Mr. Gayn was the only one of the *Amerasia* group to admit on the night of his arrest in a signed statement that he had been found in possession of confidential government papers.

Mr. Jaffe, either before the arrest or upon his release on bail, is known to have used the authorization to decontrol certain papers issued to Gayn by the OWI in some inexplicable manner so as to claim exemption for all the documents found in his own possession.

On June 8, the day after the arrests, Mr. Joseph C. Grew, then Acting Secretary of State, announced to the country that "a comprehensive security program is to be continued unrelentingly in order to stop completely the illegal and disloyal conveyance of confidential and other secret information to unauthorized persons."

Philip Jaffe, speaking for himself and Miss Mitchell the following day, upon their release on bail, countered with a statement to the press: "The Red-baiting character of this case is scandalous and often libelous."

Mark Gayn raised the cry of the freedom of the press, which certain so-called liberal publications took up so as to eclipse in the public mind the charges under the Espionage Act. Popular radio commentators echoed the cry.

Undersecretary Grew became a target for a campaign of vilification as chief culprit in the case. The former Lieutenant Andrew Roth wrote a series of articles in a New York evening paper and published a book in which he attacked Grew as the father of a dangerous State Department policy in the Far East and as the main prop of the throne in Japan which was represented as being in the way of a "democratic" transformation in that country.

While public attention was largely focused upon extraneous issues, the Espionage Case itself was following a special course behind the scenes. It appeared that Kate Mitchell had an influential uncle in Buffalo, a reputable attorney by the name of James M. Mitchell, former President of the New York State Bar Association. Mr. Mitchell was a member of a very influential law firm in Buffalo, Kenefick, Cooke, Mitchell, Bass & Letchworth. The New York City correspondents of that law firm included the most redoubtable Colonel Joseph M. Hartfield, extremely well-known and extremely influential in government circles in Washington. Colonel Hartfield, who is regarded by some as one of the most powerful political lawyers in the country, made at least four trips to Washington where he called on top officials of the Department of Justice in the matter.

At the same time Congressman Emanuel Celler, of New York, interested himself in the defense of the New York figures involved in the case. To what extent he exerted his influence has never been determined. It was perhaps only a coincidence that his law partner, Mr. Arthur Sheinberg, appeared as Jaffe's New York attorney when his case was called before the Criminal Division No. 1 of the District Court of the District of Columbia.

My own attorney was Arthur J. Hilland, whose first demand on me was that I tell him the truth and nothing but the truth. As I had nothing to conceal, my principal worry was my wife's difficulty in raising the \$10,000 bail, for we were people of most modest means.

The grand jury heard first the testimony of Service, Gayn, and Miss Mitchell. At the end of June it was announced that new evidence would be presented by the Justice Department and additional persons would be charged with espionage.

The grand jury proceedings are, of course, secret. But it has been reported to me that John Service had accused me of furnishing Jaffe with documents found in his possession, which was a complete and vicious fabrication. According to Congressman Dondero, for some unaccountable reasons the government attorneys presented to the grand jury only a part of the evidence in their possession.

On August 10 came the sensational announcement that the grand jury had dropped the indictments against Service, Gayn, and Miss Mitchell. The clearing of these three was the signal for a renewed campaign against Under Secretary Grew in the press. Within the State Department, it was generally known, Dean Acheson headed the anti-Grew faction.

The evening of August 13, J. Raymond Walsh, research director of CIO-PAC, outspoken Soviet partisan, made over the radio a strong plea for the defendants in the Espionage Case. Of John Service he said: "His arrest brought some exceedingly powerful people within the government to his defense. Again one can easily infer that those who began this affair wished they hadn't. \* \* \*"

A substantial fund for the defense of Mr. Service had been raised with the help of Mortimer Graves, Secretary of The American Council of Learned Societies. No one of the pro-Soviet group bothered about my defense.

On August 14, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson tendered his resignation to Secretary Byrnes. For a moment it looked as if Mr. Grew had won out. But that same day, August 14, the newly installed Secretary Byrnes addressed a letter to John Service, congratulating him on the "happy termination" of his ordeal and reinstating him to active duty "for important work in connection with Far Eastern affairs." At the same time, Under Secretary Grew wrote to Service a more formal letter expressing his pleasure at being returned to duty and praising his enviable record.

\* \* \*

It was about this time that Joseph E. Davies, of Mission to Moscow fame, was alleged to have declared that Acheson made Grew's resignation from the service a condition of his returning to the State Department.

Two days later Under Secretary Grew, after a lifetime in the diplomatic service, resigned and President Truman announced that Dean Acheson would take over the post of Under Secretary of State.

On September 29 the news that Jaffe had changed his plea from "not guilty" to that of "guilty" of the unauthorized possession of Government documents and was fined \$2,500 hit me like a bombshell. It appeared that by some strange coincidence Jaffe's case had been called before Justice Proctor of the District Court on a Saturday morning. Robert Hitchcock, of Buffalo, had presented the case for the Department of Justice. The court asked for a brief statement of the Government's case, which Mr. Hitchcock promised to do in "less than five minutes."

The FBI has the authority to make arrests only upon the presentation of adequate evidence, but it has nothing to do with the court's disposal of such evidence.

"I have heretofore charged and reiterate now," declared Congressman Dondero on the floor of the House, "that the Court before whom these cases were brought was not fully informed of the facts. A summary of the court proceedings had been furnished to me, which shows no evidence or exhibit obtained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation presented to the court. Jaffe's counsel told the court that Jaffe had no intention of harming the government, and United States Attorney Hitchcock told the court there was no element of disloyalty in connection with the case."

My own situation was growing more deplorable and my financial circumstances more straitened. I had been put "on leave-without-pay" status pending the outcome of the case. I had no means to cover the expenses of my defense. For weeks I had lain awake nights hoping for a speedy trial, expecting an acquittal.

I now resolved to go to New York to look up Mr. Jaffe. I telephoned the office of *Amerasia* and he somewhat reluctantly agreed to see me. I told him of my financial plight and he agreed to defray the costs of my defense as well as to pay

## "ARGUMENT FALLACIOUS AND \* \* \* POORLY CHOSEN"

"That argument is entirely fallacious and, I think, poorly chosen by the Assistant Attorney General," said Mr. Bielaski.

"OSS was created by executive order and authorized to provide its own security. It was an espionage and counter-espionage agency. Our search, without a warrant, was entirely reasonable in time of war. We were trying to recover OSS property.

"If we had tried to get a search warrant, it would have ruined the whole affair."

The FBI, he pointed out, had "13 volumes of exhibits" to bolster the Amerasia prosecution.

## "3,000 DOCUMENTS INVOLVED IN CASE"

"We calculated that a total of 3,000 documents were involved in the Amerasia case in a three-months period," Mr. Bielaski said. "In that time every State Department document concerning the Far East passed thru the magazine."

Because of its secrecy requirements, he declined to reveal what he testified at the Tydings subcommittee closed session. Asked if his former boss, William J. Donovan, OSS chief, would be willing to testify if called, Mr. Bielaski replied: "General Donovan is very willing and, I think, somewhat anxious to testify as to the seriousness of the documents."

So far as it is known, neither General Donovan nor any other witness has been called by the Senate subcommittee.

Meanwhile, the Amerasia case has become one of the most-talked-of issues on Capitol Hill and in official Washington.

Among both Republicans and Democrats in Congress the feeling is widespread that this is the time, for once and always, to clear up the Amerasia mystery.

They are depending on the assurance of a thoro inquiry made by Senator Millard E. Tydings (Democrat, Maryland), chairman of the subcommittee.

## LOYALTY FILE INSPECTION HAS TOP PRIORITY

Up to now, tho, the Amerasia case has been allowed to bog down in the subcommittee's overall job of investigating charges of disloyalty in the State Department.

The legal staff has given top priority to the examination of the 81 State Department loyalty files. Until that's completed the Amerasia case will get little attention.

The loyalty file inspection itself is in danger of bogging down. Because of Sen. Tydings' restrictions, the Republican minority has concluded that the entire inspection procedure is farcical. They may walk out on it any time.

So the immediate prospects of an Amerasia inquiry by the Tydings group are not too bright.

## EXHIBIT No. 22

See transcript of proceedings for afternoon of June 2, commencing at page 87.

## EXHIBIT No. 23

[Doc. 100-3]

EXCERPT FROM CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE, MAY 22, 1950

(Pages 7543-44)

Mr. Brooks. That office at 225 Fifth Avenue. It was under surveillance for a week or 10 days. The office, was operating every night until late at night. There were lights in there. We could not get in to take a look at it for that reason. Then we made plans to enter the place under a subterfuge, not by force.

When the time came, we were let in, but we did deceive the people in the buildings as to who we were, and what our purpose was. We entered the building Sunday night, March 11, at about close to midnight. We were let into the office.

Mr. CHIEF. Of what year?

the fine which might be imposed upon me. At this time, in October, the only two of the Case of Six left on the calendar, were those of myself and of Andrew Roth.

To run ahead of the story, my own case came up on November 2. Upon insistent advice, I decided not to contest it as I had planned, and pleaded *nolo contendere*. The court imposed a fine of five hundred dollars, which was paid by Mr. Jaffe's representative. He also paid all other expenses in my case, which ran to an additional three thousand dollars. As for Andrew Roth, the indictment against him was dismissed in February 1946 for insufficient evidence.

During my conference with Mr. Jaffe in October, he dropped a remark which one could never forget.

"Well, we've suffered a lot," he said, "but, anyhow, we got Grew out."

Ambassador Hurley was next to go. The road was clear for the pro-Soviet China bloc to take over the Far Eastern Division of the State Department. The policy which General Stilwell attempted to force down the throat of our ally Chiang Kai-shek as a means of defeating Japan was entrusted to General Marshall after Japan's defeat by America and after the rape of Manchuria by Soviet forces.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

#### EXHIBIT No. 21

[From the Washington Daily News, Monday, May 22, 1950]

#### TYDINGS SUBCOMMITTEE ON AMERASIA CASE—AMERASIA PROBE PROSPECTS DIM— ONLY TWO WITNESSES HEARD IN MONTH

(By Frederick Woltman, Scripps-Howard staff writer)

The Tydings Senate subcommittee, which on April 17 promised a new investigation of the Amerasia case, more than one month later has done virtually nothing about it.

Only two witnesses have been questioned, both in closed session. And the subcommittee's legal staff has not yet got around to looking at the 1700 exhibits which lay the groundwork of the case of the stolen Government documents.

One of the two witnesses was the spokesman for the Justice Department, which is under fire for the way it handled the case. He is James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the criminal division.

#### BELITTLED BY SPOKESMAN FOR JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

The effect of his testimony, it was learned, was to belittle the Amerasia incident and play down the need for a thorough investigation.

Mr. McInerney told the senators May 4 there was little of importance in the 1700 records recovered by the FBI on June 6, 1945.

Contrary to the stand taken by the FBI and State Department at that time, the Justice Department dismissed the contents of the stolen documents as mostly "teacup gossip."

The other witness was Frank Bielaski, chief investigator of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), who made the first wartime raid on Amerasia and discovered a treasure trove of stolen State Department records. His testimony has never been made public.

But yesterday, over NBC Television's "Meet the Press," Mr. Bielaski declared that the Hiss-Chambers case was "chicken feed" compared with the Amerasia.

#### FEELS THERE WAS "EFFORT TO WHITEWASH"

He said he felt "very definitely" there was "a concerted effort on the part of someone to whitewash the Amerasia case."

"I do not think the case was ever properly or thoroughly investigated," added Mr. Bielaski.

Many important witnesses have never been called, he said, listing the names of six, all ex-FBI agents. He himself was never interviewed by the Department of Justice until last week, the former OSS official stated.

In the interview, Mr. Bielaski struck back at the Tydings subcommittee's only other witness, Assistant Attorney General McInerney.

Mr. McInerney, he was told, testified that the Justice Department was handicapped because evidence had been "burglarized" and "obtained by theft from the Amerasia office by OSS."

Mr. Brooks. Nineteen hundred and forty-five. We were let into the office of Amerasia magazine. I went myself because I did not believe in sending somebody else to do something that I would not do. We had a party of five. I personally, when we entered the office, devoted my time to looking through the office, the front office, hoping to find this dummy I have described.

I did not find it. About all I found was a lot of information on circulation. I looked over this information with some degree of care because I wanted to know about how big an operation the Amerasia magazine was.

I found, at best, their circulation had been some 2,500 copies, and it had steadily decreased. It was about 1,700. Dealer distribution had dropped from 500 to 300. It was losing money, I could tell from correspondence, and looking at the accounts.

It was perfectly obvious it was not a paying venture.

About the time I had come to the conclusion there was nothing in the front office of interest to me—while I was in the front office, I had sent some of my agents back through the rear part of the office. It is quite a nice office, and very well furnished. One of them came and said, "We think you better come back here. We found some stuff you ought to see."

I started back. Before I went back to the rooms where they were, I observed on the right side of the main corridor there was a room; to be conservative, I would say it is half as big as this. It was devoted, exclusively, to photo copy work. They had a photo copy machine, and developer pans all around on the shelves. The place was equipped to make photo copies, and make them in large quantities.

I did not know what function that was for for a little magazine like Amerasia. There it was, and I looked it over.

I went to the end of the corridor. On the end over to the left was the room of the associate editor who was Kate Mitchell.

On the right was a smaller office of Phillip Jaffe, who was the editor. Just before you came to those offices, on the right, was a large library twice as big as this with volumes all over the place dealing, principally, with the Far East, and many of them were works on communism and Communist movements, etc.

It was a library of several thousand volumes. I went into the office of Jaffe. He had a desk about like this.

It was covered with originals and freshly made photo copies of documents, every one of which was secret in its character. Some of them were directed, personally, to the Secretary of State. Some of them were from military attachés in China and other places, confidential. All of them were marked "Not to be shown OWI." That was evidence of the confidential nature.

Some were from Naval Intelligence. There were a good many on his desk. It would seem from the freshness of the copies that those photo copies had just been made. They accounted for the fact that the office was working so late at night.

Mr. HANCOCK. To whom were they addressed?

Mr. BROOKS. The State Department documents were addressed to the Secretary for his personal attention.

Mr. SPRINGER. Were they all photostatic copies, or were there any originals?

Mr. BROOKS. The originals were in there, and the photostatic copies. Everybody was astounded at this stuff.

While we were looking it over, a man happened to look behind a door. Behind the door he found a suitcase and two briefcases. The suitcase was a bellows-type suitcase that was probably that thick [indicating].

Mr. HANCOCK. Two feet?

Mr. BROOKS. About 18 inches. The briefcases were very heavy with documents. I had along an expert who opened all sorts of locks. He had opened all the locks. He opened the suitcase, the briefcases. When he opened the suitcase, it seemed to be a specially constructed affair with about 10 to 15 pockets in it. It was a bellows-type suitcase spread out in this way. It was literally loaded with secret documents of all sorts from all departments of the Government.

Mr. HANCOCK. Originals?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes. These were all originals. There were no copies in the suitcase. There was one exception; in that suitcase I found an original, a typewritten original, and four copies of the particular document that I was after, that was the Office of Strategic Service document on Siam.

In addition to that, I think there were five more secret documents on the Office of Strategic Service which we had not missed, one of which was "top secret," and extremely valuable and confidential.



I took this stuff out and spread it around. It covered almost every department in the Government with the exception of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. There were no documents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. There were documents from the British Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, G-2, State Department, Office of Censorship, Office of Strategic Service, and probably others. There were so many of them, at that moment, I started to have a list made. There were so many we could not list them. These documents had from 3 to 4 to 150 pages. There were 300 documents.

Mr. CHELF. Either confidential, secret, or top secret?

Mr. BROOKS. Everyone of them bore the stamp that the possession of these documents is a violation of the Espionage Act. It was stamped all over them.

About that time, one of my men who had gone into the library came in and said he found something in the library.

He had an envelope which was not sealed. It was a large manila envelope. In that envelope were, I should say, 15 or 20 documents. I could not tell whether they came mimeographed or whether they were photo copied on this machine. They were a little blurred. They were not photostats. They must have been photo copies. In between these documents, every other one, we found six top-secret documents of the Navy Department. I looked at these myself. I do not recall all six of them. I am sorry I did not make more notes about them, but I remember distinctly two, probably the first two that I read. One of them was entitled, and I do not know the exact words, but one was entitled, "The bombing program for Japan." It was top secret. I read it. It showed how Japan was to be bombed progressively in the industrial centers, and it named the cities.

The second one that I read gave the location of all the ships of the Japanese fleet, subsequent to the battle of Leyte; I guess it was October 1944. It gave the ships by name and where they were hiding.

I might say, off the record, at that time I did not know anything about the atomic bomb. I had never heard of it. I have since been very curious trying to wrack my memory whether there was anything in those other four top secret documents. It would not have meant anything to me if it had. I had never heard of the atomic bomb. I do not remember the other information. We did not take the documents. We put them back where we got them.

We went back out into the other room. We look over this stuff. I came to the conclusion, if I came down here to the Office of Strategic Service and told them what I had seen, they just would not believe me. I, therefore, determined to take 12 to 14 of the documents and bring them down and show them to them as proof.

I picked out all of the Office of Strategic Service documents, including the five copies of the one that I was after, and either seven or eight additional documents. I picked documents that had marks of some sort on them to indicate through whose hands they had gone.

I put those in my pocket. I felt sure that there were so many there that they could not possibly miss those documents for a week, anyhow. I put those in my pocket. We left that place. We put everything back the way we found it. We left there about 2:30 in the morning.

I took a plane and came to Washington. I had a meeting the first thing Monday morning with the security officer. I did not, myself, make a list of those 12 or 14 documents. He did. He prepared a memorandum which is at the present time on file with the Office of Strategic Services describing those documents and the nature of them, what is in them.

There is a memo showing exactly what I brought down here as evidence for my own office.

They were so startling that we lost sight of the first document we were searching for. The others were so much more important.

Doc. 100-3

Before I could even deliver all of them, which I did one at a time because it gave me a little pleasure to do it, they had gotten in touch with General Donovan. They had the chief of the secretariat down in the office when I delivered all these papers to them, Donovan and I think the security officer. Mr. Van Beuren went immediately over to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to show them this stuff.

If not then, then that night or the following morning, Mr. Van Beuren, the security officer, went to a meeting where this stuff was shown to the Secretary of State.

I am telling you that because that was the disposition made, and because Mr. Van Beuren, to whom I was adviser at the time, was perfectly willing to come here and tell you what he knows about it and the character of the documents, and what he did with them, and what they decided to do about the case.

I made only one stipulation when I turned the stuff over to them, that was that I and my men were so apprehensive about this whole thing, that somebody must do something about it. We did not want to sit by and see this thing go on. We wanted action. We wanted it in a hurry. We thought something should be done within a week. They promised action would be taken within a week. It was only 6 days later that the Federal Bureau of Investigation moved in in New York.

Mr. Gurnea, who was an inspector for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was sent up to take charge. He organized the various groups. He placed various persons in the Amerasia magazine, offices and staff under surveillance. They tapped the telephones. They entered the premises. I am sure they photostated all of the documents that we saw there less only those which I delived down here to my home office.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Brooks. We felt the men who were in this place, that we had cut off or found a principal channel of information from the Government files down here into some hands which we suspected were Communist hands. We never knew where this stuff went after it got out of there. I think it was when the Peace Conference was on in San Francisco that I entered a complaint with the Office of Strategic Services. It seemed to me a terrible thing that certain persons out there attending the conference had secret information from our State Department and were informed on what our State Department planned to do and what the State Department thought about. Nothing was done about that.

It was shortly after that that they did shut down on these people and arrested six of them. I knew, also, that during this period, a second lot of stuff was brought out from Washington; that Jaffe came down, or someone came down. My impression was that it was Jaffe. They got another suitcase full of it and brought it back. The Federal Bureau of Investigation also photographed all of that. In their exhibit, they must have all of the first lot and all of the second lot. We were told the second lot was just as important as the first lot.

#### EXHIBIT No. 24

[From the New York Times, Tuesday, October 31, 1944]

**ALLIES HEED 40,000 NAZIS TOWARD MEUSE; 3 JAPANESE CRUISERS BOMBED AT MANILA; STILWELL RECALL BARES RIFT WITH CHIANG—LONG SCHISM SEEN—STILWELL BREAK STEMS FROM CHIANG REFUSAL TO PRESS WAR FULLY—PEACE WITH REDS BARRED—GENERALISSIMO REGARDS THEIR ARMIES FIGHTING JAPANESE AS THREAT TO HIS RULE**

The following account of the recall of Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell is by the Chungking correspondent of the New York Times, who has just returned to this country. It was delayed and finally cleared by the War Department censorship in Washington.

(By Brooks Atkinson)

Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, relieved of his command in China, Burma and India, before leaving Chungking on Oct. 21 made a final swift tour of some of the military bases in his command and then flew directly toward Washington in his silver-colored transport plane facetiously dubbed "Uncle Joe's Chariot."

For the last two months negotiations had been going on between President Roosevelt's personal representative, Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to give General Stilwell full command of the Chinese ground and air forces under the Generalissimo and to increase China's participation in the counter-offensive against Japan.

Although the Generalissimo at first was inclined to agree to General Stilwell's appointment as commander, he decided later that he would accept any American commander except General Stilwell.

## PRESSED FOR REFORM

His attitude toward the American negotiations became stiff and hostile. At a private meeting of the standing committee of the Kuomintang [National party] Central Executive Committee this month he announced the terms of his personal ultimatum to Americans who were pressing him for military and governmental reform.

He declared that General Stilwell must go, that the control of American lend-lease materials must be put in his hands and that he would not be coerced by Americans into helping to unify China by making terms with the Chinese Communists. If America did not yield on these points, he said China would go back to fighting the Japanese alone, as she did before Pearl Harbor.

President Roosevelt agreed to the Generalissimo's demand for General Stilwell's recall. Dividing the huge China-Burma-India war sector in two, the War Department appointed Maj. Gen. Albert G. Wedemeyer, now Deputy Chief of Staff to Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, as Commander of United States Army Forces in China and Lieut. Gen. Daniel L. Sultan, General Stilwell's Chief of Staff in India, as Commander of United States Army Forces in India and Burma.

After a career of more than twenty years largely devoted to military affairs in China and two years and eight months as commander of the United States Army Forces in China, Burma, and India and as Allied Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo, "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell has now concluded a busy and constantly frustrated attempt to help China stay in the war and to improve the combat efficiency of the Chinese forces.

Uncle Joe speaks Chinese. He knows more about China than most foreigners. He is more intimately acquainted with the needs and capacities of the Chinese Army than the Generalissimo and Gen. Ho. Ying-chin, Minister of War and Chief of Staff, because he has repeatedly been in the field with the troops.

He is commonly regarded as the ablest field commander in China since "Chinese" Gordon. The second retreat with Stilwell seemed the final one. It was not from the enemy but from an ally.

The decision to relieve General Stilwell has the most profound implications for China as well as American policy toward China and the Allied war effort in the Far East. It may mean that the United States has decided from now on to discount China's part in a counter-offensive.

Inside China it represents the political triumph of a moribund anti-democratic regime than is more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than in driving the Japanese out of China. America is now committed to at least passively supporting a regime that has become increasingly unpopular and distrusted in China, that maintains three secret police services and concentration camps for political prisoners, that stifles free speech and resists democratic forces.

## THE MAIN DIFFERENCE

The fundamental difference between the Generalissimo and General Stilwell has been that the latter has been eager to fight the Japanese in China without delay and the Generalissimo has hoped that he would not have to.

In no other way is it possible to understand the long series of obstructions and delays that have made it impossible for General Stilwell to fulfill his original mission of equipping and training the "unlimited manpower" resources of the Chinese Army.

The Generalissimo has one positive virtue for which America is now indebted; he has never made peace with the Japanese, although there have been times when his Ministers thought the future looked hopeless. But the technique of preserving his ticklish balance of political power in China keeps him a passive man.

Although he is the acknowledged leader of China, he has no record of personal military achievement and his basic ideas for political leadership are those of a war lord. He conceives of armies as political forces.

In an enormous, loosely strung country populated chiefly by ignorant peasantry he maintains his authority by preventing any group from becoming too powerful. A few well equipped armies under a command not entirely loyal to him personally might upset the military and political balance inside China and curtail his authority.

The Chinese Communists, whom the generalissimo started trying to liquidate in 1927, have good armies that are now fighting guerrilla warfare against the

Japanese in northeast China. The generalissimo regards these armies as the chief threat to his supremacy. For several years he has immobilized 300,000 to 500,000 (no one knows just how many) Central Government troops to blockade the Communists and keep them from expanding.

Distrusting the Communists, the generalissimo has made no sincere attempt to arrange at least a truce with them for the duration of the war. The generalissimo's regime, based on the support and subservience of General Ho, Dr. H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance, and Dr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, has remained fundamentally unchanged over a long period and has become bureaucratic, inefficient, and corrupt.

Most of the armies are poorly fed and shockingly maltreated. In some parts of the country the peasants regard the armies as bandits and thieves. In Honan last Spring the peasants turned against the Chinese armies during the Japanese offensive in revenge for the ruthlessness with which the armies collected rice during the famine years.

Most of China's troubles now are the result of her having been at war with Japan for more than seven years and totally blockaded for two and one-half.

The reason nothing is done to alleviate the miseries is that the generalissimo is determined to maintain his group of aging reactionaries in power until the war is over, when, it is commonly believed, he will resume his war against the Chinese Communists without distraction.

Bewildered and alarmed by the rapidly with which China is now falling apart, he feels secure only with associates who obey him implicitly. His rages become more and more ungovernable and attack the symptoms rather than the causes of China's troubles.

#### ACQUIESCENCE IN REGIME

Since the negotiations with General Hurley began the generalissimo's attitude toward America has become more resentful and American criticisms of China is hotly rebuked. Relieving General Stilwell and appointing a successor has the effect of making us acquiesce in an unenlightened, cold-hearted autocratic political régime.

Into this stagnant, baleful atmosphere General Stilwell came in February 1942, animated by the single idea of fighting the Japanese immediately. Like most foreigners who know the Chinese people, he loved them, for they are the glory of China. From long experience Stilwell had great confidence in the capacities of the Chinese soldiers, who even then were fighting on nothing.

In November, 1941, the Magruder Military Mission had already made an agreement with the generalissimo to train and equip the Chinese Army on the theory that it would then become unnecessary to ship thousands of doughboys to fight on Chinese soil. The war in China was initially handicapped by the decision to fight Germany first and Japan second. General Stilwell was never able to get 1 per cent of the American Army for use in his C-B-I theatre and was never able to get all the equipment he has wanted, because it has always been needed elsewhere.

On March 3, 1942, less than a month after he had arrived in China, General Stilwell was plunged into the calamitous Burma campaign without notice. He had to return to Chungking to induce the generalissimo to come to the front to vest him with sufficient authority to command the troops.

Even then the command was never secure or efficient. There were other troubles. At a time when the troops needed transport, most of China's trucks were hauling civilian loot out of Burma up the road into China, where goods were worth huge sums of money.

When at last Stilwell got out of Burma into India he did persuade the generalissimo to let him feed, train and equip the Chinese soldiers who finally arrived. After training of a year and a half, those soldiers were the backbone of the Chinese divisions who got Myitkyina back last August and are now pushing toward Bhamo to free the Burma road. Inside China everything Stilwell has tried to do has been obstructed and delayed.

The generalissimo and his staff like the United States Air Force, which they get free and which asks for nothing except food and airfields, which we equip with buildings and installations. But the Chinese Government hedges and hesitates over anything involving the use of its armies. Foreigners can only conclude that the Chinese Government wants to save its armies to secure its political power after the war.

A nervous and driving field officer whose is impatient with administrative details and political tangles, General Stilwell is no diplomat. He goes straight

to the point in his dealings with anybody. He is plain and salty. He is personally incapable of assuming a reverential mood toward the generalissimo and he is impatient with incompetent meddling in military command. Although General Stilwell is anything but arrogant, the generalissimo complained that the American was trying to subjugate him.

But with the situation in China as it is, no diplomatic genius could have overcome the generalissimo's basic unwillingness to risk his armies in battle with the Japanese. Amid the intrigue and corruption of China's political and military administration, General Stilwell has been a lone man trying to follow orders, improve the combat efficiency of the Chinese Army, force open the Burma Road and get China back into the war.

Now he has been forced out of China by the political system that has been consistently blocking him and America is acquiescing in a system that is undemocratic in spirit as well as fact and is also unrepresentative of the Chinese people, who are good allies.

#### EXHIBIT No. 25

[From the New York Times, Friday, March 23, 1945]

#### CHINESE REDS SEEN HOPEFUL OF UNITY—U. S. POLITICAL AIDE BACK FROM AREA DECLARES COMMUNISTS HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT

WASHINGTON, March 22.—Raymond P. Ludden, foreign service officer attached to Lieut. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer's staff as political adviser, returning from an eight-month stay in the Communist territory in China, reported today that these Communists are fighting the Japanese, that they have popular support in their area, and that the people of the region all hope to obtain national unity in China.

Mr. Ludden was one of two State Department officials to accompany a United States Army observer section into the Communist areas last July to observe and report on conditions there. The mission was primarily military—to obtain military intelligence relating to such matters as order of battle, air fields, and numerical strength, as well as such correlated matters as weather reports and topography. They wore the Chinese Communist uniforms on the trip.

Traveling mostly by muleback and afoot, the party went over mountain trails and forest tracks, crossing and recrossing the Japanese lines, always accompanied by a strong escort of Chinese guerrillas. The mission went by plane from Chungking to Yen-an and then by mule crossed the Yellow River into the Communist area that forms part of the region supposed to be occupied by the Japanese. The party traversed Shansi and spent a long period in Hopai, and from there various sections of the party made side trips, one pushing as far as Peiping. The return trip was more direct, but over more difficult country, and was made almost 70 percent of the way afoot.

#### MEMBERS OF ROUTE ARMY

Mr. Ludden said the officers and men who accompanied them all were of what the Chinese in the region call the Eighth Route Army, the chief binding link for the various separate administrative groups in the different sections where the Communist bands are active. He said the Chinese considered part of their forces as regulars and part as guerrillas, but that all were what we would call guerrillas, both for their way of life in fastness retreats and their raids and skirmishes with their enemies, the Japanese. One member of the party was killed during one of these skirmishes, and at another time the group was obliged to make a forced march of twenty-six hours without food or rest to escape being intercepted by the Japanese.

Mr. Ludden did not wish to comment on the political situation, but said they all hope for a unified China, and that he found a great admiration for the United States among the soldiers and the people that he encountered in this area.

He said the program supported by the peasants was not particularly Communist in character, but that it was indigenous to the peasantry of China. In its simplest terms the program preached by all these local leaders was in terms that everyone could understand:

"A full belly, a warm back, and nobody knocking them around."

In this period of continuous skirmishing he said the feeling is among these people that "the man who has no gun gets pushed around."

EXHIBIT No. 26

AMERICAN COUNCIL, INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.  
 NEW YORK-WASHINGTON, D. C.-CHICAGO-SAN FRANCISCO-HONOLULU  
 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.  
 ELdorado 5-1759

JUNE 11, 1945.

The Honorable JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Department of State, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. GREW: My attention has been drawn to reports in the press alleging that Mr. John S. Service, recently arrested in connection with the release of unauthorized information, held a "press conference under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations" in our Washington office on his return from China. For your information, I would like to state that this report is completely inaccurate, as the Institute of Pacific Relations does not hold press conferences of this character. Mr. Service was one of some seventeen people who had been asked as guests of honor at small sherry parties given by the Washington office for the benefit of members of the American Council living in the Washington area. It is customary on these occasions to ask the guest to talk in as frank a manner as he feels free to about matters of interest to members of the organization, and most of those whom we have invited have complied.

In addition to Mr. Service, we have had such people as Sir Frederick Eggleston, Mr. George Yeh, Mrs. Pandit, Ambassador Paul Naggiar, Senator Carlos Garcia, the Honorable Walter Nash, Mr. Edmund Clubb, Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, and others.

Since both you and Dr. Hornbeck have attended these meetings from time to time, I am sure that you, personally, realize that these press reports about Mr. Service's participation in the press conference were inaccurate, but I did want to set the record straight.

With cordial best wishes,  
 Sincerely yours,

(s) Raymond Dennett  
 RAYMOND DENNETT, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 27

JUNE 18, 1945.

In reply refer to CA.

Mr. RAYMOND DENNETT,  
*Secretary, American Council,  
 Institute of Pacific Relations,  
 1 East Fifty-fourth Street, New York 22, N. Y.*

MY DEAR MR. DENNETT: I have received your letter of June 11, 1945, in which you notify me that press reports alleging that Mr. John S. Service had held a press conference under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations in your Washington office are completely inaccurate.

I wish to thank you for your courtesy in bringing the foregoing information to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

(s) JOSEPH C. GREW,  
*Acting Secretary.*

CA: EFDrumright: MS.  
 6-14-45.

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STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 231**

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

**PART 3**

JUNE 28, 1950

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1950

**STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION**

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON SENATE RESOLUTION 231

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## FOREWORD

Upon the recommendation of the Foreign Relations Committee the following transcript is printed as part 3 of the hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, pursuant to Senate Resolution 231. The discussion recorded below, which was not included in the original printed hearings, took place at a meeting of the subcommittee on June 28, 1950, at which time members of the subcommittee and the staff were canvassing certain procedural matters. In order that this section of the record may appear in its proper sequence, reference should be made to part 1 of the printed hearings, page 1484. The following exchange, which appears on page 1484, is repeated at this point to afford the necessary continuity:

Mr. MORGAN. I assume, then, that it will not be necessary at this point to incorporate by reading all of this into the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't see any point in it, but any member of the committee, anytime, ought to be able to go through this and see anything that we have here.

The additional testimony follows from this point.

My opinion is that a lot of it will be just a waste of time.

Senator GREEN. Have we got answers to all the questions?

Mr. MORGAN. I think, Senator, that a great many of them we have the answers to. Yesterday, for example, Senator Lodge asked for certain reports, I believe, in connection with the case of John Service. The Department of Justice has advised me that they do not have any such reports bearing those dates, and they are sending a letter up concerning the whole matter, which we will have later. So I obviously don't have that.

There are some outstanding requests of the Department of State. There is an outstanding request of the Navy Department. There is, I believe, one outstanding request of the Department of Justice and perhaps another of the War Department. There will be others, but a great many of them have been answered, and, of course, that is the material which I have here today.

Senator LODGE. It seems to me that we ought to also get all the papers of the loyalty board in the Service case, and if the loyalty review board passed on it, we ought to get that. I also would like to have the opportunity to question somebody from the State Department with respect to the quality of Service's record before and after the Amerasia case. It seems to me you have got to do that before you can even pass judgment on that case. I don't know whether we will be turned down or not. The Service case was not 1 of the 81, and we may not be allowed to see any of that stuff, but I think we certainly ought to see it because we want to make a judgment on that matter.

Senator TYDINGS. We will look into that.

Senator McMAHON. I think that somebody would come up and testify as to his competency and conduct as a State Department employee. I would be rather disappointed if they wouldn't.

Senator LODGE. I would, too.

Senator TYDINGS. I think we will get that all right, but whether we will get the record or not is another thing. I will have to explore that before I commit myself.

Mr. MORGAN. Incidentally, for the record at this point, in connection with the Service case, Mr. Peurifoy called me to advise the committee in this session, in the event the matter of Service came up, that the press stories to the effect that the loyalty and security board of the State Department has cleared Service are not accurate. The board has not rendered a decision concerning Service and does not intend to do so, according to Mr. Peurifoy, until the State Department has an opportunity to review our record in executive session, if we make it available to them. Furthermore, he advised that he specifically requested to be disqualified to pass on the Service case and that Under Secretary Webb had agreed to review the decision of the loyalty board at such time as it is formally rendered.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Incidentally, there are a couple questions, based on information that I have received just before noon today, that I would like to ask Mr. Service.

Senator TYDINGS. Would you indicate what they are, Senator?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I would prefer not to.

Senator TYDINGS. The only reason I asked was to see if we had covered any of the ground while you weren't here.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have reviewed the questions that have been asked him, and this happens to be a question to ask him.

Senator TYDINGS. This is new matter, you mean?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It involves other individuals.

Senator TYDINGS. In the State Department?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. No. It involves other individuals with whom he may have had some contact. I have received some information that he had contact with other individuals than those that our record discloses.

Senator TYDINGS. What I mean is, would it be pertinent to our inquiry?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It would, indeed.

Senator TYDINGS. How? Would it bear on his loyalty?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes, sir.

Senator TYDINGS. You don't care to tell us who they are?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Not at this time, because it is purely rumor. I have just received the information over the telephone and it happened just shortly before noon. This information may or may not be accurate at all.

Senator TYDINGS. Don't you think you ought to have a little more verification of that before we, busy as we all are, go into things of that sort? I don't want to be captious about it or anything of the sort. I am just asking for your opinion. You get a rumor. Is the man that gave the rumor willing to support it with any kind of reasonable fact which would make it worth while inquiring into? We can run rumors down from now on to the year 4006.

Senator LODGE. More than that, Mr. Chairman, we could run down perfectly legitimate questions from now to the year 4006 and still not exhaust all the questions that can be asked within the legitimate purview of Senate Resolution 231. That is the defect of this whole set-up.

Senator TYDINGS. I agree with you.

Senator LODGE. We could work ourselves to the bone, and we have worked hard on this committee, and still not scratched the surface of this subject.

Senator TYDINGS. Let me say this to you. My own thought is, and I want to be completely fair to my colleagues in this matter, is that under Resolution 231, we were instructed to inquire into the loyalty of State Department employees, past or present. In connection with that, we had to look into the loyalty of Mr. Larsen and Mr. Service, who are two State Department employees that were involved in Amerasia. I think that I was very liberal, in the absence of some of the other members of the committee, in letting the whole purview of Amerasia go in, as to whether the Department of Justice had done a good job, whether they had been fixed, which wasn't really what we set out to do. We personally set out to keep it within the State Department purview, and I tried to frame the questions, as the examination and cross-examination will note. It went into all phases of Amerasia, even though at times it seemed to me we were getting pretty far away from loyalty of the employees in the State Department. We went into whether Mr. Hitchcock did a good job or not. We went into whether the FBI did a good job or not. We got pretty far away from the State Department in many of our phases. However, it was all done in good faith and in order to be broad and liberal and fair about it.

Now, likewise, in the Lattimore case, Mr. Lattimore never was an employee of the State Department. Nevertheless, we had a great deal

of testimony about Mr. Lattimore and his books and writings and this, that and the other thing. I have done my best and with some success. When nobody thought we were going to get the 81 loyalty files, I went down and got them. I didn't know what was in them.

Senator McMAHON. Untampered with.

Senator TYDINGS. Untampered with. After the charge was made that they had been tampered with, I went to the FBI and said I wanted a check made of this, that if they had been tampered with, I wanted to know it. I am very hopeful that, having proceeded in that vein, we can more and more get back within the purview of the resolution and that we can conclude this hearing, because it is going to take a long while for us to make a study of this and see what report we are going to make. We probably will not agree on many phases of it. Quite frankly, I feel that we have done a good job. We have gone into it and we have all worked hard. This can be off the record.

(Off the record.)

Senator LODGE. Let me make a little statement, Mr. Chairman.

Senator TYDINGS. Certainly.

Senator LODGE. I agree that this committee has worked very hard. I think the staff has worked hard. I want to compliment them on the way they have worked. I know the Senators have put in a tremendous amount of time on this whole matter. However, Senate Resolution 231 is, and I think I can quote it right here, "to investigate persons who are disloyal to the United States who are or have been"—I underlined those three words, "or have been"—"employed by the Department of State."

Now, when you go into that, there are a whole lot of questions that suggest themselves to you that without any strained construction at all are squarely within that purview. I have just jotted down a few of them here that have been asked on the floor by Senators and that have been asked in the press, some of which would take months and years to go into.

What State Department officials were responsible for placing Hiss and Wadleigh in the State Department?

Have we investigated what person or persons were primarily responsible for sponsorship of employment of sexual perverts in the State Department?

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want all this on the record?

Senator LODGE. Yes. I think it would be a good thing for the men who wrote this Senate Resolution 231 to see, because some of them didn't understand what they were getting into.

Has an investigation been made with a view to determining whether those State Department officials who opposed United States recognition of Soviet Russia and who thereafter warned against any appeasement of the Soviet regime were in any way discriminated against or unfairly treated by the Department?

Has an investigation been made of the procedures whereby Communists gain entry into the United States upon the basis of visas obtained through our consular service abroad?

Has an investigation been made with reference to the release of the Soviet spy named Gaik Badalovich Ovakimian on July 23, 1941?

Has an investigation been made with reference to the release of the Soviet spy named Mikhala Nickolavich Goran on March 22, 1941?

Have questions been addressed to Adolph Berle with reference to his statement to the House Un-American Activities Committee that Alger Hiss belonged to the pro-Russian clique in the State Department?

Who in the State Department was responsible for obtaining the services of Frederick Schuman and Owen Lattimore as speakers for the Department's indoctrination course for Foreign Service employees? I have had many people ask me that.

Has the subcommittee investigated the charge that a State Department security officer whose decision that 10 members of the Department be discharged was subsequently reversed by higher authority?

What State Department officials were responsible for the advice given higher officials that the Soviet Government would allow free elections in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the other satellite countries?

Has the subcommittee investigated the facts surrounding the case of Arthur Adams, an alleged Soviet atom spy, who was permitted to leave the United States in 1946?

Now, any one of those questions would be good for 6, 7, or 8 months of the year.

Senator TYDINGS. That is right.

Senator LODGE. Take the Lattimore case alone. We have got nothing in the record to show where Lattimore's precise relationship with the State Department has been set forth by an official of the State Department. I don't think the State Department has answered for the record, whether the relationship to the State Department which Senator McCarthy applied to Lattimore was correct or not.

Senator TYDINGS. How about the four letters from the Secretaries of State?

Senator LODGE. Do you think that that completely clears up his relationship with the State Department?

Senator TYDINGS. I think as far as that phase of it is concerned, they said they didn't know him, that as far as they knew, he had no influence in molding foreign policy.

Senator LODGE. They said that, but did they set forth his exact place on the Reparations Commission to Japan, his exact appointment as lecturer?

Senator TYDINGS. That has all been testified to, that he was appointed at the request of Ed Pauley on the Presidential Mission, not with the State Department. That is in the record.

Senator LODGE. All right, I will look it up again.

Senator TYDINGS. I remember it.

Senator LODGE. Let me ask you this: Has the subcommittee questioned all persons mentioned by Budenz as having had relations with Lattimore?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes.

Senator LODGE. Have we all of them?

Mr. MORGAN. All persons?

Senator LODGE. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. In what sense?

Senator LODGE. Have we had them in and questioned all the persons mentioned by Budenz as having had relations with Lattimore?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Budenz named in executive session a great many contributors to Pacific Affairs, the publication with which Lattimore

at one time was associated. Of course, we have not interviewed all of them. There were some 16, as I remember.

Senator TYDINGS. Lattimore specifically answered each one of the charges that Budenz had made or that anybody had made. I remember that in his testimony. I don't recall it specifically, but I do know he took up one thing after another.

Senator LODGE. We haven't questioned them all, I don't think.

Mr. MORRIS. Lattimore hasn't been in since the second Budenz testimony.

Senator LODGE. Have we questioned those who have headed the China desk in the State Department to determine whether Lattimore gave advice on United States policy for China and whether this advice was acted upon?

Have we questioned the United States Ambassadors to China who were there during that period in order to get answers to those questions?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In that connection, may I say that I talked to them about 4 weeks ago. I have been trying to locate their signatures so that I can present them. I talked to a Chinese representative here who told me that in discussing Chinese matters with the State Department he had been on repeated occasions sent to Owen Lattimore from the Far East Section of the State Department. They said, "Well, you see Lattimore about that."

Senator TYDINGS. Well, what of it? That doesn't make him an employee of the State Department.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. No; but it goes to the question of his influence.

Senator TYDINGS. We are not trying his influence. We are investigating whether State Department employees have been disloyal, and Lattimore is not a State Department employee.

Senator LODGE. I would like to just complete this; it wouldn't take me very long.

Senator TYDINGS. Excuse me.

Senator LODGE. On the question of asking the Department of Justice whether they have had any new information respecting Lattimore since that date, I think it was March 24 that we went down and saw the summary of the file.

Senator TYDINGS. By "new information," do you mean derogatory or general information?

Senator LODGE. I understand they were conducting a surveillance of them or an examination of them or a study into them.

Mr. MORRIS. As I understand it, they had 70 FBI men working on Lattimore subsequent to that.

Senator TYDINGS. Who told you that?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I heard that from about four or five different sources.

Senator TYDINGS. Name me one, so we can judge and measure the authenticity of what you heard.

Mr. MORRIS. One of them was a man named Nelson Frank.

Senator TYDINGS. Who is he?

Mr. MORRIS. He is a man who used to work for the Navy. He is a newspaperman. He is in New York. Apparently he is recognized by the Bureau as something of an expert on Communist literature. He gets frequent calls from the FBI.

Senator TYDINGS. What are we trying to find out about Lattimore, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I think the principal charge is he was the architect for our far eastern policy.

Senator TYDINGS. How does what you told me, 70 men of the FBI looking into it, make him the architect of our far eastern policy?

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry, I didn't hear that question.

Senator TYDINGS. How could he be the formulator of policy if he wasn't in the State Department?

Mr. MORRIS. I can think of one thing. He was one of the principal consultants last October, when they had the conference.

Senator LODGE. The question I raised was very simple. On the question of asking the Department of Justice whether they had any new information since March 24, they can say, yes, we have and we don't want to tell you or they can say no, we don't have, or yes, we have.

Senator TYDINGS. I shall ask that question and put the letter in the record. I think it is a very proper question.

Senator LODGE. They asked us all to come down and look at this summary.

Senator TYDINGS. I think it is a very proper question.

Senator LODGE. It is just a question of bringing the thing up to date.

Senator TYDINGS. That is right.

Senator LODGE. Now, at the hearing on April 25, Budenz stated that he would furnish the subcommittee with names of Communists whom he knew to be in the State Department. Have we received that list?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes, I have got a letter from him in which he says he has been very busy and hasn't had time to get around to this yet, that sometime in the autumn he hopes to have time to devote some attention to this.

Senator LODGE. Budenz says that?

Senator TYDINGS. Yes.

Senator LODGE. Will that letter be in the record?

Senator TYDINGS. You will put it in the record.

Senator LODGE. I think it ought to be in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I have got the letter somewhere. The reason I haven't brought it over here is that I didn't think of it, for one thing. Another thing is he says he wouldn't be able to do something until autumn. He sent a copy of it to each one. He says on the letter to me a copy to so and so and so and so. I think every member of the committee got a copy of it.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I got a copy.

Senator TYDINGS. He says that on there. That is the reason I didn't bring it up.

Senator LODGE. I think it ought to be in the record for the sake of completeness.

Mr. MORGAN. I have my copy to incorporate in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. You have got a copy. Put it in the record. That will take care of that.

Senator LODGE. Have we contacted and investigated all those whom Lattimore is supposed to have brought in to the Institute of Pacific Relations? If not, I think we ought to do something about that.

Mr. MORGAN. That, Senator, is a bridge that I think we ought to cross right here. To propose to undertake an investigation of that



character, you might just as well give up all hope, with the existing facilities, and you might as well get set for an investigation that will extend over 1 year at the very least.

Senator LODGE. All right, now, I want to talk about that. I want to make my little speech about that. I have asked all these questions, and I think the questions are obviously questions that fall within the purview of this Senate resolution. However, with the congressional committee machinery, we could sit for another year or 2 years and we still couldn't get to the bottom of all those questions. In all the years I have been here, I have never been on a committee where people worked harder and where a more sincere effort was made.

Senator TYDINGS. I have had to do 3 or 4 hours on the committee in addition.

Senator LODGE. You are the chairman of the Armed Services Committee and you have a lot of other things to do. I have never been on any other committee where the members put in more time and worked harder. However, the nature of a congressional committee is such that the Senators haven't the time and, in most cases, haven't the expert background, and the tools which a congressional committee has, which are the publicity and the furnishing of facts on which public opinion is formed, are not the tools that you need to apprehend the existence of disloyalty in Government departments. What you need there are detectives and secret work, which a Congressional committee does not have. So I think that if we sat from now until doomsday, this committee, with the other things it has to do, which we as Senators have got to do, which are just as important as this, could never get to the bottom of the question of who hired Alger Hiss or how about all these people that Lattimore got into the Institute of Pacific Relations. Therefore, at the proper time, I am going to renew my motion that a trained bipartisan commission of experts be set up to go into this thing, under the seal of secrecy, with a definite requirement that no report be made until well after the election, taking this whole thing out of politics, getting to the bottom of it, and let the chips fall where they may. That is the system that has been tried in other countries and they have gotten a lot of results from it.

I wanted to make that statement fully and frankly here, because I intend to make it in public later, and I don't want to have you gentlemen learn my views in public for the first time. I want you to hear it here.

Senator TYDINGS. I think there is a great deal, Senator Lodge, in what you say. I am not out of sympathy or in disagreement with any of the fundamentals you have expressed. Take my own situation first. In addition to what each other member of the committee has had to put in on this, I have had to put in probably 2 hours extra each day because of the mail coming to me, and I have carried, you can imagine, a pretty heavy load here.

Now, I think we have done a pretty thorough job. I don't say that we have explored every bay and inlet and river and rivulet or we haven't explored it. I am not passing on that. What I would like to do is to take what we have got and present it to the Senate and come to some recommendation that we might all agree upon for a further continuance of this thing. Now, I can't see where anybody can be hurt on that score. My own conscience will be clear and

my sense of the discharge of the duty will be clear, because I have worked like the devil on this case.

Senator LODGE. I don't understand what you say about a continuance.

Senator TYDINGS. I say, we will take the evidence that we have now and make any conclusion we want from it, either in agreement or three different versions or five different versions, or any way we want to do it, and that incorporated in our general findings there be some provision and recommendations for a further pursuit of security under whatever mechanics we decide, either along your line or some other line.

Senator LODGE. Not necessarily by this same subcommittee?

Senator TYDINGS. We would be out. They would take it over and go ahead with it. I don't think we can do much more than we have done. I think it is like a sculptor. He takes his clay and he gets it in general shape. Now we are down to where the refinements come in, and we haven't got the time to go into all these things. My opinion is that we ought to make our findings on what we have and make a recommendation, which I am sure will be honored, that there be further pursuit of this proposition. By that, I don't mean this particular evidence. I mean anything that is in the picture at all that has to do with better security for the country, I am with it.

Senator LODGE. Off the record.

(Off the record.)

Senator TYDINGS. I haven't talked this over with my colleagues; I will tell you that in good faith. I haven't talked it over with Senator Green or Senator McMahon, but I have reached the conclusion that I want above everything else, this country to be secure against the bad people in it, particularly in the present time. While I have done the best I could do, and I think a pretty good job was done by all of us, in getting the essentials of what brought us into being before us for some consideration, I am not content to leave the matter go without further pursuit by people who have the time and the effort and everything else that can be made to do the job.

Senator GREEN. I may say I am in entire sympathy with the general principles, but whether I would be for any particular plan will be another matter.

I ought to be excused. I talked with my office and there are people who have been waiting for sometime over there to see me.

Senator TYDINGS. I would like to get some expression from you, Senator Green. I would like to get this from you today. I would like to have Mr. Morgan complete this record with such other information as has been requested to be furnished us in writing. Then I would like to have all of this made available and have the committee make whatever findings it wants to make and ask for such other pursuit of it as is necessary. I have no objection. I don't care. I don't want to drop it.

Senator GREEN. Somebody ought to make a tentative draft. That is the only possible way of getting at it.

Senator TYDINGS. I mean the committee ought to bring in its findings. We can say they are imperfect, if we want, or we can say that we have done the best we can.

Senator GREEN. My point is to get down to earth. Someone has got to make those findings or a draft in order that we may come to an agreement.

Senator TYDINGS. Make a motion, then, so we can get your point of view on paper.

Senator GREEN. Well, I would suggest that the counsel for the committee make a draft report for this committee that we can discuss, in the first place. When you once have that draft report and have been over that, then we can discuss the findings.

Mr. MORRIS. May I say, Senator, that the first basic request that I made in commencing this investigation was for the books and records of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, inasmuch as there was evidence that his money was the heart of the Communist cell in the Institute of Pacific Relations. I maintain that that was necessary. It was basically necessary to start that kind of an investigation.

Senator TYDINGS. There isn't anything, Mr. Morris, that isn't pertinent, and we can keep on asking for things, and there is no doubt in the world that would be a good thing to get, and you could ask for 5,000 different things, but we are pretty far away from loyalty in the State Department when we get out in the Institute of Pacific Relations with our little force. We just haven't got it.

Are you ready for a discussion?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I want to make an observation on that. I think it would be an utterly futile thing to make a draft report at this time. I consider we haven't even scratched the surface.

Senator TYDINGS. How long do you think it would take us to do it?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't know how long it will take us, but I would like to see us get into some of the ramifications of these witnesses as the only way way that you can develop evidence upon which you can base any final conclusions, and I will have to oppose such a motion at this time.

Senator GREEN. It seems to me that we have done all that we need to do in connection with the job that was imposed upon us. We have examined the case of everyone who has been accused, by name or by number corresponding to the name.

Senator LODGE. If the Senator will yield, we were not directed by the resolution to do that.

Senator GREEN. No, but we have not supplied want ads in the paper to find additional ones. We have had plenty of publicity about this committee's work, and we would have had other names suggested to us if these people who are constantly writing letters to us had names to offer.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. We have 20 or 30 names that I think we ought to look into.

Senator GREEN. I say, all that have been presented to the committee, I think we have examined.

Senator TYDINGS. I think we ought to reach a decision here today. I think we have done an exceedingly hard lot of work. This committee has worked hard and turned up all the essential facts. We have got to admit that there is a great field of endeavor here which we, as Cabot says, are not qualified to do. It would take us years, take much more money, take more investigators.

Senator GREEN. The point was to see whether there were present any cases of disloyalty in the State Department, or former employees of the State Department now in other Government departments. I think we have examined every case that comes within those two categories, and I think that was our duty. We want to make a report and file it and go on with other committees to continue the job that is considered necessary.

Senator TYDINGS. Is there any further discussion?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes. Before we vote on this matter, I would like to suggest a "for instance." I am compiling a list right now, which I will have this afternoon and you can have tomorrow afternoon, a list of a substantial number of witnesses to whom the trails in this thing lead.

Senator GREEN. Do they come under those two categories?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yes, indeed—associations and connections in the State Department.

Senator GREEN. I think that is going on a fishing expedition. A witness who may know of something in the State Department is one thing, but if you can give us the name of anyone in the State Department on whom there are reasonable grounds for suspecting his disloyalty will be another thing.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. For instance, I would like to make a request at this moment, that Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, Assistant Chief of Staff in G-2, General Headquarters in the Far Eastern Command, under General MacArthur, furnish a review of the sort in the Smedly case, with special reference to their American associations.

Senator TYDINGS. I think, Senator Hickenlooper, without taking issue with you, we could sit here and probably think of a thousand pertinent sidelights, and some of them would be more than sidelights, perhaps.

Senator GREEN. Excuse me, I started to leave. I am afraid I will have to leave in the middle of this.

Senator TYDINGS. Let's have a decision, Senator Green. Your motion is pending. Are you ready for the question?

Senator GREEN. I would like to have a vote on it.

Senator LODGE. That is, to have the counsel prepare a report?

Senator TYDINGS. And submit it to us on the evidence up to date.

Senator McMAHON. That doesn't commit us to anything except seeing a compendium of what we have got.

Senator TYDINGS. You are going to have to do this sometime. You might as well walk up to it now. There never will be a point where you will be finished.

Senator McMAHON. I personally, in voting for this motion, want it understood as meaning in my mind that we are going to have an orderly presentation of the work of the committee to date. When I take a look at that report—I shouldn't call it a report; I should call it a memorandum of work that has been done—it would be very helpful to me in charting what I think should be the future course of the committee.

Senator GREEN. That is my suggestion.

Senator LODGE. Is it your thought that there should be a draft of a final report?

Senator GREEN. To date.

Senator LODGE. I don't like that word "final." I don't think the public will take it as final.

Senator GREEN. A draft to date of the work we have accomplished is what I would like to see. Can we decide we ought to fill in this gap or that gap or decide we ought to do this or follow up something else, so that we can have a definite statement of what we have done up to date?

Senator TYDINGS. My point is this, that we ought to take our hearings as of today, and we ought to have a report drafted for them to see whether we can agree to turn this over to the full committee, with our recommendations about its pursuit of this whole field of operations thereon.

Senator GREEN. We may make a great many changes in the report.

Senator TYDINGS. We wouldn't all agree, we will want this changed and that changed, but we will have to start sometime. I imagine the report will be pretty long. We have got a hundred-and-some people to deal with.

Senator LODGE. Let me say this. I think that I have some basic assumptions about this whole situation, which will not make it possible for me to sign this report.

Senator TYDINGS. I would suggest as an alternative that each man draw his own report and submit it and see where we can meet.

Senator LODGE. I have no objection to the staff working up any kind of a document that they desire, but I want to make it clear that as far as I am concerned, I don't think I will be able to sign it, because my basic assumptions about this whole proceeding are different.

Senator TYDINGS. That is all right. I am willing to start on my report. What I would like to do is get it here and tell you what I am going to say, and if you don't agree with it, make one of your own, but I want a report on the work. I think our work is pretty well concluded, if you want my opinion.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't think it has even started, Mr. Chairman.

Senator TYDINGS. You disagree with me?

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I disagree with you.

Senator TYDINGS. But I disagree with you, so there we are.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I mention just one case here?

Senator TYDINGS. Mr. Morris, we can mention cases from now until doomsday.

Mr. MORRIS. It is in the record, Senator. May I just finish?

Mr. TYDINGS. Of course, you are not a member of the committee. When we want counsel to speak, we will ask them, but I am going to let you speak. However, that is a matter for the committee to decide.

Senator LODGE. I would like to hear what he has to say.

Mr. MORRIS. There is a case of a man named Theodore Geiger. He has been an employee of the State Department. He is now one of Paul Hoffman's top assistants. He is doing work that is quasi-State Department in character. I have gone and gotten some witnesses together who will testify that he was a member of the same Communist Party unit as they were, and I think that we would be delinquent if in the face of this evidence that is now on the record—

Senator TYDINGS. Why didn't you tell us this? Why did you wait until this hour to tell me?

Mr. MORRIS. I am not waiting, Senator. One day Senator Green made me a witness and I put it all in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. You haven't told me about it. This is the first I have heard about it.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I assume that you are aware of everything in the record.

Senator TYDINGS. No. There are some things in the record I haven't been able to read.

Mr. MORRIS. Certainly Mr. Morgan knows it. I have mentioned it several times to him.

Senator GREEN. That wouldn't have anything to do with my motion.

Senator TYDINGS. Turn it over to the FBI or do something else with it. I would like to get a decision here. We don't want to waste this afternoon.

Senator Green has recommended that the counsel prepare a report which will review the work that we have done, and that it may be used as a basis for committee action or individual action upon the matters we have already had under examination. Is that substantially it?

Senator GREEN. That is substantially it, yes.

Senator TYDINGS. Do you want to add to it?

Senator GREEN. No. I accepted that as a basis for conclusions which we may later reach.

Senator McMAHON. Before voting I would like to say that I think it is a profitable thing to do, because we have been in existence now for how long, Mr. Chairman?

Senator TYDINGS. We are going on our fifth month.

Senator McMAHON. Fifth month. I would like to see a review, and in a form that I can very easily digest, of what we have already adduced in the record and, measuring that against our resolution of instructions, to see exactly where, in my mind, we are, and it is for that purpose of being helpful to me that I vote aye on the motion.

Senator TYDINGS. All those in favor will signify by saying "aye."

(Chorus of "ayes.")

Senator TYDINGS. Opposed?

(Chorus of "noes.")

Senator TYDINGS. All those in favor will signify by raising their hands.

(A show of hands.)

Senator McMAHON. Before we finally take a record vote, can I ask the basis of the objection for getting counsel to submit a brief to us? Perhaps I don't understand.

Senator LODGE. I have many basic objections.

Senator McMAHON. It seems to me like a sensible thing to make use of our counsel to give us a brief of what we have already done.

Senator LODGE. In the first place, there is the use of the word "conclusion" or "concluding," which Senator Green inserted into his motion. Senator Green is a man who understands the language and uses it very carefully, as I have had occasion to learn many times from my associations with him. The idea of that word "conclusion" is flatly at variance with my idea that this thing is by no means concluded and will not be concluded until we have a trained bipartisan commission that will make an independent investigation. That is one thing. Sec-

ondly, my whole basic assumption about this whole situation is so different that I think I would be misconstruing my own position if I were to vote for this particular motion.

Senator GREEN. We must make some sort of a report, must we not?

Senator LODGE. My position is that the thing we ought to do is to report out a resolution, setting up a trained bipartisan commission of experts to make an independent investigation.

Senator GREEN. That may be a conclusion, but we must make a report of what we have done, surely.

Senator TYDINGS. Cabot, what will we do with what we have already done; take it down and turn it over to them without reaching any conclusions?

Senator GREEN. Conclusions are a separate matter. It doesn't have to be a conclusion, not this report. It is just for a basis.

Senator LODGE. A basis for conclusions.

Senator GREEN. In other words, the conclusion might be that we can't reach any definite conclusion. That might be the conclusion we will reach.

Senator LODGE. I think you have got the votes to carry the motion.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't want to carry any motion by sheer force.

Senator McMAHON. I tried to frame what I interpret it to be, a working paper to give me the benefit of what has already been done in this committee period. Now what I do with the working memorandum when I get it and read it is a horse of another color. But I can't see why counsel can't prepare a working memorandum and submit it to us without any vote at all. I am quite willing to vote.

Senator GREEN. I've got to go. It is always a half hour, or another hour, or 2 hours.

Senator TYDINGS. I know, but this may save you two or three more committee meetings, where we would go over the same ground again.

Let me suggest that counsel prepare a tentative report to submit to the members of this committee, that each man prepare, if he wishes, such report as he wants and such recommendations as he wants, and that we pool those here and see if we can reach collectively or individually a basis for bringing our present hearings to a close and passing it on with recommendations for further action.

Senator GREEN. If it would suit Senator Lodge better, I would just call it an interim report.

Senator LODGE. You see, I start in with this basic assumption.

Senator TYDINGS. Would you object to an interim report?

Senator LODGE. I don't object to your telling Mr. Morgan as chief counsel to prepare a summary of the testimony today, if you want to, although to me it wouldn't be a document of much significance.

Senator TYDINGS. What I wanted to do was to find out whether we could tell the country what we found out up to now and then go on from there in any other field we want.

Senator LODGE. Let me answer you this way. My basic assumption is that in 1945, at the end of VE-day, those who were running this Government utterly failed to sense the new realities of the situation; that that showed itself in the fact that no reason was ever given for maintaining our Armed Forces; so that a clamor developed to not just demobilize, but to disintegrate our Armed Forces to a point where we had no influence left. In the case of the State Department, that

revealed itself in this carrying into the service of the State Department 4,000 people from these temporary war agencies, with no screening whatever, many of whom were totally unfit to be in the Government.

Senator GREEN. That all ought to be in the report.

Senator TYDINGS. It is in the report already.

Senator LODGE. That the administration in 1945 totally failed to sense the realities of the world situation.

Senator TYDINGS. Yes, sir, it is all in there.

Senator LODGE. I will be interested to read that.

Senator TYDINGS. It is all in there. We have got a complete explanation of it.

Senator LODGE. I would like to see that report before I vote.

Senator GREEN. Certainly.

Senator LODGE. If it has got that in there it will be interesting.

Senator TYDINGS. There isn't anything that isn't completely open and aboveboard.

Senator McMAHON. I deny that it is in the record, that at the end of the war the administration totally failed—I deny that that is in the record.

Senator LODGE. I thought you would.

Senator McMAHON. I, incidentally, deny the truth of it.

Senator LODGE. I thought you would.

Senator McMAHON. If you want to say it was the administration, say it was the American people, all the American people, everybody in the world, but that is immaterial to this record.

Senator LODGE. Senator, if the leaders of this country had said to the American people that we must maintain our Armed Forces of a certain size and bear a certain relation to the other armed forces in the world, the clamor to demobilize would never have arisen. It was the lack of real leadership. The reason we are in such trouble today is because of that.

Senator TYDINGS. My dear friend, we have got a proposition before us whereby we have been working going on our fifth month. We have assembled a vast amount of evidence about matters that are pertinent to this inquiry and upon which the public ought to be informed. The suggestion before us is that counsel prepare a report on the evidence we have taken up to now. It doesn't necessarily mean that we have to quit there or stop there. We can do whatever we please. But I would like to make a report on what we have done up to now, with recommendations flowing from that about what should be done in the future. Now, could there be any objection to that?

Senator LODGE. I understand that the text has already been drafted of this report; is that right?

Senator TYDINGS. I have asked Mr. Morgan to keep his text as current as he could. He has got a lot of it done. I haven't read it.

Senator LODGE. Why do you need the motion if he is writing it?

Senator TYDINGS. Senator Hickenlooper got one current, and you have got one current. Now let me get this straight. All you have got before you is this: Here is our evidence.

Senator GREEN. What are you arguing for?

Senator TYDINGS. Will you let me make this statement?

Senator GREEN. Yes; certainly.



Senator TYDINGS. Here is our evidence. Why shouldn't we make a finding on the evidence we have got up to now, plus such recommendations as we want to make based on the evidence?

Senator GREEN. I want to get the statement of evidence before I make any findings.

Senator TYDINGS. I am not talking about findings.

Senator GREEN. You just said findings.

Senator TYDINGS. I said we ought to make a report based on the evidence up to now.

Senator GREEN. You said findings.

Senator TYDINGS. Well, do you want to vote on it?

Senator McMAHON. Does that include the 81 down at the White House?

Senator TYDINGS. It looks to be like we are just afraid. What are we afraid about?

Senator LODGE. I am not afraid to make my report.

Senator McMAHON. Nor I mine.

Senator TYDINGS. All those in favor of the Green resolution will signify by saying "aye."

Senator GREEN. Aye.

Senator McMAHON. Aye.

Senator TYDINGS. All those opposed signify by saying "no."

Senator LODGE. No.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. No.

Senator TYDINGS. Two votes no and two the other way.

Go ahead, Mr. Morgan, and prepare your report. The meeting is in recess.

Senator McMAHON. I never saw a committee where the committee did not vote unanimously to have a report of its work brought to its attention.

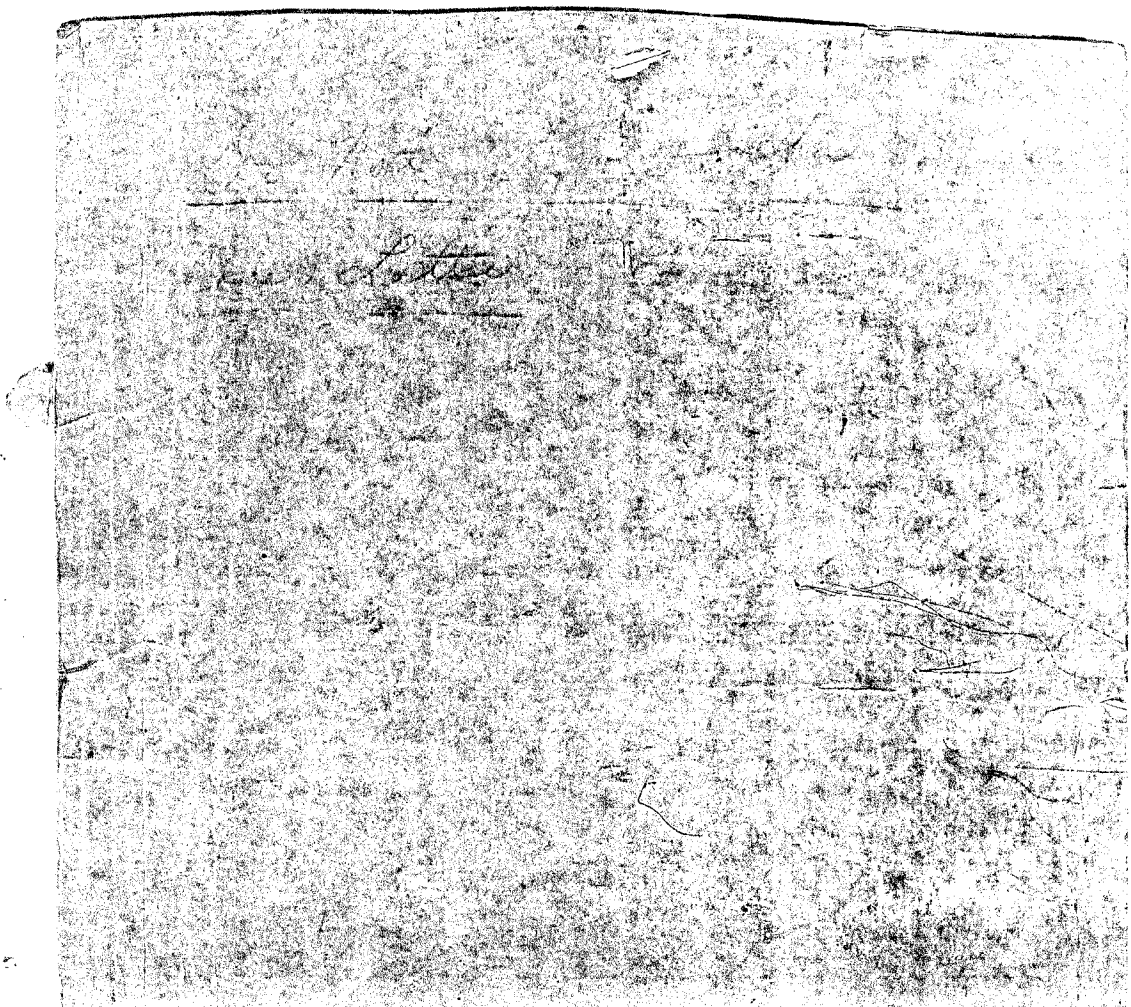
Senator LODGE. That shows how controversial this subject is.

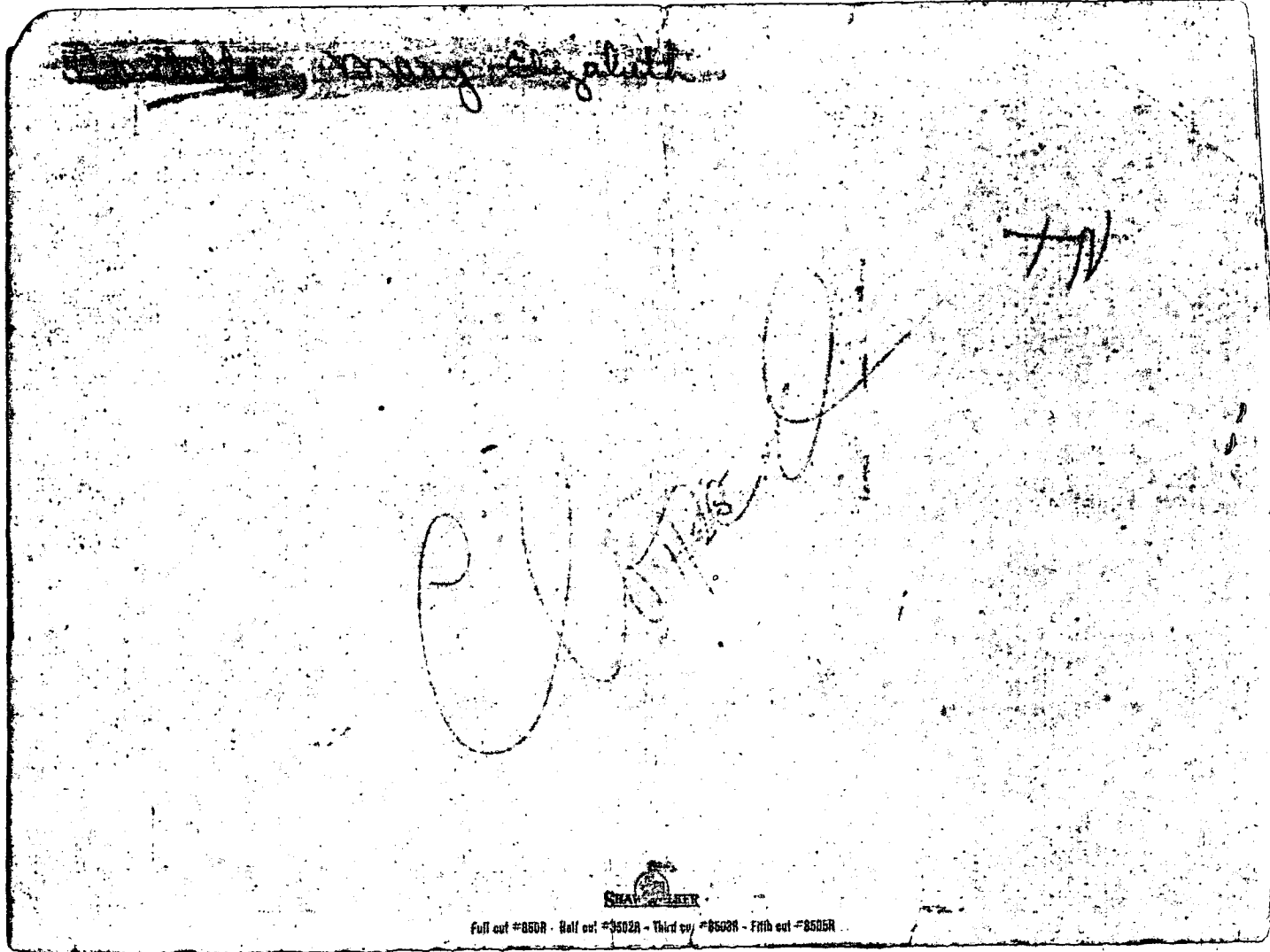
Mr. MORGAN. Pursuant to the committee's approval of this action, I am at this point incorporating in the record all of the various items which we thus far have collected in the office of the staff.

(These items are included in the appendix to the record at pp. 1756 to 2509.)

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

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# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Waikart

DATE: October 2, 1950

FROM : Mr. Nichols

SUBJECT: HEARINGS BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE (Tydings Committee)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Boardman \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

For record purposes, there are attached Parts 1, 2, and 3 of printed testimony of Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session, pursuant to S. Res. 231 a resolution to investigate whether there are employees in the State Department disloyal to the United States.

This testimony should be indexed.

Attachment

LFN:lch

FBI  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/27/85 BY 9145/cj/f

#264,078 3-19-86 9145 JFE/AG/CAL  
COPY SP-7 mac/DB 6/2/87

*Typed this copy of the cover letter to be placed with the orig. 4/1 and 5-10-50 JFN*

121-23278-267X12

part 2 applicable

pages 1485-2510

part 3

pages 2511-2525

45 2-24-52

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**BE SCANNED**

DESCRIPTION

Large Books

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 231

TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
UNLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

MAY 26, 20, 25, 27, 28,  
JUNE 8, 12, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 1950

Committee on Foreign Relations

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by letter 1/23/76 - pp. 159, 158  
Per FOIA E - 4

31859

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RE  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 231

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

PART I

MAY 1, 2, 3, 4, 20, 21, 22  
27, 28, APRIL 5, 6  
5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 21, 22

1950

Printed for the use

31860

CONTENTS

Testimony of—

- Bielaski, Frank Brooks, president of Corporation, New York City
- Bess, Demaree, associate editor of the Se
- Browder, Earl Russell
- Brunauer, Esther Caukin, Assistant T
- UNESCO Relations Staff, State Deps
- Budenz, Louis Francis, assistant profes
- University
- Dodd, Dr. Bella V., attorney, New Yo
- Field, Frederick Vanderbilt
- Ford, Peyton, assistant to the Attorne
- Hanson, Haldore, chief of technical c
- Department
- Heald, Robert L., assistant counsel, F
- Hitchcock, Robert M., attorney, Bu
- Holmes, Gen. Julius C., Foreign Serv
- London
- Hoover, J. Edgar, Director, Federal
- Jaffe, Philip J., former editor of Am
- Jessup, Philip C., Ambassador at L
- Kenyon, Dorothy, attorney, New
- Kerley, Larry E., reporter
- Ladd, D. Milton, assistant
- gation
- Larsen, Emmanuel S., for
- Lattimore, C. n, director
- national R. lous at Jo
- McCarthy, for Josep
- McGrath, J. ward, the
- McInerney, James M., As
- Criminal Division, Depa
- Morris, t, assistant
- Nichols, J., Assistant
- Nicholson, Donald L., C
- ment
- Peurifoy, John
- Administrat
- Richardson, S
- Service, Joh
- Snow, Gen. C
- Department
- Thorpe, Brig
- Tyler, Lyon
- mittes
- Utley, Freda
- Van Beuren,
- Vardaman, J



**STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION**

31894

**HEARINGS**

BEFORE A

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

**EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS**

**SECOND SESSION**

**PURSUANT TO**

**S. Res. 231**

**A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES**

**PART 3**

**JUNE 28, 1960**

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



121-23278

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

24035

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 231**

RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
WHOSE LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES

PART 2

APPENDIX

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



23278-267812

DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

HEARINGS 31906

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

S. Res. 231

A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES

PART 2

APPENDIX

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

to the point in his dealings with anybody. He is plain and shifty. He is personally incapable of assuming a reverential mood toward the generalissimo, and he is impatient with incompetent meddling in military command. Although General Stilwell is anything but arrogant, the generalissimo complained that the American was trying to subjugate him.

But with the situation in China as it is, no diplomatic genius could have overcome the generalissimo's basic unwillingness to risk his armies in battle with the Japanese. Amid the intrigue and corruption of China's political and military administration, General Stilwell has been a lone man trying to follow orders, improve the combat efficiency of the Chinese Army, force open the Burma Road and get China back into the war.

Now he has been forced out of China by the political system that has been consistently blocking him and America is acquiescing in a system that is undemocratic in spirit as well as fact and is also unrepresentative of the Chinese people, who are good allies.

EXHIBIT No. 25

[From the New York Times, Friday, March 23, 1945]

CHINESE REDS SEEM HOPEFUL OF UNITY—U. S. POLITICAL AIDE BACK FROM AREA  
DECLARES COMMUNISTS HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT

WASHINGTON, March 22.—Raymond P. Ludden, foreign service officer attached to Lieut. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer's staff as political adviser, returning from an eight-month stay in the Communist territory in China, reported today that the Communists are fighting the Japanese, that they have popular support in their area, and that the people of the region all hope to obtain national unity in China.

Mr. Ludden was one of two State Department officials to accompany a United States Army observer section into the Communist areas last July to observe and report on conditions there. The mission was primarily military—to obtain military intelligence relating to such matters as order of battle, air fields, and numerical strength, as well as such correlated matters as weather reports and topography. They wore the Chinese Communist uniforms on the trip.

Traveling mostly by muleback and afoot, the party went over mountain trails and forest tracks, crossing and recrossing the Japanese lines, always accompanied by a strong escort of Chinese guerrillas. The mission went by plane from Chungking to Yanan and then by mule crossed the Yellow River into the Communist area that forms part of the region supposed to be occupied by the Japanese. The party traversed Shansi and spent a long period in Hopel, and from there various sections of the party made side trips, one pushing as far as Peiping. The return trip was more direct, but over more difficult country, and was made almost 70 percent of the way afoot.

MEMBERS OF ROUTE ARMY

Mr. Ludden said the officers and men who accompanied them all were of what the Chinese in the region call the Eighth Route Army, the chief binding link for the various separate administrative groups in the different sections where the Communist bands are active. He said the Chinese considered part of their forces as regulars and part as guerrillas, but that all were what we would call guerrillas, both for their way of life in fastness retreats and their raid and skirmishes with their enemies, the Japanese. One member of the party was killed during one of these skirmishes, and at another time the group was obliged to make a forced march of twenty-six hours without food or rest to escape being intercepted by the Japanese.

Mr. Ludden did not wish to comment on the political situation, but said they all hope for a united China, and that he found a great admiration for the United States among the soldiers and the people that he encountered in this area.

He said the program supported by the peasants was not particularly Communist in character, but that it was indigenous to the peasantry of China. In its simplest terms the program preached by all these local leaders was in terms that everyone could understand:

"A full belly, warm back, and nobody knocking them around."  
"It's continuous skirmishing he said the feeling is among these who has no gun gets pushed around."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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REQUEST LOG

MIDNIGHT

SUPPLEMENTAL DATA—Continued

	Page
Letter to Hon. Millard Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary, dated June 19, 1950, enclosing the following State Department press releases, which are set out in full thereafter-----	1818
Press release No. 491, May 12, 1950, State Department analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors-----	1818
Press release No. 501, May 15, 1950. State Department's analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech at Atlantic City-----	1825
Press release No. 529, May 20, 1950. State Department's analysis of Senator McCarthy's speech at Chicago-----	1826
Press release No. 549, May 25, 1950. State Department's analysis of some of the factual inaccuracies in the speech delivered by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at Atlantic City, May 15, 1950, to the Sons of the American Revolution-----	1834
Press release No. 553, May 26, 1950. State Department's comment on Senator McCarthy's speech at Rochester, N. Y.-----	1840
Press release No. 558, May 27, 1950. Department of State's analysis of some of the factual inaccuracies in the speech delivered by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at Rochester, N. Y., on May 25, 1950, to the National Convention of the Catholic Press Association of the United States-----	1841
Press release No. 614, June 9, 1950. Department of State's comment on Senator McCarthy's statement that a photostat he produced on the Senate floor June 6, constituted proof that three men individually listed by the FBI as Communist agents in 1946 are still working in the Department-----	1845
Memorandum No. 19, September 21, 1948—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Classification according to section 3, part III, of E. O. 9835 of organizations previously designated by the Attorney General as within the purview of the Executive order-----	1848
Memorandum No. 43, April 25, 1949—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Attorney General's letter of April 21, 1949, listing additional organizations designated under and classified in accordance with section 3, part III of Executive Order 9835-----	1851
Memorandum No. 44, July 21, 1949—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Certain organizations and groups connected with organizations previously designated and classified by the Attorney General under section 3, part III of Executive Order 9835-----	1853
Memorandum No. 49, September 27, 1949—to all executive departments and agencies from Seth W. Richardson, Chairman, Loyalty Review Board. Subject: Attorney General's letter of September 26, 1949, concerning change in name of an organization designated and classified under section 3, part III of Executive Order 9835-----	1853
Letter to Robert L. Heald, assistant counsel, Foreign Relations Subcommittee, from Conrad E. Snow, Chairman, Loyalty Security Board, dated June 23, 1950, setting out current statistics on loyalty program-----	1854
Letter to Hon. Millard E. Tydings from Stephen Brunauer, dated May 8, 1950. Enclosed was (1) a statement which Brunauer wrote about himself; and (2) a file of testimonial letters—with a copy of his request for the letters; and (3) a copy of the statement about Brunauer which was released to the Navy Department on March 13, 1950-----	1855
Letter to Hon. Millard Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary, dated July 6, 1950, relative to appointment of Dr. Harlow Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee-----	1864
Letter to Hon. Millard Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary, dated May 10, 1950, relative to appointment of Dr. Harlow Morgan, chief counsel, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee-----	1865
Letter to Hon. Millard Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary, dated May 9, 1950, enclosing copies of a statement made orally by him, dated April 7 and 22, 1950-----	1870
Letter to Hon. Millard Tydings from John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary, dated May 9, 1950-----	1873

1970  
 1971  
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Senator GREEN. I don't think that is right at all. It would seem then, as though we knew it at the time.

Senator TYDINGS. We asked for it at the time.

Mr. MORGAN. Here, for example, is a communication from the Department of Justice, pursuant to a specific request made of Mr. Inerney for the Larsen affidavit filed in court.

Senator GREEN. And, at a hearing, it was agreed that it should be furnished us.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Senator GREEN. That is all right. I thought you meant an independent letter from the chairman about some matter that we had discussed at some hearing and, therefore, you would put the whole thing back in that hearing.

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator TYDINGS. Frequently during the course of the hearing, Senator Green, if you will recall, we were requested to get some information, which I have endeavored to do, and it should be put in the record at the time the request was made, although it came in later, to show its relative to what we had under discussion.

Senator GREEN. That is all right.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead, Mr. Morgan.

Mr. MORGAN. If the chairman desires, I will be happy to read all this material into the record. However, I would much prefer, if possible—it is all here, available to anyone who wishes to review it—merely to indicate to the stenographer, not necessarily here and not what it is in order that he can indicate in our record that it has been incorporated as such.

Senator LODGE. I am interested, Mr. Chairman, in having access to these papers while I am still studying this whole subject, so that I can know what is in it to help me in my study.

Senator TYDINGS. You sure can, and it will be made available to you whenever you want it.

Senator LODGE. When can my assistants look through these papers?

Mr. MORGAN. You name it—anytime.

Senator LODGE. Anytime?

Senator TYDINGS. Anytime at all.

Senator LODGE. All right.

Senator TYDINGS. Go ahead.

Mr. MORGAN. I assume, then, that it will not be necessary at this point to incorporate by reading all of this into the record.

Senator TYDINGS. I don't see any point in it, but any member of the committee, anytime, ought to be able to go through this and see anything that we have here.

Mr. MORGAN. Pursuant to the committee's approval of this action I am at this point incorporating in the record all of the various items which we thus far have collected in the office of the staff.<sup>1</sup> (Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

<sup>1</sup> These items are included in the appendix to the record at pp. 1756 to 2509.

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~~LOG~~ LOG

~~MIDNIGHT~~

~~LAST TWO NIGHTS~~

**STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION**

**HEARINGS**

BEFORE A

**SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION**

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 231**

**A RESOLUTION TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER THERE ARE  
EMPLOYEES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES.**

**PART I**

**MARCH 8, 9, 13, 14, 20, 21, 27, 28; APRIL 5, 6, 20, 25, 27, 28;  
MAY 1, 2, 3, 4, 31, JUNE 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 1950**



STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE LOYALTY INVESTIGATION

EXHIBIT No. 26

AMERICAN COUNCIL INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, INC.  
NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D. C. CHICAGO-SAN FRANCISCO-HONOLULU  
1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.  
ELdorado 5-1750.

JUNE 11, 1945

The Honorable Joseph C. Grew,  
Department of State, Washington, D. C.

My DEAR Mr. Grew: My attention has been drawn to reports in the press alleging that Mr. John S. Service, recently arrested in connection with the release of unauthorized information, held a press conference under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations in our Washington office on his return from China. In your information, I would like to state that this report is completely inaccurate. The Institute of Pacific Relations does not hold press conferences of this character. Mr. Service was one of some seventeen people who had been invited as guests of honor at small cherry parties given by the Washington office for the benefit of members of the American Council living in the Washington area. It is customary on these occasions to ask the guests to talk in as frank a way as they feel free to about matters of interest to members of the organization, and most of those whom we have invited have complied.

In addition to Mr. Service, we have had such people as Sir Frederick Curleston, Mr. G. V. Zan, Mrs. Pauline, Ambassador Paul Neggiar, Senator Carlos Garcia, the late Honorable Walter Nash, Mr. Edmund Clubb, Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, and others.

When both you and Dr. Moravcsik have attended these meetings from time to time, I am sure that you, personally, realize that these press reports about Mr. Service's public talk in the press conference were inaccurate, but I did want to set the record straight.

With cordial best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(s) Raymond Dennett  
RAYMOND DENNETT, Secretary

EXHIBIT No. 27

JUNE 18, 1945

In reply refer to CA

RAYMOND DENNETT,  
Secretary, American Council  
Institute of Pacific Relations,  
1 East Fifty-fourth Street, New York 22, N. Y.

My DEAR Mr. Dennett: I have received your letter of June 11, 1945, in which you notified me that press reports alleging that Mr. John S. Service had held a press conference under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations in your Washington office are completely inaccurate.

I wish to thank you for your courtesy in bringing the foregoing information to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

(s) Joseph C. Grew  
Acting Secretary

JOHN S. SERVICE, MR.  
6-1-45

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXECUTIVE SESSION

S. RES. 231

Tuesday, March 21, 1950

United States Senate,  
Committee on Foreign Relations,  
Subcommittee Appointed Under S. Res. 231,  
Washington, D. C.

Senator Millard E. Tydings, Chairman of the Subcommittee

Francis O. Wilcox, Chief of Staff,  
C. C. O'Day, Clerk.

FRANKLIN A. STEINKO  
STENOTYPE REPORTER  
1420 NEW YORK AVE., N. W.  
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

ENCLOSURE

*Handwritten signature and scribbles*

*1 1 2 6 -*

EXECUTIVE SESSION

S. RES. 231

Tuesday, March 21, 1950

United States Senate,  
Committee on Foreign Relations,  
Subcommittee Appointed Under S. Res. 231,

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:30 o'clock p.m. in Room G-23, United States Capitol, Senator Millard E. Tydings, Chairman of the Subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Tydings (chairman of the subcommittee), Green, McMahon, and Hickenlooper.

Also present: Senator McCarthy.

Senator Tydings. This meeting has been called by the Chairman, after conferring with Senator McCarthy, so that Senator McCarthy might give to the committee the name of the very important person in the State Department concerning whom he desired to give the committee information, and Senator McCarthy is here and ready to proceed.

Senator McCarthy. There is nothing mysterious about this one. This is the case of Owen Lattimore. This has all been put in the record already, plus some exhibits.

You understand when I talk about what you will find in the files, this is to the best of my knowledge.

Senator Tydings. That is right.

Now, particularly, you are meaning the loyalty file in

this matter?

Senator McCarthy. I don't know what part of this you will find in the loyalty file.

Senator Tydings. How about the Civil Service file?

Senator McCarthy. I understand that the Civil Service Commission has in its file what ultimately goes in the loyalty file. The benefit of getting the Civil Service file as well as the State Department loyalty file is largely because in that way you have some check as to what is in the State Department loyalty file.

I might say on that, even assuming that there is no attempt to rifle the State Department loyalty files, assuming they are protecting them as fully as they can, the system of filing them is such that it is entirely possible that you will find many things missing from the loyalty file which are in the Civil Service Commission file, but actually there should be the same material in the State Department loyalty file that is in the Civil Service file.

To get to this fellow Lattimore, for Lattimore's stuff I think you will have to rely quite largely upon the F.B.I. file.

Senator McMahon. Have you contacted Hoover? Is Hoover in favor of displaying the F.B.I. files?

Senator McCarthy. I wouldn't know.

(Discussion of Mr. Lattimore was continued

off the record.)

Senator Tydings. It appears that he was once an adviser of Chiang Kai-shek. Then, when last year the State Department "White Paper" was written it actively reflected the thinking of Mr. Lattimore. In the "Atlantic Monthly" Mr. Lattimore wrote, "Sound policy would avoid premature excessive strategic development in the Far East." Again, "United States policy should aim to increase the ability of countries in Asia to do without Russia." Again, "For the problem of recognition of the new Government of China, the United Nations offers the ideal avenue to a solution. If a majority of the non-Communist countries in Europe, Latin America and Asia should vote to seat the new Chinese representative (meaning Communist) to the United Nations, the United States should not vote against that verdict," and so on and so on.

That is from the "New York World-Telegram and Sun" of the 15th of March, 1950.

Senator McCarthy. That gives you some of his background. He has also written a considerable amount. In case you care to get some of his writings, he wrote a book "Solution In Asia." I haven't read it at all. I have a few excerpts from it. He wrote for "Pacific Affairs." But this is entirely separate and apart from his writings. As I say, when I give you this information it is to the best of my knowledge, and I am absolutely confident that this is the case that you really

Franklin A. Steinko  
Kass Bukling  
Washington, D. C.

4  
should find--well, it's explosive. If you crack this case it will be the biggest espionage case in the history of this country. That is my own personal thought on it.

He has been over in Baltimore, as you know, with Johns Hopkins. I don't know when he has been on the payroll of the State Department. I understand that he has very free access to a desk there and access to all the files, and comes in whenever he cares to.

Jessup has had a very close relationship with Lattimore. I personally think that Jessup does not have the slightest conception of what Lattimore is doing. I think that Jessup thinks that Lattimore is a liberal individual who feels perhaps that Communist Russia is more accurate than most of us feel Russia is. Beyond that I don't have anything that indicates that Jessup has the picture of Lattimore's activities, but I do think the files will show you that Lattimore has been using Jessup to do the things which he, Lattimore, himself couldn't do.

Lattimore is now, as I understand, over in the Khyber Pass. As I say, on this your information will be a lot more accurate than mine. I do not think he is on the payroll of the Department of State or any government agency. I understand that he was invited over by the Afghanistan Government. Khyber Pass, as you know, is the one route from Russia over to the new area. What he is doing there I don't know. I do not think





Senator McCarthy. No, I don't refuse to answer.

Senator Tydings. We do not want to know your sources. But what I think we are entitled to know is, is this a speculation or have you had some contact with the files in one way or another that makes you think you have some accurate information?

Senator McCarthy. I am about as certain as I could be of anything as to what those files will show. As to whether I have seen them, who might have helped me get information, or things like that--

Senator Tydings. I do not want to know that.

Senator McCarthy. I know you do not.

Senator McMahon. Let me point out that that is a very material question. I want to make my question clear. We have not had any decision from the Executive Department as to whether we are going to see the F.B.I. files. If the Senator from Wisconsin is permitted the F.B.I. files, then I do not know why this committee should not be permitted to see the F.B.I. files.

Senator Tydings. I would rather think, from what he has already said, that he has talked with somebody who has seen the files in whom he has confidence. I think it would help our investigation, and I have no ulterior purpose to serve except frankness and honesty as far as it is permissible, and I assure you it comes from the heart: I think you might

say, "I haven't personally seen the files, but I know a man who has seen the files whose name I won't disclose, in whom I have confidence, who tells me this and that and the other thing is in the files." In other words, it will help us in our investigation if you will testify along that line.

Senator McCarthy. I think that is a very reasonable request, and I might say that I have not seen the original F.B.I. files.

Senator McMahon. The original F.B.I. files. Have you seen a copy of them?

Senator McCarthy. I think, Senator, whether I have seen a copy or not, not having seen the original I would have no way of knowing whether I saw a copy unless I compared it with the original.

Senator Tydings. Have you seen what purports to be a copy, or have you got your evidence from somebody who has seen the files? That is all.

Senator McCarthy. Let me say this. To the best of my knowledge, and I think it is good, I think it has been proven so far in dates and places that I have been giving the committee, the F.B.I. file will show in detail not the case merely of a man who happens to favor Russia, not the case of a man who may disagree with what we think about Russia, but a man who is definitely an espionage agent.

Senator McMahon. See how he goes away from the question?

Senator Tydings. He has tried to answer it. Let me say this. He has said this: He has said he has not seen the files, but he said if we saw the files he has reason to believe that this, that and the other thing he is going to outline would be in the files. I would like him to say that. I do not want him to give away anything; I do not want him to name anybody; I do not want to know his sources and do not want him to do any of that.

Senator McMahon. Neither do I.

Senator Tydings. But I would like to know if you have seen what purports to be a copy of the file or whether someone in whom you have confidence has seen the file and the following things are likely to turn up there. That is all.

Senator McCarthy. I know this:

Senator Tydings. I can not see where there is any harm in answering that question.

Senator McCarthy. It is the source of my information. If divulging that would actually aid in getting at the facts in the Lattimore case you would have it.

Senator Tydings. I will not ask you for the source.

Senator McCarthy. I will stretch a point a long way if the committee thinks information will be of benefit. Even though I do not think so, I will go as far as I can in getting the information. But where we have something that clearly, in my opinion, will be of no benefit to the committee in arriving

at the facts, then I just think it is a waste of time to go into those things.

Senator Tydings. Listen; I do not want to get your sources, and I will never ask you intentionally to disclose any of the sources that fortify you in what you want to say.

Senator McCarthy. I appreciate that.

Senator Tydings. I do not want to know it by indirection; I do not want to put anybody on the trail to find out. I am not interested in that.

Senator McMahon. Let me add that I feel the same way.

Senator Tydings. But I am interested in knowing whether or not you have seen a copy of the files or whether or not somebody told you what was in the files, simply as a means of weighing the credence of what you say. That is not going to stop us from looking at any files we can get hold of. Do you understand me?

But suppose I get hold of the files after this hearing and find nothing in them, just to illustrate. I would want to ask why certain papers are not in those files. Do you see my point?

Senator McCarthy. I do, yes.

Let me say this, and I am certainly not trying to avoid your question. I do not know if you have had any experience with the F.B.I. files or not. They are serialized and numbered. You could take things out of those files. It would

Kass Gullik  
Franklin A. Steinko  
Washington, D. C.

be extremely difficult.

In the Kansas City case, which was not made public, I do not believe, some of the F.B.I. files were obtained, and it did appear that a sizeable number of documents had been removed. But the staff apparently--Flanagan and Rogers, I believe, were on the staff--had no difficulty at all detecting the number of documents that were removed. I think fortunately we did nothing about that publicly.

I was giving a picture of the files. As I recall, the evidence was that Hoover did not know anything about any removals, and such like. I merely mention that to show you if you get those files I do not think you will have any trouble at all knowing what is in them.

I have not talked to Hoover about this. If I did, I do not suppose he would give me the information.

Senator Tydings. I haven't either.

Senator McCarthy. I think if, as Chairman of this committee, you take this testimony over to him and say "Is this substantially true?", with the respect I have for Hoover I am sure he won't lie to you.

I want to make it very clear that Mr. Hoover has not given me any information himself of any kind from the files.

Senator Tydings. I know that.

All that I am asking you is this. I do not want to know the source. I would appreciate it if you would tell me

whether or not you have seen--and it is not difficult to see a great many documents that are secret--what purports to be a copy of the files. You have said, I know, you have not seen the files; or whether someone in whom you have confidence has said "I believe you will find this stuff in the files." That is all I want to know, just yes or no, and you can go on with your story. There can't be any harm done by that question. It does not say who told you. I don't want to know that. I just would like to know the method.

Senator McCarthy. I hope you don't push that question. You ask that question; the next question, of course, if I were questioning and if I did want to find out what the sources were, would be "Have you seen a photostat?" Then, "How large a document was it?"

Senator Tydings. I will not ask you any of those questions.

Senator McCarthy. Anything that I would give you I think would tend to disclose the source of my information. I do not think the committee should ask for that.

Senator Hickenlooper. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Senator McCarthy this question: Are the sources of your information which you have alleged here with regard to Mr. Lattimore and what is contained in his file, in your opinion and judgment, of sufficient reliability so that you rely upon them utterly and sincerely in basing your allegations?

Senator McCarthy. That's right, and I am absolutely convinced beyond any doubt that if the committee sees that file they will agree with me whole-heartedly that I have perhaps under-stated the case rather than over-stated it.

Senator Tydings, I am as sincere as any man can be in this case. This man is the top of the whole ring of which Hiss was a part. I think you will find this: I think you will find that Stephen Brunauer--and as I say I do not have the definiteness about this that I have about the others--is tied up with that ring, and the No. 1 case that I gave you, Herbert Fierst. That was the No. 1 case of the eighty-one. He, incidentally, was post-audited by the Civil Service Commission the same as Service, and they sent it back to the State Department, I understand--the State Department loyalty board. Just what they requested I don't know, but they expressed dissatisfaction, and I understand the State Department loyalty board shortly after marked the case "Closed."

As I say, I do not feel my source of information on this is as reliable as the stuff on Lattimore. I believe, however, that you will undoubtedly find that Fierst and Brunauer are tied up with Lattimore in this case.

Senator McMahon. Can I ask a question: You apparently thought what I was trying to do was to get your source, in which I am not interested at all. I wish to point out to you that if the files are open to you as a Senator, as apparently



they must be, because you tell us what is in the F.B.I. files it is very material for us to know that in making our request for a look at the same files, because if they are going to be opened to Senator McCarthy they certainly ought to be open to a Senate Committee. So much for that.

Now let me ask you this question about Lattimore:

Senator Tydings. Before you leave that, I want to serve notice here on every man in this committee, and in your presence, that I am going to do everything that I can do to get every file that is requested. The reason I am proceeding as I am is that the precedents show clearly that if I issue a subpoena they can turn it down and there is nothing I can do about it. What I want to do is get the files. Anything that you can say or do that puts me in a position to get those files is going to help you to prove your case, assuming that these facts as you allege them are true.

Now, if you do not give me something to go on, if I want to go to Hoover and show him this testimony, if I say "I want you to read this", I want to ask you if you can devise a way where I can verify this or not. Unfortunately Mr. Hoover, for this hearing, has taken the position, so I am well advised although I have not talked with him, that the minute he ever discloses one of the F.B.I. files, in the future if he goes to somebody for an interview about John Smith, the person, knowing that the files were subsequently opened, is

going to refuse to be as frank with him as he would otherwise be, and he is scared of it.

I understand by the grapevine--I have nothing from the White House and nothing from any source except general gossip--that Hoover is protesting against the opening of any of these files, because F.B.I. reports are in the loyalty files.

Senator McMahon. But Mr. Hoover certainly will have to recognize--

Senator Tydings. Hoover is a right tough bird, and he isn't going to do this unless we can show him a particular circumstance that will justify him in making an exception. Mark my words!

Senator McMahon. But mark my words on this: If Mr. Hoover's files are going to be divulged to Senator McCarthy, and by him the contents of them to the press, then certainly the reason why we should not get them falls to the ground, because the Senator has made this charge against Lattimore. True, he did not attach his name to it last night, but he has made this charge. He has made it on the basis of the F.B.I. files.

Now, so long as a charge has been made on the basis of the files, I don't see how they are going to keep that F.B.I. file away from us. Therefore it is very material to find out whether the Senator from Wisconsin actually did have access to

those files.

Now, whether he physically had the file in his office or in his hands does not make a bit of difference. But did somebody read the file, somebody in a position of trust in the F.B.I., and give it to the Senator, or did he show him copies of the files?

That is why I thought it was very material to us to know the answer to that question.

Senator Tydings. I agree with you.

Senator McMahon. I would like to ask the Senator one further question right along that point.

Senator, in all of this information regarding Lattimore, which you say is so patent, which demonstrates him to be a bad egg, is there anything in your information to indicate that the Federal Bureau of Investigation turned over his case to any District Attorney or to the Attorney General or to the Assistant Attorney General for prosecution?

Senator McCarthy. I frankly do not know what the top men of the Department think on the subject of whether or not the case is ready for criminal action. I know this. I know that there are some who are aware of at least some of the facts--at least this is my best information--who feel that the case is ready for prosecution. I think you will find some in the Department who feel that the evidence is gotten in such a fashion that while it proves the guilt, it may not be in

such shape that it could be presented in court.

Senator Tydings. The answer is "No", that you do not know it has been turned over to anybody for prosecution up to now?

Senator McCarthy. Here is my thought on that, and I do not know too much about the procedure. I do not believe that they ever turn a case over. I think it is discussed with the Justice Department and somebody in Justice who is interested is kept apprised of the facts as they develop, and I believe that the attorneys over in Justice, in the Justice Department, are the ones who decide when they will take the case and start prosecution.

Senator McMahon. That is not entirely true. It is sort of a mixed question. I mean by that that it is a mixed decision. It is true that in some cases the daily reports or weekly reports go forward to the Criminal Division. In other cases, according to my memory--of course this is ten years ago or more--they go through as they finish a case.

The Justice Department, at least while I was there, did not undertake a prosecution unless the investigative department said "We have completed the investigation and we are through. In other words, we have done all we can."

If you did not have that system in force you would find that you would be springing cases with only half of the case being investigated, springing them publicly, and I think it is

very material to me to know, you see, and very important to know, whether this case has been turned over to the Criminal Division by the F.B.I. as a completed matter, or whether it is still in process between the Division and the F.B.I.

Senator Tydings. That would be a matter of record, and all you are asking Senator McCarthy is, does he know whether or not the matter has been put in the hands of the Department of Justice or any branch thereof for prosecution, and I take it from his answer that so far as he is advised, he does not know.

Senator McCarthy. That is correct.

Senator McMahon. You do not charge any dereliction in the prosecution forces of the Department? Do you charge any dereliction, from your present knowledge of the case, in the non-prosecution of the case?

Senator McCarthy. The answer to that is "No", for the reason that I do not know what the men in charge consider sufficient evidence to prosecute. One of the reasons why I wanted to take this in executive session is that it is entirely possible when you talk to Mr. Hoover or someone you may find that they feel they have a case that they could prosecute but they want this man, for all I know, left in the Department so they can follow up other leads.

Senator McMahon. You see, that is very important to our investigation, to know whether there is any charge--

(Discussion was continued off the record.)

Senator Tydings. What we want to know is this: Why do you think, in addition to what you have told us, that this man Lattimore is a bad fellow and the head of a spy ring, and so on? What makes you think that yourself?

Senator McCarthy. I think this:

(Discussion was continued off the record.)

Senator Green. I have been trying to listen and find out, but I have not yet found out, what the charge is.

Senator McCarthy. I think he is one of the top espionage agents. This man, I think, is one of the top espionage agents. If it is necessary--it may be, under your resolution--for you to charge him with being that, I will be glad to do it. In my opinion he is, and I don't know what kind of charge I should make, but I will be glad to make any charge that is necessary.

I am very serious about this. One of the reasons I hope you get this file is that I think it will dispel in the minds of some of the members of the committee this feeling: Some of them, I believe, have had the honest feeling that this was being done for political purposes. I think if I did not bring this forth I would be completely derelict in my duty, and I think after you see this case then we will be able to sit down and just man-to-man across the table discuss the other cases a lot more freely. In other words, if you get

Washington, D. C.  
Kast Building

this, this will prove that I am completely wrong or it will prove I am 100 percent right. If it proves I am 100 percent right, I know in your mind no longer will there be any suspicion, as I think you have had that and most likely honestly so, that this was being done for political purposes. If you find I am right about Lattimore, then I think that a lot of the suspicion we have had flowing back and forth in this committee will be completely dispelled and I think we can go ahead and do a good job.

Senator Tydings. You think Lattimore is one of the biggest?

Senator McCarthy. By far and away.

Senator Green. What do you claim he has done to show that? Why do you think so?

Senator McCarthy. I think he is the top Russian spy.

Senator Green. Why do you think so? I thought you were going to give us some evidence.

Senator Tydings. Let me just say this:

Senator Green. If you do not want me to pursue my question, I will leave.

Senator McCarthy. Because I think the files will show he has been contacting and giving material to Russian espionage agents as part of an espionage ring.

Senator Green. I want to know if that is anything more than a suspicion on your part.

Senator McCarthy. There is a firm conviction from all of the information that I can get that that will be in the files. If, when you get that file, it is not there, you will know that there is not too much to my claim.

Senator Green. You suspect that there is information in the file, but you do not know what, which shall sustain your belief?

Senator McCarthy. No, that is not right, Senator.

Senator Green. Correct me. I am trying to find out what you really mean.

Senator McCarthy. I do not suspect. I am firmly convinced that I know that the Lattimore file, the F.B.I. file, will convince you the same way I am now convinced, that you are dealing with the top espionage agent.

Senator Green. Have you any facts that convince you of that?

Senator McCarthy. Yes. I think you will find in that file--

Senator Green. They are in your mind, too, aren't they now?

Senator McCarthy. I am giving you the benefit of all my investigation.

Senator Green. Yes, but you are just giving me the conclusions. Your conclusions must be based on certain facts that have been brought to your attention, and I was wondering



whether you were going to give us those facts.

Senator McCarthy. I am trying to give them to you. Can we have an agreement that I can complete my answer before I am interrupted?

(The Reporter re-read the pending question.)

Senator McCarthy. The fact is that to the best of my knowledge the file will show the complete workings of an espionage ring. That is the best I can give you, Senator. I have not been able to run down all the vast amount of work that the government investigative agencies have been doing. I am telling you that this is the one case in which I think we can easily have a determination by this committee as to whether or not my charges are well founded or not. I think for the balance of the investigation you should know that. If I am completely mistaken on this case, then you can assume that many of the other cases--

Senator Tydings. This is the key?

Senator McCarthy. Yes, sir, and when you see that file, Senator Green, I am sure that you will agree with me whole-heartedly.

Senator Green. Let me ask the question again in another way. Have you any evidence that produces conviction in your mind that he delivered confidential papers to an enemy?

Senator McCarthy. I frankly can not even come remotely complete in giving you the case you would have in the file.

I think you have simply got to get that file. I don't think I can give you enough material to make out a criminal case with the investigation I have. All I can tell you, Senator, is what, to the best of my knowledge, is in those files.

Senator Green. If that is all, it seems to me that my designation of it as suspicion is in your mind a conviction. It seems to me you must have some facts upon which to base it.

Senator McCarthy. You might call it a suspicion; I call it a conviction. We have a different name for it, apparently.

Senator Tydings. What I get out of it is this, that you have a conviction, based on certain things that you have seen or heard, which lead you to the conclusion that if these files are examined, evidence will be found to show that this man is the key man in a Russian espionage ring.

Senator McMahon. He is a traitor.

Senator McCarthy. That is putting it pretty well. I think he is.

Senator Tydings. Furthermore, I get this out of the combined colloquy that has gone on, that without disclosing how you have that conviction, information has come to you which leads you to that conclusion.

The next thing I get out of it is that the information has come to you in a way you do not care to disclose--

information which supports the position that you have taken.

Senator McCarthy. Yes.

Senator Tydings. The next thing I get out of it is that you yourself said you have not seen the files, which I would assume to be true without asking you, but that in other ways you have received information as to what is likely to be found in the files.

Senator McCarthy. I have not seen the files.

Senator Tydings. But in other ways you have formed your opinion from information that you think will be in the files.

Senator McCarthy. From all the information I can possibly get.

Senator Tydings. Have you any questions, Senator Hickenlooper?

Senator Hickenlooper. No.

Senator Tydings. Senator McMahon?

Senator McMahon. I think it is exceedingly important that we develop, in view of what Senator McCarthy says, whether or not, in addition to there being a traitor in the Government, there has been laxity in rooting out this traitor, and therefore I wish to develop in the questions I now ask, if I can develop, whether or not the Senator, from his information, thinks that in addition to the traitor being there there has been dereliction of duty in bringing him to

light. What is your conclusion on that, Senator?

Senator McCarthy. Senator McMahon, I am not evading your question. First we start at the top. When you ask that question I say to myself, "Is Acheson derelict in his duty?" I do not know what part of these facts have been brought to his mind. I just frankly think that you will have to wait until you get the files and find out how much of that has been transmitted to State and how much has been transmitted to Justice.

Let me say this. In order to answer that question you would have to first know whether he is being used as a decoy at this time. I do not think he is, but that is possible.

No. 2, whether or not this is true: For all I know, the Attorney General may have said to State, "Keep him on. Let him use that desk, because if you deny him the desk he will know that we are after him."

I would say this. If he is not being used as a decoy--no, it is impossible to answer, Senator.

Senator McMahon. In other words, you have not enough knowledge to make the further charge that there is dereliction of duty existing on some official's part?

Senator McCarthy. I do not think I would be in a position to make any charge.

Senator McMahon. That is all I want to find out. Let us find out where we are. That is a perfectly reasonable

position for you to take. I have no quarrel with it at all.

Of course, as you say, there may be that explanation of it, assuming your substantive facts are correct. On the other hand, it may be that if your substantive facts are correct the failure to have done something about it is of direct concern to this committee.

Senator McCarthy. I think we will get along a lot better, and you gentlemen will have a lot more confidence in what I tell you, after we get that file.

Senator Green. You mean that you can supplement the file and give us more information after the file is produced?

Senator McCarthy. No. I think this: I think maybe in your mind you have a suspicion of these facts I am giving you. I think this will prove definitely how much weight you can place upon my testimony from now on.

Senator Green. You have additional testimony to give?

Senator McCarthy. I might say this: I have a number of former F.B.I. men working for me. We are trying to develop facts. Anything that is developed will be made available to the committee.

Senator Green. Have you now any information in addition to what you say we can get from the files?

Senator McCarthy. Do you mean on Lattimore?

Senator Green. Yes.

Senator McCarthy. I have been getting information about

him for some time, Senator. I brought the conclusions together and put them in this document. At that time you recall I asked to be further heard in executive session, because at that time I did not want to disclose the additional information which I gave here.

Senator Green. Are you willing to now?

Senator McCarthy. I think you have everything that will be of value to the committee. I do not think there is anything additional that I can give you.

Senator Green. You have not given us any information about his misdoings.

Senator McCarthy. Take that along with you and read it. I gave you all that.

Senator Green. When?

Senator McCarthy. The other day in the hearing.

Senator Green. I don't understand.

Senator Tydings. He read the statement the other day in the hearing.

Senator Green. Oh, that. You have no additional facts?

Senator McCarthy. There is nothing additional that I think would be of great value now. As any facts come to me in regard to this case or any of the cases that will be of benefit, I will certainly be glad to give them to the committee. After all, we are doing the same job here, Senator.

Senator Green. Certainly. From the way you expressed

yourself, I thought you had additional information that you would give us after we had seen the files.

Senator Hickenlooper. Contrary to opinion, I am not concerned with the method or details at the moment of acquiring these files. I am concerned with the fact of acquiring the nine files that have already been mentioned publicly.

Senator Tydings. I am trying to get them.

Senator Hickenlooper. I am not concerned at this moment whether we get them by subpoena or by otherwise. The important thing to me is to get our people to have access to the files, and I think that this committee is in a position to have some time since made a formal request. So far as I know, this committee has made no request.

Senator Tydings. I took for granted you would want the Chairman to do it.

Senator Hickenlooper. I am not criticizing what the Chairman has done. That is not the point. I am saying, so far as I know there has been no formal action of this committee even requesting these files.

Senator Tydings. I have done this. I have said the committee wants these files. Senator McCarthy wants these files. I have reason to believe that the President wants to give us the files. I likewise have reason to believe that the State Department wants to give us the files. I likewise have reason to believe that Mr. Hoover and Senator Howard

McGrath probably are concerned about this question of opening the files for fear of its effect on future investigations, but I have said "I don't care what McGrath wants or what Hoover wants, I want those files."

Well, the State Department says "We want to give them to you. We are trying to work out a procedure whereby we can give them to you. We have to communicate with the Executive."

They had hoped to give them to me on Monday. I did not get them on Monday, and I am after them every day on the telephone, doing all I can. If I subpoena them I am going to make them all mad and won't get the files.

Assuming Senator McCarthy has a good case here, and he may have it for all I know, it is not going to be proven unless we can get hold of the files, because the evidence we have to rely on, as he himself admits, is the files.

Senator Hickenlooper. I have never demanded up to this point that the first move in the acquisition of files or the attempt to get them be by subpoena.

Senator Tydings. What do you want me to do?

Senator Hickenlooper. For the sake of the record and for the sake of procedure, I now move that this committee proceed first to request the delivery of all of the loyalty, personnel, and employment files from the Department of State on the nine persons publicly named by Senator McCarthy; that we also request employment, security, personnel and loyalty files,



Washington, D. C.  
Kass Building  
Franklin A. Steinko

whatever they are, all the files, on the same individuals from the Civil Service Commission; and that they request from the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the Department of Justice, whoever has the authority, or both, the complete investigative files on these same nine individuals.

In making that motion I want to say that I do not say that the request should be exclusive. If we get turned down on that request, and I am not trying to push the Chairman--

Senator Tydings. We will deal with it then, if we get turned down.

Senator Hickenlooper. I make this motion so there will be some formal action and sense of this committee, rather than just the chairman of the committee going out on his own on this business.

Senator Tydings. I think it is a good suggestion.

Senator Hickenlooper. Then I would like to suggest, as a part of that motion, that request be made immediately of those departments, and I want to make it clear that if we are turned down on any of those then I shall pursue it immediately with a motion to subpoena, in the language of the resolution. I feel we have a duty to attempt to carry out the mandate of the resolution. Maybe your brief is right. I do not say that it is or it is not.

Senator Tydings. You want the State Department file, the Richardson file--I will call it that for short--and the F.B.I.

file?

Senator Hickenlooper. That is right.

Senator Tydings. I shall draft, if I have time this afternoon, a formal letter, if the committee does not vote me down.

Senator Green. I think we ought to make a list. I think we ought to go through all the names that have been submitted and pick out those on whom we think there is reason to ask for the files. I would not limit it to the nine. I would go through all the list we have of names that have been submitted to us.

Senator Tydings. Would you amend that in line with his suggestion to instruct the Chairman to ask for the files, or any part of the files--

Senator Hickenlooper. No; all of the files.

Senator Tydings. Would you allow me, instead of asking for the nine files, to ask for all of them?

Senator Hickenlooper. The sense of my motion is this, and the way I feel about it: I think that we are obligated to attempt to get the nine files that are publicly named.

Senator Tydings. Can I ask for all of them at one time and take the nine out and look at those first?

Senator Hickenlooper. I feel that we may have much more chance of getting them peacefully, the nine, rather than 80-some at this moment.

Senator Tydings. Then you do not want me to ask for any files except the nine?

Senator Hickenlooper. Yes, but I would like to have the nine separately.

Senator Tydings. I have already asked for them all, but I will now formally write a letter and particularly ask for the nine you have in mind.

Senator Hickenlooper. At this time.

Senator Tydings. Will you give me the list of those nine this afternoon in my office, at your earliest convenience, Senator McCarthy, so I will be sure to get the nine names you have in mind?

Senator Green. I do not think he is the only one to be sure as to these nine names and I do not see why there is objection to increasing that number to all those who have been named.

Senator Hickenlooper. If I may conclude, I will say I am putting the nine in one category for the reason that they have been publicly mentioned by name and they are apt to come and demand a hearing, and I think it is utterly futile to attempt to question a person without those files. Maybe after seeing the files there may not be a single question to ask of those individuals.

Senator Tydings. You want the files, do you not?

Senator Hickenlooper. Yes.

Senator Byrdings. Here is the reason I asked for all of them: If we get permission to see these files, we will get it a whole lot easier if we can get them in all at one time than if I ask for for or five every day. That is just common sense, because there will be a precedent started the minute they give us the files, and they will want to know how many files you want and everything else, which seems simple here, but when I am on the other end of the thing with one man down there it is tough.

Senator, I told you in the beginning that I was going to exert every influence I had to get these files, and I tell you I am standing between not getting them now and getting them, more than anybody. If I go down and ask them for nine, it does not seem to me that they will want to give us nine and say "Come another day for nine" and "Come another day for another nine." If I ask for them all, to have them locked up in a room, we will then, when they are on the table, say "Let's pick out those nine and go through those first."

It may seem simple to say "What difference does it make, to give you nine at one time?" It does make a difference. I am dealing with some people in the Administration who are opposed as a matter of principle to turning over one of these files, and I have done the best job of salesmanship to get them of which I am capable.

Senator Hickenlooper. You understand that in no way am I

resisting or opposing the acquisition of all the files.

Senator Tydings. If I get them all it is satisfactory to you?

Senator Hickenlooper. On all the lists that Senator McCarthy has listed, I have a feeling--this is just in executive meeting--that there may be a number of names on some of the longer lists that we may consider inconsequential or of no value to get and pursue. That may be true; I don't know. My thought is, we will get the nine, look at those, and then get the others.

Senator Tydings. You do not want it to go out to the press that we have only asked for nine files. I will have to say that I wanted them all the the Republicans wanted only nine, if they put me up against the wall. These fellows have ways of finding out things. Why not get them all, and we will agree right here and now that we will look at the nine first.

Senator McCarthy. I think that is right.

Senator Tydings. If I go down for nine files they will say "What is going on?" These fellows will have it in the afternoon paper and I will be put in the position of sitting out as the Iron Curtain in front of this investigation.

Senator McCarthy. One of the files you want to get is the personnel file of Charles W. Thayer. He is one of the names. He was until several weeks ago in charge of the desk of the "Voice of America" in New York and he was, I understand,

assigned to those two Russian fliers that were brought to this country. I think you will find letters from the F.B.I. objecting to that because of his unnatural conduct.

Senator McMahon. He's a "fairy"?

Senator Hickenlooper. Entirely independently of anything Senator McCarthy says, or that stems from him at all, I have some independent information on Thayer which I believe to be accurate. It comes from a pretty high source, that he is a bad apple.

Senator Tydings. Why not make your motion to tell me to get the nine files?

Senator Hickenlooper. I move that the Chairman be authorized and directed by the subcommittee to immediately request all of the security, loyalty, and personnel files of the State Department and of the Civil Service Commission and the F.B.I. investigative files on, No. 1, the nine persons publicly mentioned by Senator McCarthy; No. 2, the list of twenty-five that he gave; No. 3, the list of eighty-one, or whatever it is, that he has furnished to the subcommittee by delivery to the chairman.

Senator Green. Now I would like to ask a question. I have been trying to for some time. Does that include Dr. Jessup and Miss Kenyon?

Senator Tydings. Oh, yes.

Senator Green. Does it include all those names that

have been submitted--

Senator Tydings. Everybody.

Senator Green. I haven't finished the sentence. Does it include all those names that have been submitted on whom no information whatever has been given?

Senator Hickenlooper. It includes those as a direct result of the request of the Chairman.

Senator Green. If it does, I am opposed to that motion, and shall vote against it. I am not going to vote for asking for files on persons against whom there is no evidence whatever before this committee.

Senator Hickenlooper. I am caught between the Chairman and my motion!

Senator Tydings. This boy started something and he wants to finish it. He has said Lattimore is his big key man. He has given us some details of the eighty-one cases on the floor of the Senate. For the time being let's confine this request to something we have the greatest opportunity on.

Senator Hickenlooper. No, because there is one man whose name is in that list of twenty-five that I think is probably as dangerous a man as the man he has mentioned. That is my own personal suspicion. That is only a suspicion, but his name is on the list of twenty-five. I just happened to see it from the Chairman's pocket.

Senator Tydings. If you give me his name, I will try to

get his in addition to the eighty-one plus the nine.

Senator Hickenlooper. No. I have bounced around on this motion--

Senator McCarthy. In the twenty-five there is actually a duplication of two. Two of the twenty-five I understand are in the eighty-one.

Senator McMahon. I amend the Senator's motion by suggesting that the twenty-five against whom no specific charges have been made be omitted from the request.

Senator Green. I think they all should be omitted from the request--those against whom no substantial evidence has been submitted.

Senator Tydings. We have an amendment, The Chairman is hereby directed to request immediately from the F.B.I., from the State Department, and from the Civil Service Commission, the files of all persons against whom any charge has been made. That would include the nine he has given us in open session and it would include the eighty-one cases about which some evidence was given on the floor of the Senate.

Senator Green. In some cases no evidence was given.

Senator Tydings. One Senator McCarthy himself said was not much of a case. I would rather ask for the whole eighty-one.

Senator Hickenlooper. I thought you wanted the twenty-five too, a while ago.



Senator Tydings. Are you ready for the question? We are voting on the Brien McMahon amendment. All those in favor will say "aye"; opposed, "no."

Senator Hickenlooper. "No" with a qualification that I want the twenty-five included.

Senator Tydings. Do you vote either way?

Senator Green. That is on omitting--

Senator Tydings. Omitting the twenty-five.

Senator Green. Yes, but I think there also should be omitted those in the eighty-one against whom no charges have been made.

Senator Tydings. Let's go along. Then the motion is on the Hickenlooper proposition as amended. All those in favor say "aye." Opposed, "no." The motion is carried.

Senator McMahon. Now, if the request is not complied with, we will subpoena. Let that come later.

Senator Hickenlooper. The committee has taken no action on that.

Senator Tydings. What we have done here is, you have asked me to request the files. I have already said I have requested them, but we want the formal thing so there won't be any question.

Senator Hickenlooper. I want the record to show that there is in that list of twenty-five one man who is utterly dangerous.

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.)

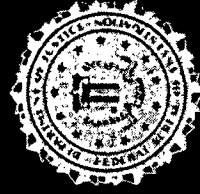
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Page 162 ~ Referral/Consult;

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LOYALTY OF  
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
J. Edgar Hoover, Director

February 15, 1950

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CATEGORY I. -- CASES IN WHICH THERE WAS DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OR AN ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP. THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE WAS NOT NECESSARILY OF A TYPE ADMISSIBLE IN A LEGAL PROCEEDING BUT WAS SUCH AS TO BE ADMISSIBLE IN A LOYALTY OR OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE HEARING.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
Hooker, Jehannie Robert	1
Oak, Liston Merriam	2
Tuckerman, Gustavus	6

CATEGORY II. -- CASES IN WHICH COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP WAS REPORTED BY LIVE INFORMANTS, WHO WERE NOT AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY AT A LOYALTY HEARING; TECHNICAL INFORMANTS; OR OTHER RELIABLE SOURCES, BUT NO DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE WAS AVAILABLE.

Birkeland, Joran Jacobine	8
Harrison, Marcia Ruth	10
Josef, Harold George	12
Kaufman, Arthur Milton	14
Daniel, John Armstead	17
Moursund, Andrew	18

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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**CATEGORY III. — CASES IN WHICH THERE WAS ASSOCIATION WITH INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY.**

Abraham, Herbert John	20
Allen, Ward Phillips	21
Blickensderfer, Evelyn Marie	23
Brown, Samuel	24
Barkovsky, Alice	26
Carlisle, Lois	27
Clark, Ada Murray	31
Cemboles, Theodora	34
Conover, Harry	35
Donnelley, Dixon	40
Fierst, Herbert Abner	41
Fishburn, John Tipton	44
Franckenstein, Joseph Maria	45
Garfinkle, Hilcen Shandler	47
Garwood, Justine	48
Gebuhr, Carl Lee	50
Goldman, Thomas Adler	52
Gresko, Lorraine Theresa	55
Grovesmith, Sylvia	56
Hamilton, Maxwell McGeughey	58
Harris, George Lawrence	60
Henry, II, David Howe	62

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY [signature]

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
Hill, Ruth Mary	63
Holstein, Edwood	65
Jakobson, Svatava Pirkova	68
Kenyon, Dorothy	71
Lubin, Isador	75
Margolies, Daniel Franks	77
Neill, Margaret Eleanor	80
Osovitz, Evelyn	82
Pleasants, Helena	84
Polakoff, Joseph	85
Posniak, Edward George	86
Powell, Eleanor Alford	88
Rice, Andrew Eliot	89
Rommel, Mrs. Rowena Sheldon Bellows	92
Rosenbleth, Ann Shirley	94
Ruggles, Melville Jerome	95
Saunders, Florence Elizabeth	98
Simpson, Thomas Will	100
Stauffer, Thomas Baer	101
Tuchscher, Frances Myrie	103
Visher, John Edwin	105
Walther, Regis Hills	106
Lewis, Philip Carlyle	107
Sherman, Benjamin	109

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2TAP/bce

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
Sherman, George	110
Vallon, Edwin Elliott	112
Andie, Vojtech Ervin	115
Dlock, Ralph Joseph	117
Brunauer, Dr. Nether Caukin	120
Branner, Bessie	122
Buta, Serafia, Simon	123
Campbell, Douglas Gordon	124
Chase, Joseph	126
Chipchik, Nelson	128
Collins, Jr., James Alexander	130
Copeland, George Howes	132
Davies, Jr., John Paton	136
Demerjian, Alice Margaret	140
Deas, Paul Madrone	141
Eliasberg, George John	142
Fay, Sidney Bradshaw	146
Fishback, Sam	147
Ford, Guy Stanton	150
Grandahl, Teguel Conrad	152
Kausser, Philip Morris	153
Kavas, Emil	156
Hammendinger, Noel	158
Kellock, Katherine Amend	160

10-11-85 *sp/tp/bee*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Page</b>
Kopelovich, Esther	164
Levin, Dan David	166
Lorvin, Val Regia	168
Mann, George August	172
Marsh, Garyl	174
Miles, John	176
Munzer, Jan	178
Nasen, Rachel Conrad	181
Nelson, Jacob Allan Oliver	183
Noble, George Bernard	186
Pax, Lottie M. Mark	188
Peter, Hollis William	191
Peterson, Oliver Arthur	193
Powell, Webster Clay	196
Rozick, Rita	200
Rudlin, Walter Arthur	201
Sappington, N. Owen	203
Schanebe, Patricia Jean	205
Service, John Stewart	208
Sheldon, Kristian Charles	212
Smith, Edwin Leroy	215
De Sola, Alis	218
Thayer, Charles Wheeler	221
Trager, George Leonard	225
Thomason, Florence Eleanor	227

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY sp/ang/bce



<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
Weintraub, Sidney	229
Wilcox, Stanley	231
Archer, Gladys	233
Ginsberg, Coriane Ruth	234
Harman, Arnold Robert	235
Holling, Jr., Fred Charles	236
Kennedy, Earl Carl	238
Koylan, Sadi Ibrahim	240
Littell, Franklin Hamlin	241
Polett, Alexander	243
Schaeffer, Amy Lyon	244
Wirta, Arvo Olavi	246
Altman, Ralph	248
Freelain, James Daniel	249
Kaghan, Theodore	251
Saron, Alex	252
Borden, Barbara Eleanor	253
Deri, Henry	254
Feldmann, Annette Beatrice	257
Havranek, Irma	258
Katusich, Ivan	260
Kerr, Vivianne Lovell	261
Levin, Molly	264
Marchbin, Andrew A.	266

10-11-85 spring/bee

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
Neffe, Harold J.	268
Nussbaum, David Wesley	270
Petrovich, Michael Bero	272
Petrullo, Vincenzo	276
Sawyer, Eugene Douglas	280
Schachman-Tesoro, Immanuel	282
Schoss, Eda	283
Standish, Nyles	285
Wechsler, Irving Robert	287

CATEGORY IV. -- CASES IN WHICH MEMBERSHIP IS  
 REPORTED IN ORGANIZATIONS CITED BY ATTORNEY  
 GENERAL WHICH ARE NOT RELATED TO THE COMMUNIST  
 PARTY.

Tesoro, George Alfred	289
-----------------------	-----

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2Tug/bce

I. CASES IN WHICH THERE WAS DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OR AN ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP. THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE WAS NOT NECESSARILY OF A TYPE ADMISSABLE IN A LEGAL PROCEEDING BUT WAS SUCH AS TO BE ADMISSABLE IN A LOYALTY OR OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE HEARING.

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J

JOHNNIE ROBERT HOOKER  
Clerk  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

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Background  
Johnnie Robert Hooker was born October 2, 1919, Goldsboro, North Carolina.

Basis for Investigation  
Confidential Informant Washington T-1 (Highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that the recruiting records of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia reflected that one Hooker, a male Negro, age 23, and a CIO Cafeteria employee, was recruited in the Cafeteria Branch and was reported to the District Communist Party on November 26, 1942, and was a duly registered member of the Communist Party in December, 1942.

Results of Investigation  
Confidential Informant Washington T-1, upon recontact, stated he had no further identifying information concerning this individual and it is not known whether he is identical with the employee.

Confidential Informant Washington T-2 (Highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) furnished a 1943 list of new members for Communist Party, which indicated that one Hooker transferred from "New Members Class" to the Cafeteria Branch of the Communist Party.

On May 8, 1944, the employee appeared at the Washington Field Office and was interviewed under the provisions of the Hatch Act. During the interview Hooker admitted applying for membership in the Communist Party in October or November, 1942, but claims that he did not attend meetings of the Party. He further stated that he was a member of the International Workers Order at one time. Investigation conducted reflected the employee was formerly employed by the S & N Cafeteria, Washington, D. C., from September 15, 1941, until December 23, 1942.

Numerous fellow-employees and neighbors were interviewed and could furnish only favorable information regarding employee's loyalty.

The International Workers Order and the Communist Party have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC July 26, 1948; to Department February 25, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" February 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department,  
April 6, 1949.

121-3618 Class #1  
E. F. Minoux:dhr:zg

LISTON VERRIAM OAK  
Employee  
Voice of America Program

### Background

Liston Verriam Oak was born September 8, 1895, at Ferris, California. In application for employment Oak's noted previous employment from 1924 to 1927 with Amtorg Trading Corporation, New York City; 1927-35 Editor "Soviet Russia Today," "Daily Worker," the magazine "Fight" and other Communist assignments; January 1937 to May, 1937 Director, Press Bureau, Spanish Loyalist Government, Valencia, Spain. He was until 1948 Editor of the "New Leader," a Socialist Party publication.

### Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under the Voice of America program.

### Results of Investigation

It is to be noted that Liston Verriam Oak has been in the past used by the New York Office as a source of information and has provided valuable data.

Mr. Hebane, an executive of the magazine "Antiques," New York City, advised that he has known Oak for a number of years and that he knew him to be a former member of the Communist Party; serving in the capacity of agent for Amtorg, the Russian purchasing commission; Editor on the staff of the "Daily Worker" and also Editor of the publication "Soviet Russia Today." Mr. Hebane stated that Oak, in April, 1936, became disillusioned by the activities of the Communist Party, particularly as they were manifest in the Spanish Civil War and the so-called purge trials in Russia in the 1930's. Oak finally severed his connections with the Communist Party sometime thereafter and ultimately attached himself to the Socialist Party. Mr. Hebane further advised that there is no question regarding Oak's break with the Communist Party or his strong and vocal opposition to it since that time.

In an application filed by Oak with the New York City Department of Welfare in approximately 1937, Oak noted that in June, 1936 he went to Paris and was undecided whether to go to Moscow or Spain. He advised that he met Louis Fisher, a correspondent in Paris who introduced him to the Spanish American Ambassador. As a result he went to Valencia, Spain and was hired by the Foreign Minister of the Valencia Government, Alvarez Del Vayo as Publicity Agent for the Government of Spain (Loyalist). He left Spain in the latter part of March, 1937 returning to the United States shortly thereafter. During an interview with Oak in October, 1940 he advised the Bureau that while in Valencia, Spain in 1937 he met Gerhard Wisler who was active in Communist circles and whom he had first met in 1933 in New York

123-2337

Class #1

E. F. Minoux:zg

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City while he, Oak, was a member of the Communist Party. Further, that while in Moscow in 1936 and again in 1937, while he was in Barcelona, Spain during the Spanish Civil War, he met George Mink whom he described as the notorious, although alleged, CP agent in Spain. Mink attempted to recruit Oak to do CP work which was to consist of obtaining from sympathizers American passports for use by Russian agents and to get American Communists out of Spain. According to Oak, he declined to assist Mink.

It is also noted in Oak's application for relief with the New York City Department of Welfare in 1937 he stated that he acted as a travel guide with the organization "The Open Road, Inc.," from October 1936 to January 1937. John Rothchild, President of "The Open Road, Inc.," New York City, advised that Liston Oak was engaged by "The Open Road, Inc." as a group leader in charge of a European tour from October 1936 to January 1937. Confidential Informant New York City T-2 (State Department) advised in June 1942 that "The Open Road, Inc." was alleged to have been an affiliate of "Intourist" Moscow. It sponsored university tours in Russia and was supposedly subsidized by Russia to foster such tours. The informant further advised that "The Open Road, Inc." was entirely Communist in origin.

Louis F. Budenz, Assistant Professor, Yeshiva University, New York City, formerly Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker", advised that he first met Liston Oak during the mid 1930s when Oak was Editor of the magazine "Fight." This publication was the official weekly organ of the American League Against War and Fascism according to Budenz. In approximately 1936, after "Fight" went out of existence, Oak went to work as a reporter for the "Daily Worker." At the "Daily Worker", Budenz noted that Oak was falling away from the Communist Party line and pointed out that Oak remained on the "Daily Worker" for only a few months leaving the Communist Party after he left the "Daily Worker." Budenz further advised that he knew Oak to be an atheist but nevertheless felt that Oak could work loyally in a position within the United States Government.

New York City Informant T-3 [redacted] reliable, active, unpaid former member of the Communist Party) advised that the League of Workers Theater was changed to the New Theater League in 1934 and thereafter. According to the informant, Liston Oak was listed as a member of the National Executive Board of the New Theater League in 1935. The New Theater League was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The American League Against War and Fascism has been declared by the Attorney General to come within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835 and is the predecessor of the American

b7D

**League for Peace and Democracy.**

In 1940, during an interview with Bureau Agents, Oak advised that he was active in the organization known as the Friends of the Soviet Union and was Editor of that organization's periodical "Soviet Russia Today" from 1931 to 1934 and was Secretary of the Communist Party faction of the organization. The organization, Friends of the Soviet Union, and its successor the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835. The publication the "Soviet Russia Today" has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activity. During his interview in 1940 Oak advised that he was employed by Amtorg, the Russian purchasing commission from 1926 to 1930, part of which time was spent in chartering ships for Russia.

In connection with this employment, Max Eckstein, a roving Editor of "Reader's Digest" advised that he has known Oak since the 1920s and that he knew that Oak was in the 20s employed by Amtorg. Further, that he had been employed by the Spanish Loyalist Government and as a result of his experiences in Spain Oak eventually broke with the Communist Party.

Mr. Herbert Solow, an Editor of "Fortune" magazine, advised that he has known Oak since 1932 when Oak was a member of the Communist Party and had been previously employed by Amtorg. Further, that Oak had broken with the Communist Party because of his disillusionment with the activities of the Communists in Spain. Solow concluded that Oak's current opposition to the Communist Party is manifestly sincere. In his interview in 1940 Oak stated that he was formerly Manager of the Workers Library Publishers, dates not furnished. The Workers Library Publishers was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front. When Oak advised the Bureau in 1940 that he joined the Communist Party - USA in 1937 because he was convinced at that time that the Communist position was correct. From that time on his active life in the Communist Party continued until 1938 when he stopped paying dues, and in 1939 he disagreed with Clarence Hathaway his superior on the staff of the "Daily Worker." He covered his connections with the Party and he has never rejoined.

Confidential Informant New York City T-4 (OSI, 3rd Naval District) advised that Oak was at one time a member of the Communist Party serving with the Spanish



Loyalist Government in Spain during 1937; that Oak was convinced that the Communists deliberately prevented the Loyalists from winning the civil war in Spain and later broke with the Party.

New York City 5-6 (NY New York) advised that Oak was a member of the Civil Rights Defense Committee in 1942; a member of the American League Against War and Fascism in 1943; and a member of the National Council Against Censorship of the Theater Arts, a Communist front organization, also in 1943. The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that Lister Harris Oak was a member of the American League Against War and Fascism and employed by the magazine "Right"; contributor to "Soviet Russia Today" and a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union; later Managing Editor of "Soviet Russia Today"; Illustrator for "New Masses"; member of the National Committee Against Censorship of the Theater Arts; and member of the Executive Board of the Theater Union. The "New Masses" has been cited as a Communist front.

During an interview with a representative of the FBI on September 17, 1949, Oak stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party for approximately five years. Confidential Informant Report 9-1 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that Oak was a member of the Communist Party and quite active in its affairs at the time, and was an instigator in a disturbance sponsored by the Communist Party somewhere in North Carolina. Further, that Oak served with the Spanish Loyalist Government in Spain during the civil war and upon his return was thrown out of the Communist Party for being a "Fascist." The informant advised that since the employee covered his connections with the Communist Party he has written many series of articles opposing the "Communist ideology."

In an article which appeared in the "Daily Worker" of October 15, 1948, reporting the American Federation of Labor Convention held in St. Paul, Minnesota, the article related that among those present at the convention were "Voice of America" representatives including Lister Oak, Trotskyite expelled from the Communist Party, who worked diligently at recording the "cold war" speeches for re-broadcast throughout Europe.

The Communist Party has been declared by the Attorney General to come within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835.

Numerous individuals who have known Oak for a number of years were interviewed who knew of his previous Communist Party connections but advised that it is their opinion that he has broken with the Communist Party and is loyal to this country.

Reports to CSC - January 25, 1949; to State Department January 5, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950.

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DATE 5/14/85 BY SP2TAP/le

GUSTAVUS TUCKERMAN  
Aka Tuck, Gus  
Assistant Chief  
Central and Eastern European Branch  
Division of Investment and  
Economic Development  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Gustavus Tuckerman was born on February 7, 1899, in St. Louis, Missouri. On the Loyalty Form submitted, Tuckerman indicated a previous residence of 540 West 123rd Street, New York City, from September, 1929, until January, 1942, and further listed his wife's name as Ethel Zachow.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-1 (Civil Service Commission) advised that one Gus Tuckerman, 531 West 122nd Street, New York City, registered Communist at the Board of Elections, Seventh Election District, Thirteenth Assembly District, New York City, for the year 1933. He further advised that 540 West 123rd Street, New York City, is contained in the same building as 531 West 122nd Street, New York City.

Results of Investigation

A review of pages 156 and 157 of the Board of Election records of the Seventh Election District, Thirteenth Assembly District, reflects that one Gus Tuckerman, 531 West 122nd Street, New York City, Registration number 401, registered Communist on October 13, 1933. A photostatic reproduction of pages 156 and 157 were transmitted as enclosures with the report. The Laboratory of the Bureau concluded after a handwriting examination that the employee had signed the above mentioned document.

Miss Lillian Combs, Office Manager, Open Stair Dwelling Company, 540 West 123rd Street, New York City, advised that her records reflect that Tuckerman resided in the apartment building which has entrances and residences at 540 West 123rd Street and 531 West 122nd Street. Her records reflected that Tuckerman had resided in both sections of the apartment building at various times from October, 1931 until February, 1942.

The records of the Board of Elections covering 540 West 123rd Street, New York City, reflect in addition to the above registration, the fact that in 1933, 1940 and 1941, Gus Tuckerman and Ethel Zachow registered with the American Labor Party. The American Labor Party has been described as a Communist front

121-20744

Class # 1  
E.F. MINOUX:mjt

by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. George E. Dege, 31 Nassau Street, furnished a signed statement and is willing to testify. He advised that he had no knowledge that Tuckerman was ever a member of the Communist Party, however, the employee took a great interest in the economic condition of Russia and in Dege's opinion was taken in by the Communist Party. As an example, Mr. Dege stated that Tuckerman had at one time or another stated that Russia had made great progress along production lines and that the Russian experiment may be the solution to the problems of the working classes of the world. Dege advised that Tuckerman's attitude changed in later years and he regarded him as a loyal citizen at this time but in view of his previous sympathies he did not think he should be employed in a position of trust and responsibility with the Federal Government.

Louis Budenz, former Managing Editor of the Daily Worker and Communist Party official until August 1945, advised that he did not personally know Tuckerman but that he had heard in Communist Party circles in the 1930's that Tuckerman was considered friendly toward the Communist Party. The exact sources of this information were not recalled by Budenz at this time.

Walter Duranty, who according to Louis Budenz had been discussed by Communist Party officials in the late 1930's as "a person friendly to the Party", in the preface of his book entitled "Duranty Reports Russia", gave credit to Tuckerman for the compilation of the articles appearing in Duranty's book.

The records of the Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, which has been described by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities as having received extensive donations by the Communist supported Garland fund, disclosed in the College's paper the "Fortnightly" July 15, 1928, issue, the name of Gustavus Tuckerman, St. Louis, Missouri, was reported as having donated \$10 to the school. Commonwealth College was tried and convicted in Polk County Circuit Court, Mena, Arkansas, on charges of displaying an illegal emblem, the hammer and sickle, failure to display the American flag and teaching anarchy. The Attorney General has declared that Commonwealth College comes within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

A number of fellow employees, neighbors and associates who were interviewed during the investigation declared that they believed the employee to be loyal to the United States.

Reports to CSC January 30, 1950; to the Department January 30, 1950.

#### Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950. No advice regarding criminal prosecution by Department in file February 14, 1950.

APPLICANTS

II. CASES IN WHICH COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP WAS REPORTED BY LIVE INFORMANTS, WHO WERE NOT AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY AT A LOYALTY HEARING; TECHNICAL INFORMANTS; OR OTHER RELIABLE SOURCES, BUT NO DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE WAS AVAILABLE.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/14/85 BY sp2tap/lee  
*previously released*

EMPLOYEES

JORAN JACOBINE BIRKELAND  
Administrative Assistant  
State Department  
Copenhagen, Denmark

Background

Joran Jacobine Birkeland was born at Big Timber, Montana, August 20, 1904. She has been employed as a librarian, Foreign Service, State Department, Copenhagen, Denmark, since March 4, 1946.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation conducted under Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-2 [redacted] active reliable former CP member) advised that she first met the employee in early 1940, or the latter part of 1939, and on several occasions talked with her in the apartment of Philip G. Keeney and Mary Jane Keeney, who, according to Washington T-2, are members of the Communist Party. The informant advised that the employee spoke of her work in translating books from the Scandinavian language and also discussed her Communist Party membership and mentioned what a wonderful opportunity she had in writing books to present the Communist Party point of view. Further, the informant advised that Mary Jane Keeney had commented on the excellent job Joran Birkeland had done and during these conversations with Mary Jane Keeney the employee stated that just as France has fallen, she hoped England would be defeated. (This was prior to the time that Hitler attacked Russia). The informant further advised that she had talked to the employee on several other occasions upon meeting her on the street, and on these occasions Mrs. Birkeland had discussed her Communist Party activities. Mary Jane Keeney had also advised the informant that the employee was the divorced wife of D'Arcy McVickle and that she had gone off with a man she was very much in love with who was a Communist Party member. b7D

D'Arcy McVickle was interviewed and advised that his wife, upon leaving him, had gone with another man, who to his knowledge was a member of the Communist Party.

Confidential Informant Washington T-5 [redacted] Library of Congress employee) advised an investigator of the Civil Service Commission that she had known the employee casually during her employment with the "New York Times" and knew her to be interested in some cooperative work in Washington, which she believed to be

123-1207

Class #2

E. F. Minoux:dhr:zg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-15-85 BY SP2TAP/bce

the Washington Bookshop. The informant further advised that she recalls that the employee at one occasion went to the Library of Congress and talked to Mr. Keeney and asked him to assist her in locating work.

During this investigation conducted by the Civil Service Commission, an investigator of that agency interviewed Philip O. Keeney in 1943, concerning the employee, at which time he advised that he had known Mrs. Birkeland in Montana a number of years ago.

Confidential Informant New York City T-2 (a highly confidential source of information known to the New York Office) advised that Joran Birkeland, care of Dutton, 300 Fourth Avenue, New York City, was a member of the League of American Writers in 1941.

The Communist Party, the Washington Bookshop Association and the League of American Writers have been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835, by the Attorney General.

Numerous fellow employees, neighbors and associates were interviewed and advised that the employee is loyal.

Confidential Informant Washington T-2 and New York City T-2 will not testify.

Reports to CSC August 10, 1948; to State Department July 27, 1948.

Disposition

"Retained" April 22, 1949.



MARCIA RUTH HARRISON  
Employee  
Divisional Assistant  
Division of Commercial Policy  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Marcia Ruth Harrison was born April 16, 1918, at Rochester, New York. She attended Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, 1934 - 1938, receiving an AB Degree. She attended American University, Washington, D. C., from 1938 - 1941. She was employed by the Washington Housing Association from 1938 to 1939, by the Library of Congress from 1939 to 1941, the Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C., from 1941 to 1944, and the Foreign Economic Administration, 1944 to 1945.

Basis for Investigation

During the course of a Hatch Act investigation of employee in 1942, she admitted to Bureau Agents in a signed statement that she was a former member of the Young Communist League, American Student Union and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Washington T-1 (highly confidential source known only to the Washington Field Office) stated that Harrison's name appeared on the membership list of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action in 1940.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 furnished no additional information.

Washington T-2 (highly confidential source known only to the Washington Field Office) advised that Marcia Harrison's name appeared on the mailing list of the Washington Book Shop in 1941.

Washington T-3 (highly confidential source known only to the Washington Field Office) advised Harrison's name appeared on the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization in 1940.

Washington T-4 (highly confidential source known only to the Washington Field Office) advised that in 1942 Marcia Harrison appeared on the indices of the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Washington T-5 (highly confidential source known only to the Washington Field Office) advised that Marcia Harrison was a delegate to the Second Washington Youth Conference held November 1-3, 1940.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo 121-1163  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Nease Class #2  
Gandy R. L. MILLARD:wma:mem

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/85 BY SP2 Tap/bcc

121-1163

Washington T-6 (confidential files of the Civil Service Commission) contained a statement in which the employee admitted former membership in the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the Washington Bookshop.

The employee advised Washington T-7 (Security Investigations Division of the State Department) that she joined the Washington Bookshop after she became acquainted with David Wahl in the Library of Congress in 1939. On being re-interviewed by representatives of T-7 in 1947, she stated that she joined the Washington Bookshop in 1938 before being employed at the Library of Congress and becoming acquainted with Wahl. She also admitted during this interview that she had been a member of the American Student Union, the Young Communist League, the Washington Bookshop and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

b7D

Washington T-8 [redacted] (reliable unpaid active) advised Harrison was in the Young Communist League at Vassar College and was one of the most active members of the Library of Congress Unit of the Communist Party about 1939. T-8 further stated that Harrison was very closely associated with David Wahl, Philip O. and Mary Jane Keeney, Paul Boswell, and Ogden Kelly who, according to T-8, were members of the Communist Party underground group which operated in Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

The following organizations were cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835: Washington Committee for Democratic Action; Washington Bookshop; American Peace Mobilization; the Young Communist League and the United American Spanish Aid Committee. The American Student Union was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

None of the above-named informants will testify.

A representative number of acquaintances stated that they consider employee loyal.

Mrs. J. E. Hitchcock, Jr., Syracuse, New York, advised in February, 1948, that while rooming with employee in 1942, employee referred to her joining the Young Communist League as her "wild oats." Mrs. Hitchcock will testify.

Reports to Civil Service Commission April 20, 1948; to the Department March 31, 1949.

Disposition

Retained June 7, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department, April 8, 1949.

HAROLD GEORGE JOSIF  
Third Secretary Vice Consul  
American Embassy  
Department of State  
Karachi, India

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/85 BY Sp2tap/bce

Background  
Harold George Josif was born June 16, 1920, at Moulmein, Burma, India. Father born in Transylvania, Rumania, and naturalized at Wheaton, Illinois, on January 12, 1916. Father was missionary for American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. Employee formerly employed at Library of Congress.

b7D

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-1 [redacted] active, reliable former CP member) advised that she did not know from her own knowledge but she had been told by Alice McLean Jones about 1941 or 1942 that Josif was a member of the Library of Congress Unit of the Communist Party. Informant was also told by Irma Stark that Josif was a member of the Library of Congress Unit of the Communist Party.

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-1 upon recontact advised that she was not aware of any other Communist Party activities on the part of Josif. She advised that Alice McLean Jones and Irma Stark were known to her as Communist Party members. The informant will not testify.

Robert C. Gooch, Chief of the General Reference Bibliography Division, Library of Congress, furnished a signed statement and will testify. He advised that Josif, while employed in the Library of Congress, associated with David Wahl William G. Cornelius and Daniel Schwartz. Washington T-1 has identified these individuals as members of the Communist Party.

Dr. Ernest F. Griffith, Director, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, who will not testify, advised that in his opinion Josif was unconsciously sympathetic toward Soviet Russia in that he was always apologizing for Russia and her actions. Dr. Griffith advised that the employee and his wife definitely leaned toward Russia in their sympathies without being Communist and had no reason to believe that the employee and his wife were Communists. Numerous other persons interviewed recommended the employee in so far as his loyalty to this country was concerned. The Communist Party has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

121-14181

Class #2

E. F. Minoux/js

Reports to CSC February 23, 1949; to Department March 7, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty," October 10, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department, November 28, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/15/83 BY sp2 Tap/ice

ARTHUR MILTON KAUFMAN  
Policy Information Specialist  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Arthur Milton Kaufman was born December 11, 1911, Jersey City, New Jersey. Investigation conducted disclosed that Kaufman was active in the American Newspaper Guild in New Jersey.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant New York City T-1 (Department of State) advised that Arthur Milton Kaufman had been reported as a Communist by an informant of T-1.

Results of Investigation

New York City T-1 upon recontact could furnish no further information concerning the employee. T-1 stated that he could no longer determine the identity of the informant who furnished this information. A letter dated November 25, 1941, from an anonymous source was received by the Bureau in which Arthur Kaufman, Vice-President of the Newark local of the American Newspaper Guild, was described as being among the Communist clique in the American Newspaper Guild.

Confidential Informant New York City T-2 (MID) advised that Arthur Kaufman was one of the Communist members of the American Newspaper Guild. The original source of this information is not known.

The records of the Board of Elections covering Queens County, New York, reflect that Arthur Kaufman, 76-13 Ditmars Boulevard, Queens, registered with the American Labor Party in 1946. Beatrice Kaufman was an American Labor Party registrant from the same address from 1944 through 1946. Investigation conducted disclosed that the employee formerly resided at 76-13 Ditmars Boulevard, Queens, and that his wife's name was Beatrice Kaufman.

Mrs. Mary McKinnon, 33 Gerard Place, South Orange, New Jersey, stated she remembered Arthur and Beatrice Kaufman as former neighbors and vaguely recalls someone telling her at one time that the Kaufmans had tendencies toward Communism. She could not recall the informant in this matter nor could she furnish any further information concerning this.

Philip Hochstein, editor, Newark Star Ledger, advised that Kaufman formerly worked for him on the Ledger and believes that Kaufman is a Communist or is sympathetic to the Communist cause. However, he has no definite proof of this nor could he advance any definite reasons why he thinks so. Kaufman,

according to Hochstein, never admitted Communist Party membership but Hochstein stated that because of Kaufman's attitude in the labor contract negotiations he had had with Kaufman as a representative of the American Newspaper Guild, he believes Kaufman was arrogant, demanding and argumentative and further that Kaufman evaded the question of Communism whenever it was broached, which Hochstein feels is indicative of Kaufman's sympathies.

Victor Haverslag, News Desk, Newark Star Ledger, advised he formerly worked with Kaufman and had been active in the American Newspaper Guild with Kaufman in the middle 1930's. Hochstein stated that he did not think that Kaufman was a Communist Party member but that he merely espoused the same causes being advanced by the Communist Party without consciously following the Communist Party line. He further described Kaufman as a sincere believer in union representation.

Richard Shafter, Hudson County correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune, advised that he was a long time associate of Kaufman and while he considers him a fine man personally he feels that Kaufman would be sympathetic to Communism but could not state to what degree his sympathies might lead. Shafter based his opinion on various questions pertaining to government and politics and particularly at the time of the signing of the Russian German Non-aggression Pact Kaufman endorsed this pact and attempted to justify Russia's position by advancing reasons and arguments in Russia's favor. Shafter is willing to testify.

Herman Lazrus, Associate Publisher, Bayonne Daily News, advised that he thought Arthur Kaufman was connected with the Communist Party. However, he advised he had no direct evidence to support his belief. He recalled that Kaufman had been connected with the "League Against War and Fascism" and had heard him support the movements sponsored by the Communist Party to keep America out of war.

The American League Against War and Fascism has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

On May 3, 1945, Confidential Informant [redacted] discontinued informant who furnished information on Communist Party activities, reliable, not paid) advised that he had been asked by Joe Pearlman of Bayonne, New Jersey, if he knew "Artie" Kaufman. Informant advised that he did not and Pearlman went on to relate to him that Kaufman was in England at the time and that he was once a Party member. This informant described Joe Pearlman as the Membership Director of the Communist Party, Hudson County, New Jersey. The informant does not wish to testify.

b7D

The Communist Party has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Numerous persons, both neighbors and fellow employees, upon interview described Kaufman as a loyal citizen.

Reports to CSC March 18, 1948; to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained," February 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department, November 28, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY sp/etnp/bee

APPLICANTS



JOHN ARMSTEAD DANIEL,  
Aka Johnny Daniel,  
Armstead Daniel  
Voice of America - Applicant  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Daniel was born December 31, 1912, at Weldon, North Carolina. Daniel's Request for Investigation Data set forth that he has resided at 515 West 113rd Street, New York City, since 1943 and that his wife's name is Rita Francis Daniel.

Basis for Investigation

John Armstead Daniel was investigated under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America).

Results of Investigation

New York City T-14 (highly confidential and reliable source known to the Agents of the New York City Office) advised that Johnny Daniel, 515 West 113rd Street, New York City was a member of the Communist Political Association, Waterfront Section, in September, 1944, and was issued membership book No. 31617.

Investigation developed that John Daniel, 515 West 113rd Street, New York City, registered on the American Labor Party ticket in 1946.

New York City T-15 [redacted] (deceased, former paid informant, reliable) advised on May 28, 1946, that Rita Francis, 515 West 113rd Street, was a member of the Ben Davis Club of the Communist Party in March, 1946, and was issued membership book No. 3549. b7D

Investigation developed that Rita Daniel, 515 West 113rd Street, New York City, registered on the American Labor Party ticket in 1946, 1947 and 1948.

The American Labor Party was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

A number of persons interviewed stated that Daniel was loyal.

Reports to State Department, December 13, 1949; to Civil Service December 19, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file, February 14, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2/af/bce

123-3938

W.D. CARSON:hmm

Class # 2

17

22/12

**ANDREW MOURSUND**  
**Voice of America - Applicant**

**Background**

Andrew Moursund was born December 6, 1903, at Tross, Norway. He was naturalized in U. S. District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on March 8, 1933. He was formerly employed by the State Department, New York City, from March 24, 1943, to August 15, 1947, when he was released due to reduction in force.

**Basis for Investigation**

Investigation conducted under Voice of America Program.

**Results of Investigation**

Mrs. Jo Protzman, 4401 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, advised that Moursund and his wife, Dorothy, were self admitted Communist Party members. Mrs. Protzman advised that she first became acquainted with Dorothy Cook Moursund in about 1920 and first met Andrew Moursund some time previous to his marriage to Dorothy in either 1930 or 1931. Mrs. Protzman stated that she knew that Andrew Moursund and Dorothy Moursund were Communist Party members because they had both stated to her on numerous occasions that they were Communist Party members and because they told her that they were attending Communist Party meetings in Philadelphia and had also held Communist Party meetings in their apartment.

The Philadelphia Office of the Bureau received an anonymous communication on August 15, 1941, which stated that Andrew Moursund and his wife, Dorothy, of 135 South 36th Street, were believed to be active Communists. The investigation conducted disclosed that Moursund and his wife formerly resided at 106 South 36th Street.

Confidential Informant Philadelphia T-1 (highly confidential informant known to the Philadelphia Office) advised on October 15, 1943, that the name Dot Moursund, 123 South 37th Street, appeared on the membership list of Branch 24, South Section, 2-B of the Communist Party in Philadelphia.

Confidential Informant Philadelphia T-2  in which WPA formerly located, turned over to Philadelphia Office material left there by WPA) advised on December 4, 1947, that he had observed a card file maintained in the Office of the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art, in which appeared the name of Dorothy Moursund, 3874 Dungan Street, Philadelphia, as being on the mailing list.

The Communist Party and the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED**

**HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

123-1742

Class #2

E. F. Mindes

DATE 5/15/85 BY SP2 Tap/bce 18

b7D

Investigation disclosed that the Neursunds formerly resided at 123 South 37th Street and 3874 Dungan Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Numerous persons, both neighbors and fellow employees, upon interview described Neursund and his wife as being loyal citizens.

Reports to CSC September 17, 1948; to State Department September 17, 1948.

Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950.

III. CASES IN WHICH THERE WAS  
ASSOCIATION WITH INDIVIDUALS  
OR ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED  
WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/85 BY SP2TAP/ace

EMPLOYEES

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY SP/2tp/bce

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2TAP/bce

Membership in Cited  
Organizations

HERBERT JOHN ABRAHAM  
Assistant Director  
UNESCO Relations Staff  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Herbert John Abraham was born October 29, 1904, at Liverpool, England. He was naturalized July 7, 1941, at Chicago, Illinois.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 ( [redacted] active reliable paid) in 1945 advised that Herbert J. Abraham, 1619 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., had recently enrolled in the Washington Bookshop Association. b7D

Results of Investigation

T-1 when recontacted could furnish no additional information.

Neighborhood investigation revealed Abraham resided at 1619 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., from approximately August, 1944 to July 1945.

T-4 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that employee last paid his dues to the Washington Bookshop Association on December 7, 1944.

T-2 (technical surveillance on Alger Hiss), stated that employee and his wife and Alger Hiss and his wife were rather close friends.

T-1 is unwilling to testify.

Neighbors, acquaintances and co-workers furnished no positive disloyal information.

The Washington Bookshop Association was cited by the Attorney General.

Reports to CSC May 28, 1948 and to the Department March 7, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" - September 24, 1948. Department declined March 25, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/85 BY 92TAP/bie

121-1850

Class #3  
PFD: jks

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/15/85 BY Sp2Tap/bce

WARD PHILLIPS ALLEN  
aka Ward Philip Allen  
Specialist  
Division of International Organization Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Employee was born January 18, 1915, at Battle Creek, Michigan. From September, 1939 to January, 1942 he resided at 324 North Thomas Street, Arlington, Virginia, and from January, 1942 to date of investigation resided at 11 Shenandoah Road, RFD #1, Alexandria, Virginia.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant C-437 (technical surveillance on William Remington) advised that he is well acquainted with activities and contacts of William Remington and his wife Anne and that Ward Allen, an employee of the State Department, was a frequent contact of the Remingtons and that their association was of more than a casual nature.

Washington Confidential Informant T-3 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that the following appears in the files of the Washington Bookshop Association: "Allen, Ward Phillips, number 924 11/29/40, life member, former address 324 North Thomas Street, Arlington, Virginia - now resides 11 Shenandoah Road, RFD #1, Alexandria, Virginia, RE-8200, X 775."

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-2 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that the name "Ward All, 324 North Thomas Street, Arlington, Virginia," appeared in the active indices of the Washington Chapter of the American Peace Mobilization.

A representative number of fellow employees, supervisors, neighbors, and personal acquaintances were interviewed and furnished no disloyal information concerning employee. They all believed him to be loyal.

During the course of a Hatch Act investigation concerning him in 1941 employee denied being a member of the American Peace Mobilization but admitted being a member of "The Bookshop."

The informants mentioned above refused to testify before a Loyalty Board.

The American Peace Mobilization and the Washington Bookshop Association have been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.



Reports to CSC March 20, 1948; to Department November 3, 1948.

Disposition

Retained, September 20, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department  
November 22, 1948.

EVELYN MARIE BLICKENSDEYFER  
Information Assistant  
Foreign Service  
United States Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Evelyn Marie Blickensderfer was born July 15, 1914, at Shanesville, Ohio, the daughter of Jesse M. and Josephine Blanche Walker Blickensderfer, both American born citizens.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (a highly confidential source known to agents of the WFO) advised in April 1944, that the name Evelyn Blickensderfer, 4240 Second Road, North, Arlington, Virginia, appeared in a membership list of the Washington Bookshop Association followed by the date October 16, 1941.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 (identified above) upon recontact could provide no additional information.

Washington T-2 (an anonymous source known to agents of the WFO) advised that the dates following the employees name on above-mentioned list indicated the date she last paid dues to the association.

Employee's Loyalty Form disclosed she resided at 4240 Second Road, North, Arlington, Virginia, from June 1941, to July 1942.

Former business superiors and associates, former neighbors, references and acquaintances, all advised employee unquestionably loyal to the United States.

The Washington Bookshop Association was named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC June 22, 1949; to Department June 22, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty," December 20, 1949. No final advice regarding prosecution by Department, February 13, 1950.

121-17746

Class #3

R. E. Rasmussen:dhr:hr

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/15/85 BY SP2taf/bce

SAMUEL BROWN  
Division of Finance  
Accountants Branch  
Emergency Loan Section  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/15/85 BY SP2/afp/bee

#### Background

Samuel Brown was born November 26, 1897, at New York City, and is married to Frances Bogorad, who was born at Vitebsk, Russia. Employee's parents, now deceased, were both born in Hungary.

#### Basis for Investigation

Employee's wife, Frances Bogorad Brown, according to Board of Election records, New York City, registered as a Communist for the years 1933 to 1936, and in 1936 was candidate for State Assembly from the Third Assembly District, Bronx County, New York, under the Communist Party.

#### Results of Investigation

The records of the Board of Election, Bronx, New York, reflect that Samuel Brown, 1474 Wilkins Avenue, Bronx, New York, registered under the American Labor Party from 1937 to 1941. Under the record of petitions filed for Communist Party Third Assembly District of New York, 1936, the name of Frances Brown appears as a candidate for the State Assembly, as a delegate to the State Convention of the Communist Party and as a delegate to the First Judicial District of the Communist Party. Records also reflect that Frances Brown, 1474 Wilkins Avenue, Bronx, registered under the American Labor Party from 1937 to 1941.

Mrs. Rebecca Beegel, 1472 Wilkins Avenue, Bronx, New York, owner of the building, recalled employee and his wife residing at this address prior to moving to an adjoining apartment at 1474 Wilkins Avenue. Mrs. Beegel advised that employee's wife sold subscriptions to the "Daily Worker" among the people in the neighborhood. Mrs. Beegel stated she did not wish to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Mr. Louis Schwartz, 1500 Wilkins Avenue, Bronx, New York, advised that he had heard that the employee's wife was active in Communist Party work but was unable to recall source of his information. Employee, according to Schwartz, was a loyal citizen. Schwartz did not wish to testify.

Numerous individuals, fellow employees and neighbors, advised that employee was loyal.

A full field loyalty investigation was conducted on Frances Bogorad Brown, an employee of the Adjutant General's Office, Department of the Army, and on June 5, 1949, the Loyalty Review Board advised she was "eligible on loyalty."

The American Labor Party has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast Communist publication.

Reports to Civil Service Commission July 29, 1948; reports to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" May 6, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department November 29, 1949.

ALICE BURKOWSKY  
aka Burkoff  
Secretary  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Burkowsky was born September 17, 1910, at Brooklyn, New York. She resides at 2008 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that Alice Burkowsky, 2008 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., was an active member of the Washington Chapter of the American Peace Mobilization in 1941. The American Peace Mobilization was cited by the Attorney General.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 was recontacted and could furnish no additional information concerning Burkowsky. The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities disclosed that the name Alice Burkowsky, 2008 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., appeared on a list in 1942 as a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. These files further disclosed that Alice Burkowsky of the same address was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The American League for Peace and Democracy and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action have been cited by the Attorney General.

The employee was interviewed under oath in March, 1942, at which time she denied membership in the Washington Committee for Democratic Action but admitted at this time having attended meetings of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Vincent A. Simmel, Woodland Beach, Maryland, stated that he was a supervisor of the employee at the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., from 1936 to 1938. He described Burkowsky as a "radical" who spoke favorably of Communism but could furnish no specific information in this regard.

Carl S. Saphos, 4305 36th Street, South Fairlington, Arlington, Virginia, a fellow employee of Burkowsky at the Treasury Department, revealed that she was outspoken in her support of the Loyalists during the Spanish Civil War and that she was a strong supporter of minority groups in the United States.

Neighbors, references, associates and other former supervisors of Burkowsky who were interviewed regard her as a loyal American. Washington T-1, Vincent A. Simmel and Carl S. Saphos were not willing to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Reports to Civil Service Commission August 4, 1948; to Department March 23, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" November 16, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department, November 29, 1949.

121-10714

J.H.Randolph:hw

CLASS 3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/15/85 BY sp2 mp/bce

LOIS CARLISLE  
Research Analyst  
Division of Research for  
American Republics  
United States Department of State

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Background

Lois Carlisle was born on January 17, 1900, at Birmingham, Alabama.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant C-465 (technical surveillance on Arthur Stein, discontinued 1-17-49) advised the Washington Field Office that Lois Carlisle had been in frequent contact with and appeared to be a close friend of Mary Jane Keeney and her husband Phillip O. Keeney and that the association endured approximately from 1941 to 1947. Confidential Informant [redacted] (active, reliable, former CP member) advised that both Mary Jane and Phillip O. Keeney are known to have been members of the Communist Party.

b7D

Results of Investigation

The records of Washington T-1 (files of State Department) contain a signed statement submitted by Lois Carlisle on June 30, 1947 to officials of the State Department in which she stated that she was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Washington Bookshop Association and also a member of the League of Women Voters. Lois Carlisle stated that she joined the Southern Conference for Human Welfare due to the fact that she was from the south and was interested in seeing conditions improved in that section of the country. She stated she attended several meetings and a number of luncheons and made contributions to the organization regularly, but she noted that some of the speakers at the various functions spoke on other matters besides those pertaining to improvements of the south, and because of this she discontinued her attendance at luncheons and meetings and although she did not submit a formal resignation, she no longer paid her dues nor made any contributions to the organization.

Miss Carlisle explained her membership in the Washington Bookshop Association on the basis of a recommendation made by Mary Jane Keeney to the effect that she could purchase books at the bookshop at a savings. However, she advised that when she ascertained the bookshop had been cited as a Communist front group, she severed her relations with it.

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

Confidential Informants [redacted] (records of Washington Bookshop Association)

Confidential Informant [redacted] (reliable, active, paid, CP member) advised that the name Lois Carlisle 1-27-43, 215 B Street, Northeast, appeared on the membership list of the Washington Bookshop Association. Confidential Informant C-468 (technical surveillance on Phillip O. and Mary Jane Keeney, discontinued

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121-1985

Class 3

J. J. Bresnahan / ow

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DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6-28-47), who has had occasion to frequently contact Mary Jane Keeney, advised that Lois Carlisle and Mary Jane Keeney were in frequent contact with one another and on one occasion heard Mary Jane Keeney favorably recommend Lois Carlisle for employment with a government agency, stating that Miss Carlisle was of sound moral character and enjoyed an excellent reputation and that to her knowledge there was nothing concerning Lois Carlisle that was indicative of disloyalty. On another occasion C-168 noted that Mary Jane Keeney and Lois Carlisle mentioned Beatrice Braude, who was supposed to have brought a message to Mary Jane Keeney from an anti-Fascist in Berlin, and Jack Marsalka.

The name Beatrice Braude has been reliably reported as appearing on a list of names representing the members of the Washington Bookshop in 1944. It was also reliably reported during 1944 that Beatrice Braude offered her services to the Washington Bookshop in the capacity of a clerical employee.

John Marsalka, a professor at Yale University, has been reliably reported to have been a member of the Communist Party according to Confidential Informant  active reliable, former CP member).

b7D

Confidential Informant Washington T-3 (a highly confidential source), advised that in the spring of 1947 Phillip O. Keeney discussed his acquaintance with a person he had met in Japan. In referring to this person, Keeney said "He is a very good student but has the bourgeois attitude due to his background and bringing up. We can never do with him the little we have done with Lois (Carlisle) but his wife is susceptible to change."

Confidential Informant Washington T-4 (a highly confidential source of information) advised that Mary Jane Keeney had been acquainted with and apparently a friend of Lois Carlisle since 1941. He advised that in August of 1941 Mary Jane Keeney stated she was taking Lois Carlisle to dinner and intended to introduce her to "In Fact" and "The Red Dean." According to T-4, on another occasion Mary Jane Keeney stated she was taking Lois Carlisle to a Spanish aid party at the home of Mary Van Casteel. It is noted that Mary Van Casteel was known to have been a member of the Communist Party. This informant further advised that on another occasion Mary Jane Keeney stated she had spent the afternoon educating Lois Carlisle and had brought Lois Carlisle into association with several known or alleged Communists.

Confidential Informant C-427 (technical surveillance United Public Workers of America - CIO) advised that Lois Carlisle was in contact with such persons as Daniel Schwartz, Al Bernstein, and Milton Kelenson, all of whom have been reliably reported to have been associated with known and suspected Communist Party sympathizers.

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Washington T-8 [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] advised that she has known Lois Carlisle since approximately September of 1942 and had associated with her socially and considered her one of her best friends until 1947. This association was discontinued by T-8 because she considered the views of Lois Carlisle as being too Communistic. Washington T-8 stated that during the latter portion of her acquaintance with Lois Carlisle, the latter seemed to be trying to induce her to accept her (Carlisle's) beliefs, which according to T-8 supported the views of Henry Wallace, criticized American capital, condemned Catholics, and criticized the American treatment of the negroes and labeled the American system as reactionary. (S)(C)

Mrs. A. M. Stanton, Apartment 203, 215 E Street, Northeast, advised that she had been resident manager at this address since 1942, during which time she had been acquainted with Lois Carlisle as a tenant. She advised that Lois Carlisle was on friendly terms with Mary Jane Keeney until the latter's departure for New York City and that Miss Carlisle and Mary Jane Keeney continually visited each other.

Co-workers and former associates advised that they had no reason to question the loyalty of Miss Carlisle.

By letter dated June 17, 1948, the Loyalty Security Board, Department of State, requested to be advised of Miss Carlisle's activities in the affairs of Local No. 3 of the United Public Workers of America inasmuch as it had been alleged that she had taken an anti-Communist stand. The Board also requested to be advised as to whether or not Miss Carlisle had reestablished any contact with Mary Jane or Phillip O. Keeney since they moved from Washington in 1947.

b7D

Confidential Informant Washington [redacted] active, paid, reliable, member of the United Public Workers of America - CIO) advised that Miss Carlisle resigned from the UPWA-CIO in June 1948. This informant further stated that Lois Carlisle was one of the members of the Union who was most instrumental in starting "The Build The Union Committee" which committee was composed of "right wing" members of the UPWA-CIO, who were endeavoring to do away with any existing "Communist control."

No information has come to the attention of the Bureau indicating that the employee has been in contact with either Mary Jane or Phillip O. Keeney since June 1947 when the Keenays moved to New York City from Washington, D. C.

The informants listed above will not testify.

The Washington Bookshop Association has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The Southern Conference for

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Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front on March 29, 1944, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives.

Reports CSC March 3, 1948, supplemental information by letter August 9, 1948; to Department March 23, 1949.

Disposition

Eligible on loyalty 9-14-49. No criminal prosecution by Department 9-30-49.

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30

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ADA MURRAY CLARK  
Stenographer  
U. S. Mission to the United Nations  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Ada Murray Clark was born October 1, 1892 at Norfolk, Virginia.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant Cleveland T-1 (a highly confidential source known to the Cleveland Office) advised that in 1944, Mrs. Ada Murray Clark was listed as a sponsor of the Cleveland Council of American-Soviet Friendship. ~~(S)~~

Results of Investigation

Cleveland T-1, upon being recontacted, could furnish no further information concerning the employee.

Confidential Informant Cleveland T-2 [redacted] discontinued paid informant who died in 1944) made available in November 1943, a "throw away" advertising an American-Soviet Friendship Rally sponsored by the Cleveland Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Among the sponsors listed was the name Ada Murray Clark. b7D

Confidential Informant Cleveland T-3, (a highly confidential source known to the Cleveland Office) advised in 1944, that the employee was listed by the Cleveland Branch of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born as having contributed one dollar to that organization. ~~(S)~~

Confidential Informant T-10, [redacted] advised she has been acquainted with Mrs. Clark since 1939 and has had occasion to discuss Russia with her. Informant advised that Mrs. Clark would generally take Russia's side of any current controversial matter with the United States and that she frequently stated that "We haven't tried to understand or get along with Russia. Russia should be given more of a chance."

Mrs. William C. Stecker, 3307 Erie Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, advised that she formerly resided at 2483 Cedar Road, Cleveland, during the time that the employee resided there. Mrs. Stecker advised that she had been a little suspicious of the loyalty of the employee based on the fact that she had observed on several occasions a pamphlet addressed to the employee which bore the initials WCCB. Mrs. Stecker was unable to advise further concerning the nature of this pamphlet.

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121-11712

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Class #3  
E. F. Minoux: [initials]

CLASSIFIED BY: SP2 [initials]  
DECLASSIFY ON: DATE 7/5/85

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Roy E. Larsen, President, Time Incorporated, Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, advised that the employee had been his secretary over twenty years ago and that in July 1946, the employee had sent him a circular distributed by the Council for American-Soviet Friendship, which circular was critical of, and in reply to statements made by, John Foster Dulles.

Mrs. Marjorie Sini, 280 Woodland Drive, New York City, New York, advised that she has known the employee since September 1947, having worked with her since that time and during the period of her association with employee, she has observed Mrs. Clark wearing a Russian War Relief pin which she understood represented an organization with which the employee was associated in Cleveland. Mrs. Sini advised that although employee was a very outspoken woman, she had told Mrs. Sini that she was not a Communist, that she had formerly been in sympathy with Russia, but that since Russia had "behaved so badly" her feelings had changed. By memorandum dated February 28, 1942, Benjamin Mandel, House Committee of Un-American Activities, advised that the Russian War Relief is a Communist controlled front organization.

Confidential Informant New York City T-3 [redacted] an acquaintance of the employee) furnished a signed statement in which she advised that Mrs. Clark, in discussing current affairs in her presence, had stated that she, Mrs. Clark, believed in Communism and that she was a Communist. The informant advised that she was not able to recall Mrs. Clark's exact words except that she did say on at least one occasion "I am a Communist." The informant could not furnish any further information concerning the employee. b7D

Confidential Informant New York City T-1 (State Department, New York) interviewed the employee on October 21, 1947, at which time she stated she had been an active worker on the Women's Committee of the Russian War Relief in Cleveland and had been a contributor and member of the Soviet-American Friendship group in Cleveland. Further, that she had attended a Communist meeting approximately ten years before which had been addressed by William Z. Foster, and that she had left this meeting before its end because she became bored. Mrs. Clark further advised that many of her acquaintances probably considered her a Communist, but that she was not a member of the Communist Party and never had been.

The Communist Party, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born have been declared by the Attorney General to come within the purview of Executive Order 9835. (S)

The confidential informants mentioned herein will not testify.

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Numerous persons including neighbors, associates and fellow employees were interviewed during the investigation, and furnished favorable information concerning the employee's loyalty.

Reports to CSC September 28, 1948; to Department March 25, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" February 4, 1949.

No criminal prosecution by Department, April 11, 1949.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10-11-85 BY SPZ/gha

THEODORA COMBOLOS  
aka Dora Comboles  
Clerk  
Foreign Service Division  
State Department  
Berlin, Germany

Background

Employee was born January 9, 1920, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Her father, Pats Theodoros Comboles (born September 20, 1856, Lemna Greece), was naturalized July 27, 1918, Camp Kearny, California. She was issued a certificate on April 13, 1945 of citizenship derived through her father. Between September, 1942 and November, 1945, employee resided at 210 Terry Avenue, Apartment 841, and 209-7th Avenue, Apartment E, Seattle, Washington.

Basis for Investigation

On April 15, 1947, Seattle T-1 (highly confidential source known to Seattle Office) furnished an unsigned American Youth for Democracy (AYD) Charter Member application in the name of Dora Comboles, 210 Terry, Apartment 841, Seattle.

Results of Investigation

When contacted, T-1 furnished no additional information. [redacted] active, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Seattle; T-2 [redacted] paid, reliable member of Communist Party) [redacted] member), and T-10 [redacted] discontinued, not paid, doubtful reliability, AYD reliability, furnished information regarding employee's activities in 1944 in the AYD and the Sweethearts of Servicemen's Club of the AYD.

T-6 and T-10 also advised that employee was a member of the Washington State Council of AYD.

Numerous other neighbors, co-workers, and references of employee recommended her as loyal or denied knowledge of any disloyal information regarding her. Miss Schroeder and Mrs. Swaine were willing to testify; the other informants were not.

The AYD was cited by the Attorney General.

Reports to CSC, 6/1/43; supplemental reports to CSC, November 23, 1943; reports and supplemental reports to Department, 12/3/43.

Disposition

Eligible for loyalty - June 13, 1949; Department declined 12/15/42.

121-2994  
Class 3  
P.F. Dougherty:ENC *jk*

B5

b7D

HARRY CONOVER  
aka Edward Henry Conover  
Foreign Service Officer  
Department of State  
Oslo, Norway

Background

The employee was born Edward Henry Conover on January 27, 1913, at Newark, New Jersey.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant [redacted] discontinued, reliable informant, formerly Inspector, Alameda County District Attorney's Office) advised that the employee, Harry Conover, was a member of the American League Against War and Fascism in March, 1936.

b7D

Results of Investigation

On November 27, 1934, according to the records of the Berkeley, California, Police Department, a meeting of the Students Rights Association was held at the YMCA Cottage. This meeting was attended and reported by Officer A. E. Riedel of the Berkeley Police Department, and he stated that the speaker of the day was Miss Celeste Strack of the National Student League. He said that Miss Strack was introduced at the meeting by the employee.

The April 12, 1935, issue of the "Berkeley Gazette" carries an article entitled "Student 'Strike' Is Tame Affair; No Trouble Here." This article contains the following information regarding the employee:

"Harry Conover denounced the ROTC as 'the propaganda department of the War Department in Washington'. He charged that ROTC training stressed the 'inherent desire to kill' in students taking the training. He urged a protest not only against war, but against the causes and systems encouraging war'."

Confidential Informant [redacted] California Department of the American Legion, in possession of compiled data on Communist activities) advised that Harry Conover appeared as a speaker at a symposium on war sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism. The meeting was held on Wednesday, February 27, 1935, at the Press Club Building, 525 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. A handbill on this meeting is headed "Can We Stop War?" and contains the following information regarding the employee: "Harry Conover, U. C. student, 'The University as a Menace to Peace'."

121-15014

CLASS 3

JIGrealys:hw

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DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2TAF/bre

Another handbill made available by [ ] entitled "Why Delay WPA?" advertises a meeting of protest which lists "Harry Conover, Inter-Professional Association," as one of the speakers. The meeting was held on Tuesday, November 5, 1935, at the Berkeley High School Auditorium.

In the July 20, 1936, issue of the "Pacific Weekly" on Page 43 the following is stated regarding employee: "Harry Conover is a lecturer of note and a Marxian student, recently appointed Contributing Editor to the new Marxian quarterly 'Science and Society'." On Pages 46 and 47 of the same issue Harry Conover reviews the book, "Marxism and Modern Thought."

The "Pacific Weekly" for November 9, 1936, on Page 291 lists Harry Conover as one of the Board of Editors.

The Spring, 1937 issue of "Science and Society, a Marxian Quarterly," lists on the inside of the front cover that Harry Conover is a Contributing Editor.

Confidential Informant [ ] on being recontacted advised that on January 30, 1936, he had observed the name of Harry Conover on the membership list of the National Student League at the University of California. This list of members, according to Confidential Informant [ ] was maintained by Hazel MacKannay, whom informant identified as Organizer for the National Student League at the University of California at that time.

b7D

Confidential Informant [ ] further stated that on March 5, 1936, he had observed the name of Harry Conover on a list of members of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Confidential Informant [ ] made available certain newspaper clippings, handbills, and magazines containing references to Harry Conover as follows:

"Pacific Weekly," dated February 8, 1935. Pages 68 and 69 contain an article "Twelve Good Men and True" by Harry Conover.

"Pacific Weekly," dated November 18, 1935. This issue contains an article "The Dollar Boys at Sea, How the Government Keeps the Ship Owners From Starving," by Harry Conover.

A handbill headed "Celeste Strack Will Speak on the American Student Union Tonight, 2419 Haste, 8:00 P.M."

A leaflet "What is the ASU" in which the "Activities of the American Student Union" are outlined. This portion points out that the American Student Union Peace Committee is responsible to a large extent for the polls against and the abolition of

compulsory ROTC and refers to their "April strike against war" stating that the American Student Union defended Harry Conover who was threatened by the American Legion.

Confidential Informant [ ] advised that in April, 1935, two automobiles carrying members of the National Maritime Union from San Francisco were stopped in the vicinity of Modesto, Stanislaus County, California, and dynamite was found in each of the cars. The men were reportedly headed for Patterson, California, where the Standard Oil Company was supposed to be housing a group of strike-breakers. In July, 1935, a trial was held in Modesto, California, where Mr. Leslie A. Cleary, District Attorney of Stanislaus County, handled the prosecution of the men who were charged with "reckless possession of dynamite." Eight of the defendants were found guilty and sentenced to State Penitentiaries for periods of six months to five years.

Confidential Informant [ ] continued that in the latter part of 1935 an organization called the "Modesto Defense Committee" was created for the purpose of demanding the freeing of the National Maritime Union members who the Committee maintained were "framed." On February 16, 1936, the "Modesto Defense Committee" held a mass meeting at the Dreamland Auditorium, San Francisco, "to demand freedom of the Modesto frame-up victims." A handbill entitled "Mass Meeting" listed the employee as a speaker on the program. [ ] stated that subsequently Mr. Cleary, District Attorney, directed a letter to the President of the University of California demanding that the employee and Professor Max Radin be removed from the University but that no action was taken by the University in response to Mr. Cleary's letter. Confidential Informant [ ] stated that in support of Professor Radin and Harry Conover, against whom action was demanded by District Attorney Cleary, the American Student Union called a meeting to form the "Committee for Defense of Academic Freedom." The meeting was to be held in the offices of the American Student Union. b7D

Confidential Informant [ ] advised that he is not personally acquainted with the employee and has no additional information concerning him. He did not desire to furnish a signed statement or appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Confidential Informant [ ] was recontacted and he advised that he is not personally acquainted with the employee and has no additional information concerning him. He did not desire to furnish a signed statement or appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

The "Western Worker" in its issue of November 8, 1934, Pages 1 and 3, carried a photograph and accompanying article reflecting that Harry Conover was one of three speakers at a student assembly held on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley to demand reinstatement of five students at the University of California at Los Angeles.



On his Application for Federal Employment with the War Production Board dated October 18, 1941, the employee listed Irving Kaplan as a reference.

Washington T-1 [redacted] advised that Irving Kaplan was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C., in the early 1940s and was known to this informant as a dues paying Communist Party member.

b7D

Herbert J. Cummings, Chief of Foreign Compliance Section, Export Controls, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce, who formerly held a responsible position with the Division of Foreign Personnel, Department of State, advised that he has known Conover professionally since approximately 1940. Cummings stated that he was responsible for hiring Conover in 1943 with the Department of State. Cummings stated that after Conover was hired a question arose concerning Conover's activities while teaching at the University of California in approximately 1935. At that time Fletcher Warren, now Ambassador to Costa Rica, and Cummings interviewed Conover in connection with their official duties and discussed the alleged activities of Conover while the latter was at the University of California. He recalled that Conover had denied affiliation with the American League Against War and Fascism, admitted that he had known Ella Winter, but had not seen her nor had anything to do with her after he left California in approximately 1938. He recalled that Conover also admitted making speeches at the University of California but that Conover had stated that the speeches were prompted by his (Conover's) becoming irked by the lack of freedom of speech at the University of California. Cummings stated that Conover denied making any speeches at the University of California for any purpose other than his protesting the lack of freedom of speech in California at that time. Cummings related that both he and Mr. Warren had reached the conclusion that the allegations against Conover occurred in the middle 1930s at a time when the conditions in California were in a chaotic state. Further, that Conover had been away from California since 1939 and nothing had arisen which would reflect upon his record from that date to the present time. He stated that because Conover's record had been clear since he left California, they attributed his activities to his immaturity and a desire to express himself. In view of the fact that his record was clear subsequent to 1939, they did not believe that there was any doubt or question concerning employee as far as a security risk was concerned. Cummings did not desire to furnish a signed statement but stated he was willing to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities contain testimony of Harper L. Knowles of the California Department of the American Legion, who testified before the House Committee on October 24, 1938. On Page 1987 his testimony reads as follows:

Mr. Starnes: Dr. Radin is a known Communist.

Mr. Knowles: Yes, sir.

Mr. Starnes: How about Harry Conover? Do you know that Harry Conover is a Communist?

Mr. Knowles: It has been so reported and I think it can be established by witnesses."

On Page 2045 the testimony reads as follows:

"It will be noted that George Kidwell, a former member of the I. W. O.; Ella Winter, a known Communist and a writer on Russian activities; Harry Conover, a teacher at the University of California, who subsequently lost his position because of his radical activities; and Harry Bridges were among the speakers at this meeting."

The meeting referred to is a mass meeting to demand freedom of Modesto frame-up victims held at the Dreamland Auditorium, San Francisco, on February 16, 1936.

The records of the Registrar's Office of the University of California, Berkeley, California, reflect that the employee entered there in August, 1934, as a graduate student on the basis of a B.S. degree received from New York University the same year. He was enrolled in the Economics Department and was a teaching assistant to Professor Ira Cross. The records further reflect that he left the University at the end of the 1935-1936 semester.

The Communist Party, the American League Against War and Fascism, the Young Communist League and the Industrial Workers of the World have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The National Student League and the American Student Union have been cited as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Inter-Professional Association was reported as a Communist organization by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of the 1948 Regular California Legislature in their Fourth Report on Un-American Activities in California.

The California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, stated that the "Pacific Weekly" was a Communist publication alleged to be "a western journal of fact and opinion." It was published in Carmel, California. The Editor and Publisher was W. E. Bassett. Ella Winter, veteran California Communist, was Literary Editor.

The "Western Worker" in its masthead stated that it was the "Western organ of the Communist Party."

Several fellow employees, associates, references and neighbors were interviewed and they furnished no disloyal information concerning the employee.

Reports to CSC March 24, 1949; to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

No disposition received in file February 14, 1950.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**ELTON DONNELLEY**  
Employee - Press Officer  
State Department  
Santiago, Chile

CLASSIFIED BY: *SP2 Tof/lbce*  
DECLASSIFY ON: *OADR*  
*7/5/85*

Background

Born July 29, 1915, Forest Hills, New York. In 1940 resided at Hotel Vivian, 2700 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

SP3 2-1 (highly confidential source known to SP9) advised that Elton Donnelley, 2700 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W., was a dues paying member of the Washington Bookshop Association as of November, 1940. It is noted that the Washington Bookshop Association was cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.



(C)

Reports to CSC January 26, 1949; to State Department July 27, 1948.

Referral/Consult

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" July 15, 1949.

123-1162

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Class 3  
C.Doyle:tg, lgh *lgh*

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY: SP2 TAD/bce  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR  
7/5/85

HERBERT ABNER FIERST  
Aka Herb, Herb Fierst  
Adviser to Assistant Secretary for Occupied Areas  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Herbert Abner Fierst was born on July 29, 1914, at New York, New York. His duties in connection with his present employment are to act in behalf of the Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Areas in coordinating a well integrated course of policy and action between State, War, and Navy Departments. U

b7D

Basis for Investigation

~~Washington Confidential Informant T-4~~ [redacted] discontinued) who will not testify and Washington Confidential Informant T-5 [Technical surveillance on David Wahl - discontinued] advised that the employee, during 1946, 1947, and 1948 had frequent contacts with Wahl which were more than of a social nature. (S)

Results of Investigation

David R. Wahl has been identified by Washington Confidential Informant T-6 [redacted] active, reliable informant, former member Communist Party) who is acquainted with national and local Communist figures, as a member of the Communist Party underground in Washington, D. C. in the late 1930's and the early 1940's and a close associate of known Communists and pro-Soviet sympathisers. On one occasion Wahl advised Washington T-6 that he had been sent from New York City to Washington to discuss the activities of this underground group. This informant will testify. U

Washington Confidential Informant T-7 [redacted] active, paid, former member of the Communist Party) who will not appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board, advised that on July 12, 1946, Wahl was elected to the Board of Directors of the Washington Bookshop Association. U

The Attorney General has declared the Washington Bookshop Association to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835. U

Washington Confidential Informants T-4 and T-5 also have advised that the employee and Wahl very frequently had lunch together and on more or less frequent occasions the Fierst and Wahl families have invited each other to their homes for dinner parties. On one occasion in March, 1947, Wahl was known to have given a party in honor of Fierst. U

Washington Confidential Informant T-3 (a confidential source known to Agents of the Washington Field Office) advised that David R. Wahl maintains a list of names and addresses entitled "Roster of Helpful Persons" and that "Herbert Fierst, Assistant of General Hilldring" appears on this list. U

KKW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

David R. Wahl was listed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as being a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the American Peace Mobilization. Both of these organizations have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. u

Washington T-4 and T-5 advised that the employee, during 1946, 1947 and 1948 was in frequent association with Maurice Halperin. The informants did not know the extent of the association. Washington T-11 (highly confidential source of information known to WFO) advised that Halperin was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in New York City in the late 1930's and the early 1940's and that he was a close associate of known Communists and pro-Soviet sympathizers. u

b7D

Washington Confidential Informant T-16 [redacted] fellow employee, who requests that his name be kept confidential) who will not testify, advised that he has known Fierst since 1946. He indicated that he was well acquainted with the employee's activities in the State Department as well as of the activities of some of his close associates. In this connection he stated that Fierst was associated with Henry Collins, Jr., who is also a State Department employee. He stated that Collins was formerly a leader in the underground Communist Party movement in Washington, D. C., about 1940. He also recalled that Fierst had frequent visits from David Wahl. u

Washington Confidential Informant T-1 (a highly confidential source known to Agents of the Washington Field Office) advised in 1941 that the National Lawyers Guild listed Herbert Abner Fierst, 20 Exchange Place, New York City, among its active members, having paid his dues April 23, 1944. The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, on March 29, 1944. u

An examination of the files of Washington Confidential Informant T-15 (MID) reflects that the employee on January 19, 1945, signed a "loyalty check sheet" in which he stated that he held membership in the following organization since 1930: National Lawyers Guild. u

Washington Confidential Informant T-14 (confidential source known to Agents of the Washington Field Office) advised that Fierst is not presently a member of the National Lawyers Guild. u

Two associates of the employee, Washington T-16, previously described, and Washington Confidential Informant T-17 [redacted] fellow employee, who requested that his name be kept confidential) verified employee's daily contacts with Collins and Wahl. Both stated that the purpose of these contacts was for matters relating to displaced persons. T-17 will not testify. u

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Other associates, employers, supervisors and neighbors furnished favorable information regarding employee's loyalty.

Reports to CSC September 15, 1948. Reports to Department October 27, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" - October 7, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department - October 12, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2/TMP/ice

JOHN TIPTON FISHBURN  
Chief  
Division of International Labor  
Social and Health Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Employee was born October 11, 1913, at Moscow, Idaho. He resided at 9207 Kensington Parkway, Chevy Chase, Maryland, from October, 1939, to January, 1943, and from April, 1945 to date of investigation.

Basis for Investigation

Washington Confidential Informant T-1 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised in May, 1942 that the name John T. Fishburn was contained in the active indices of the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 was recontacted and had no additional information.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect the following: "John T. Fishburn, 9207 Connecticut Avenue, Chevy Chase, Maryland, member of the Washington Bookshop Association."

Mr. Thomas Holland, employee's supervisor, advised that shortly after loyalty forms were submitted employee informed him that it had come to employee's attention that the Washington Bookshop Association was under scrutiny from a loyalty standpoint. He advised Mr. Holland that he had become a member of the organization in 1938 or 1939 and renewed his membership for one year because it was a consumers' cooperative and he wished to take advantage of the moneysaving opportunity on purchase of books and phonograph records. Employee submitted a memorandum to this effect which he wished included with his loyalty questionnaire, stating that it had been so long since he joined the organization that he inadvertently omitted including the information on his loyalty form. Mr. Holland believed him to be loyal. Fellow employees, acquaintances, and neighbors furnished no substantive disloyal information. They believed him to be loyal.

The United American Spanish Aid Committee and the Washington Bookshop Association have been cited as within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General.

Reports to CSC May 17, 1948; to Department March 29, 1949.

Disposition

Retained, September 20, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department April 15, 1949.

121-3292  
Class 3  
DHYoung:hsb

W

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2TAP/BLA

JOSEPH BERLA FRANKENSTEIN  
aka Joseph Berla Frank Frankenstein  
Aliases  
Voice of American Program

Frankenstein  
Frankenstein was born September 30, 1910 at Trunzig, Austria. He entered the United States on July 7, 1941. He entered the U. S. Army on August 29, 1942, and was naturalized on April 13, 1943 at Leadville, Colorado. He married Kay Boyls, nee Belsky, in 1943.

Boyls for Frankenstein  
Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

History of Investigation  
In his personal history statement submitted for the U.S. Government Frankenstein reported that from July 1 to August 13, 1942, he was employed as Camp Counselor for children of the Hebrew Friends of America in the Hildels Camp at Hilden, New Jersey. The Hebrew Friends of America (since 1935) has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The Daily Worker's issue of October 18, 1948, a Communist Party East Coast newspaper, listed Kay Boyls, nee Belsky, as one of those who signed an appeal to President Truman on behalf of the members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee who were convicted of sabotage by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In the October 30, 1948 issue of the Communist Spanish Language newspaper "Libertacion" it is noted that Kay Boyls was among those who published President Truman for revision of sanctions against members of the Executive Committee of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. This organization has been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The issue of Kay Boyls also appears on a list of sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace which sponsored the visit of Dikot Shostakovitch to the United States from March 25 to March 27, 1949. This notation is found in the February 21, 1949 issue of the Daily Worker. Concerning the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, the United States Department of State granted visas to almost seven various Russian conducted countries but mentioned that the American Government undertakes no alliances as to the manner in which the Communist would attempt to manipulate the conference.

Franklin associates, references, and neighbors generally were favorable concerning the character, reputation, and loyalty of Frankenstein and his wife.



Reports to CSC, January 24, 1950; to Department of State, January 3, 1950.

Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2 tpf/bee

HELEN CHANDLER BARKINLE  
nee Tekalsky  
Mrs Helen Chandler Tekley  
Secretary  
Investment and Economic Development Division  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

Employee born January 23, 1915, Boston, Massachusetts, nee Helen Chandler Tekalsky. Her surname was changed by Court Order on May 27, 1915, to Tekley. From 1945 to 1947 she resided at 3520 39th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

### Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (Highly confidential source known to Washington Field Office, December 13, 1947) advised that the name and address "Helen Tekley, 3520 39th Street, Washington 19, D. C., (Helen Gardens) 2/46" appeared on an expired list of members of the Washington Bookshop Association. U

### Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 could furnish no additional information.

According to Washington T-3 (Highly confidential source known to Washington Field Office) a notation "Helen Tekley, 3520 39th Street, telephone 43 2660" appeared on a list of names which, during May, 1948, was located in an apartment at 2301 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., which was then shared by Sylvia Soloff and Marcelle Elinson. Washington T-4 [redacted] active, paid reliable, Communist Party member) stated that Soloff had been secretary of an underground unit affiliated with the Communist Political Association. Marcelle Elinson, according to Washington T-5 [redacted] active, paid, reliable, Communist Party member) in 1945 was active in the United Public Workers of America and was considered inside this union to be a member of the Communist Party. It is noted the Communist Political Association became the Communist Party in 1945. b7D

Employee roomed for 3 years previous to 1947 with Mrs. Betty Anari and has described herself as a close personal friend of Mrs. Anari. Washington T-4, mentioned above, stated Mrs. Anari was formerly affiliated with a Communist Party group in Washington Heights, New York and apparently was transferred from New York to Washington in the early part of 1943. Other reliable informants reported Mrs. Anari in 1943 and 1947 to be a member of the Washington Bookshop and associated with Communist Party members and sympathizers.

Miss Barbara Strout, 3520 39th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., who described employee as a very close friend of Betty Anari, also felt that employee and Rose Rihn were mutual friends. According to T-4, mentioned previously, Rose Rihn, nee Walker, was a member of the Communist Party between 1945 and 1946.

121-16529

G. E. Gotschall:tg:zg  
Class #3

At the time of this Loyalty investigation employee was the secretary to Daniel F. Margolies, Acting Assistant Chief, Division of Investment and Economic Development, State Department. In a Hatch Act interview conducted in 1942 by the FBI, Margolies admitted membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy and in the National Lawyers Guild. Washington T-5, above-mentioned, stated Margolies was a close friend of a Communist Party member and had resided in an apartment in Washington with Elisabeth Hale, another Communist Party member. Hale and Margolies allegedly held Communist discussions in their apartment previous to 1946.

Approximately 45 acquaintances of the employee considered her to be loyal to the United States or stated they possessed no information in this regard.

The Washington Bookshop Association, the Communist Political Association, the Communist Party and the American League for Peace and Democracy, all mentioned above, have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1946, page 149.

Washington T-1 and T-3 declined to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Reports to CSC, April 21, 1949; to Department, April 21, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" October 4, 1949.

No criminal prosecution by Department May 9, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2 Taff/e

JUSTINE GARWOOD  
AKA "Bus," "Cussy"  
Department of State  
New York, New York

### Background

Justine Garwood was born March 28, 1919 at Newark, New Jersey, and attended Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, from 1936 to 1940, at which time she graduated.

She was transferred to the Department of State on January 1, 1946 from the Office of War Information.

### Basis for Investigation

Investigation in this case was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America).

### Results of Investigation

Interviewed by Mr. Eisenhart and Mr. Low of the Department of State on February 10, 1947, Garwood admitted that she had been a member of the American Student Union, that she was aware that it was infiltrated by the Communist Party, U.S.A., but that she was active in eliminating the Communist influence from the Swarthmore chapter. She was given security clearance by the Security and Investigations Division on February 11, 1947.

The 1939 "Eolycon," Swarthmore College year book, revealed that Justine Garwood was a member of the Executive Committee of the Swarthmore Chapter, American Student Union.

According to Everett L. Hunt, Dean of Swarthmore College, the Swarthmore chapter of the American Student Union disassociated itself from the National organization in 1940 when the latter group was charged with sympathies toward Communism.

Confidential Informant T-1 (New York report 7/20/48, Mr. George Starr, former Bureau Agent employed in July, 1948 as Security Officer, Department of State, New York City), of normal reliability, advised on July 17, 1948 he had noticed in Garwood's desk in the State Department's New York office a green ticket bearing number 1911 for the "Giant Rally to Free the Anti-Fascists" at the St. Nicholas Arena on June 24, 1948, which rally was said to be sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, on January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Voice of America reports to State Department July 27, 1948; to CSC August 11, 1948.

### Disposition

None in file - February 14, 1951.

123-413

Class 3  
E.B. Riley:JHK, lgh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2TAP/bee

CARL LEO GEBUHR  
Aka Carl L. Gebuhr  
Radio-Motion Picture Officer  
Office of Information and Education (Overseas Program)  
Department of State, Foreign Service  
Stockholm, Sweden

### Background

Carl Leo Gebuhr was born on January 7, 1917, at Council Bluffs, Iowa. He received a B.A. Degree from the University of Iowa, December 22, 1943. He is married to Jayne H. Gebuhr, and resided at No. 1 Ridge Road, S. E., Apartment 203, Washington, D. C., 1941 to 1948.

### Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program.

### Results of Investigation

On February 7, 1942, during the course of another investigation, Gebuhr furnished a sworn statement to Agents of the Washington Field Office in which he admitted previous membership in the Washington Bookshop, which has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Gebuhr in this statement, explained that he terminated his membership in this organization upon learning that the Washington Bookshop was possibly affiliated with the Communist Party. He explained his reason for joining the Bookshop was to be able to obtain records and books at an economical price, but stated he never attended business meetings of the Bookshop or meetings sponsored by the Bookshop.

Washington T-1 [redacted] (unknown reliability) advised that Gebuhr was a member of the Bookshop and had probably joined that organization because of the informant's membership in the Bookshop. T-1 advised that at the time Gebuhr joined the Bookshop he had no knowledge it was under suspicion of being affiliated with the Communist Party. b7D

The Communist Party has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Washington T-4 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that Jayne H. Gebuhr of No. 1 Ridge Road, S. E., Apartment 203, was a paid up member of the Washington Bookshop on January 7, 1943.

Acquaintances, neighbors, references, and fellow employees reported favorably on Gebuhr's loyalty. Three fellow members of the American Veterans Committee reported that Gebuhr was active in the anti-Communist faction of the American Veterans Committee.

123-2052  
Class 3

A. Kayne:mer;ms

Reports to CSC October 27, 1948 and July 11, 1949; to State Department  
October 19, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty"- January 3, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2M/bca

THOMAS ADLER GOLDMAN  
aka Tom Goldman, T. A. Goldman  
Foreign Service Officer  
Department of State  
Rotterdam, Netherlands

Background

Thomas Adler Goldman was born December 18, 1918, at Ft. Worth, Texas, the son of Mary Ware and Marcus Isaac Goldman, both American born citizens.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (a highly confidential source known to agents of the WFO) advised in February 1944, the following information appeared in the files of the Washington Bookshop: "Tom Goldman (Mr. and Mrs.) #213, Life Members, 1702 Summit Pl., N. W., CO. 5003."

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 (identified above) upon recontact could provide no additional information.

Washington T-2 (a highly confidential source contacted December 13, 1947, and known to agents of the WFO) advised records of the Washington Bookshop under the caption "Current Active Members" contained the name Mr. and Mrs. Thomas A. Goldman, in care of Marcus I. Goldman, 707 20th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., 1702 Summit Pl., N. W., CO 5003, August 24, 1940, January 7, 1947.

Washington T-3 [redacted] active paid CP member, reliable) advised that the date appearing after the employee's name indicated the date of the last payment of dues. b7D

Washington T-4 (a highly confidential source known only to SA T. V. Dewsey of the WFO) advised that the active indices of the Washington Chapter of the American Peace Mobilization contained "Thomas Goldman, 1435 Sheridan Street, N. W., TA 3050" and "T. A. Goldman, 1702 Summit Place, N. W., CO 5003M."

Files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities contained information indicating Mr. and Mrs. Tom Goldman, 1702 Summit Place, N. W., Washington, D. C., were members of the Washington Bookshop, also that Thomas Goldman, 1435 Sheridan Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., was a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. Investigation disclosed employee rented an apartment at 1435

121-17550

Class #3

52

R. E. Rasmussen:dhr:ees

6/24

ret

Sheridan Street, N. W., on January 1, 1940, and his Loyalty Form disclosed he resided at 1702 Summit Place, N. W., from April 1940, to September 1941. Marcus I. Goldman, his father, lived at 707 20th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Employee was interviewed on April 22, 1942, during a Hatch Act investigation, and denied membership in the American Peace Mobilization, Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the Communist Party, or any organization advocating overthrow of the Government. Investigation disclosed Goldman attended Harvard at Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 1935 through 1939, and that he was a member of the Harvard Student Union during the time he was in school. Investigation disclosed he reportedly represented the Harvard Student Union as a Massachusetts Delegate to the Congress of Youth in July 1939. In 1938, the Harvard Student Union decided to affiliate with the American Student Union.

Marcus I. Goldman is a life member of the Washington Bookshop Association, according to a reliable informant, and House Committee on Un-American Activities records show he is a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, American League for Peace and Democracy and National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. A reliable informant advised that Marcus Goldman probably belonged to the Communist Party in earlier years, but had been dropped because of his dislike for the discipline. Informant advised it was immaterial whether he was a member or not as he served the same purpose.

Reliable informants advised that Mary Ware Goldman is a life member of the Washington Bookshop Association and on the active indices of the United American Spanish Aid Committee and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Washington T-7 [redacted] active Communist Party informant, not paid, reliable) advised one Gertrude Evans said employee married a girl who was a member of the Young Communist League. b7D

A majority of former associates and superiors advised the employee is a loyal American citizen. Benjamin F. Jasper, a former superior at the Civil Service Commission, advised that Goldman told him that he was a member of the Washington Bookshop, which he had joined for the reduced rate on books, and that he had taken a trip to Russia with his father as a tourist in 1937. Associates and acquaintances described the employee as unusually quiet, intelligent, taciturn, anti-social, that he had been influenced by his father in his younger days and had now matured greatly and was proud of his American heritage. A former associate at Harvard stated that employee did not associate with any of the young Communist group at Harvard.

The above-mentioned confidential informants will not testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.



The Washington Bookshop Association, American Peace Mobilization, Washington Committee for Democratic Action, American League for Peace and Democracy, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Communist Party, the United American Spanish Aid Committee, and the Young Communist League have been named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The American Student Union has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Reports to CSC June 14, 1949; to Department June 14, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file, February 13, 1950.

No prosecution by the Department, June 27, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 15/8 BY SP2T/A/bca

LORRAINE THERESA GRESKO  
Stenographer  
United States Foreign Service  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

Gresko was born January 24, 1927 at Whiting, Indiana. Her parents were born in Czechoslovakia. She attended the University of Wisconsin, Madison, from September 25, 1944, to June 19, 1943, when she received a BA Degree.

### Basis For Investigation

Milwaukee T-1 [redacted] a reliable unpaid confidential informant, who is employed as an Administrative Assistant, student personnel office, University of Wisconsin) advised in June 1946 that Lorraine Gresko, 124 Langdon Street, Madison, Wisconsin, was listed as a member by the University of Wisconsin Branch of the American Youth for Democracy for the school year 1945-46. The American Youth for Democracy has been cited by the Attorney General. b7D

### Results of Investigation

Milwaukee T-1 was recontacted at which time she confirmed the information originally reported by her in respect to Gresko. T-1 indicated, however, that Gresko was not personally known to her and further that she did not recall Gresko being active in the American Youth for Democracy. Neighbors, references, employers, fellow students and associates of Gresko consider her a loyal American. Annette Sherman, 11116 Oehir Drive, West Los Angeles, California, a former classmate of Gresko at the University of Wisconsin, advised that Gresko had resided in the same house at the University with two girls described by her as being interested in the American Youth for Democracy. This classmate stated that these girls had tried to interest Gresko in the American Youth for Democracy but that Gresko did not believe in the principles of the American Youth for Democracy. Milwaukee T-1 was not willing to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Reports to CSC, May 11, 1949; to Department same date.

### Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty," October 10, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department, May 26, 1949.

121-17094

Class #3

JHRandolph:vab:zg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY *[Signature]*

SYLVIA GROVESMITH  
aka Sylvia Grobsmith, Sylvia Peck  
Mrs. Seymour Peck  
Division of International Press and  
Publications  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Sylvia Grobsmith was born October 4, 1920, in Bronx, New York. Her parents were born in Warsaw, Poland. Her father, Jacob Grobsmith resided at 2704 Wallace Avenue, Bronx, New York in 1942, and later at 2922 Barnes Avenue, Bronx, New York. Sylvia Grobsmith resided at 2704 Wallace Avenue, Bronx, New York in 1942. She married Seymour Peck, 1025 Gerard Avenue, Bronx, New York, on August 19, 1949.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under the provisions of Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Mrs. Rhoda Salter, 110 East 87th Street, New York City advised she attended Queens College with Sylvia Grovesmith from approximately 1938 to 1942. She advised that while at Queens College, both she and Sylvia Grovesmith were members of the American Student Union.

Dean Harold Lenz, Student Activities, Queens College, produced the official list of members and officers of the American Student Union at Queens College. This list reveals that in October, 1938, Sylvia Grobsmith was Political Action Director of the American Student Union; in January, 1939, she was again Political Director of the American Student Union; in February, 1939, she was listed as Roll Call Director of the American Student Union and in October, 1939, and January, 1940, as a member of the American Student Union.

New York T-39 (Bureau of Special Services and Investigations, New York City Police Department) advised that the name of Sylvia Grobsmith, 2704 Wallace Avenue, Bronx, New York, appeared as the signer of a card addressed to District Attorney Dewey on August 10, 1942, protesting the perjury prosecution of Morris U. Schappes, a professor at City College of New York.

The records of the Clerk of the General Sessions Court, County of New York, disclosed that Morris U. Schappes, an instructor in English at the City College of New York, was dismissed on March 15, 1941, following an investigation of Communism in the educational system of

123-412

R. H. Egan:hmm:jks  
Class #3

the State of New York by the Rapp-Coudert Joint Legislative Committee. At these hearings, Schappes admitted that he had been a member of the Communist Party and active as such on the College Campus from 1935 to 1940. He testified specifically that during the period of his activity there were but four members of the City College Unit of the Communist Party, whereas other witnesses offered testimony showing there were 50 members. On the basis of the testimony Schappes was indicted on four counts for giving false testimony before the Committee. He was convicted on June 28, 1941 in the General Sessions Court, New York, and sentenced to serve eighteen to twenty-four months in the State prison.

The records of the House Committee on un-American Activities reflect that one Jacob Grobsmith, 2704 Wallace Avenue, Bronx, New York, signed a 1942 Communist Party petition.

In April, 1944, New York T-7 (an anonymous source known to the New York Office) advised that Jacob Grobsmith was a member of the Allerton Club in Section 6 Assembly District of Bronx County Communist Party and was transferred from the Williamsbridge Club, Bronx County, transfer No. 12895. Grobsmith's address was 2122 Barnes Avenue.

In April, 1944, New York T-7 advised that Seymour Peck, 1025 Gerard Avenue, Bronx, New York, was a member of the West Concourse Club, Second Assembly District, Bronx Communist Party and that he wrote articles for the Communist Party.

In December, 1944, New York T-3 [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] advised that the name of Seymour Peck, 1025 Gerard Avenue, Bronx, New York, appeared on a list maintained by the West Concourse Club, Second Assembly District, Bronx, of the Communist Political Association indicating Peck to be a member of that club.

Neighbors, other associates and fellow employees advised that they had no information reflecting on the loyalty of Sylvia Grovesmith.

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on un-American Activities, January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

Reports to State Department, July 23, 1948; to CSC August 9, 1948. Supplemental report to State Department, October 11, 1949; to CSC, October 13, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file, February 14, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/83 BY SP2 R/ace

MAXWELL McCARTHY HAMILTON  
Career Minister  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Hamilton born Tallapoosa, Oklahoma, December 20, 1896. From 1939 to 1941, resided at 318 Quaker Lane, Alexandria, Virginia.

Basis for Investigation

Records of House Committee on Un-American Activities disclosed Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell M. Hamilton, 318 Quaker Lane, Route #2, Alexandria, Virginia, were members of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. This alleged membership apparently existed prior to 1941.

Results of Investigation

A recheck of the House Committee on Un-American Activities failed to disclose source of above information.

Washington T-5 (highly confidential source of information known to the Washington Field Office) in spring of 1941, reported name of Mrs. Maxwell M. Hamilton, 318 Quaker Lane, Route 2, Alexandria, Virginia, appeared on membership list of Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Washington T-6 (highly confidential source of information known to the Washington Field Office) advised Mrs. Maxwell M. Hamilton, Route 2, Alexandria, Virginia, in January, 1941, was member of Washington League of Women Shoppers.

A representative number of acquaintances of Mr. Hamilton considered him loyal to the United States or stated they possessed no information.

The Washington Committee for Democratic Action was cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The League of Women Shoppers was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities March 29, 1944.

Reports to CSC September 28, 1949, October 10, 1949, October 20, 1949; to Department September 28, 1949, October 10, 1949, October 20, 1949.

121-19060

Class 3  
G. E. Gotshall:mhb, lgh

JEB

Disposition

None received in file from GSI February 14, 1950.

No criminal prosecution by Department October 7, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GEORGE LAWRENCE HARRIS  
Employee  
Cultural Relations Officer  
Attache  
State Department  
Nanking, China

10-10-85  
Classified by SP2TAP/bee  
Exempt from GDSR

Background

Born November 13, 1910, Spokane, Washington. Married Jesse Kalman October 9, 1935, Everett, Washington. Divorced September 19, 1941, Seattle. Married Elaine A. Nehrlick September 20, 1941, Los Angeles. U

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress. U

Results of Investigation

Contact with Seattle T-1 [redacted] active, paid, reliable) reflected that George Lawrence Harris and wife, Jesse Harris, were members of the Young Communist League in Seattle from 1936 to 1941. It should be noted that the Young Communist League was cited by the Attorney General. Seattle T-2 [redacted] discontinued, reliable) advised that on January 3, 1944, Jesse Harris was membership director for King County Communist Party of Washington. On December, 1944, Seattle T-3 [redacted] discontinued, reliable) stated that Jesse Harris was full time paid employee of Communist Party headquarters, 910 1/2 - 3rd Avenue, Seattle, Washington. b7D

Elaine Nehrlick, second wife of Harris was employee of Russian War Relief, Los Angeles, California, 1942, according to Los Angeles T-1 [redacted]

[redacted] unreliable). Los Angeles T-2 (trash cover, San Francisco Communist Party headquarters advised that the name of Elaine A. Nehrlick appeared on list of subscribers to "People's World." The subscription became effective April 24, 1942. Los Angeles T-3 [redacted] active, paid, reliable) advised that "People's World" is west coast daily Communist newspaper.

Miss Katrina Green, Acting Secretary of Institute of Pacific Relations, New York City, on June 29, 1948, advised that George L. Harris was employed as research associate for short period and wrote Teachers Syllabus on Far East. She advised that Harris has been member of Institute of Pacific Relations for sometime. Louis Budenz, former managing editor of Daily Worker advised that the Institute of Pacific Relations was originally non-Communist but the Communists infiltrated it. Representatiw

123-1167

Class 3

CARROLL DOYLE:cg

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
60

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

master of neighbors and associates in Chilquin and Klamath Falls, Oregon, as well as Los Angeles, California, contacted, and reported no disloyal data concerning Harris.

Reports to CSC December 27, 1948; to State Department July 27, 1948.  
Supplemental report to State Department August 3, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty," June 13, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/83 BY SP2 tap/lee

DAVID HOWE HENRY, II  
Foreign Service Officer  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

#### Background

Records of Department of State reflect that David Howe Henry, II, was born in Geneva, New York, on May 19, 1918. His permanent address was listed as 606 S. Main, Geneva, New York, on State Department Application dated June 13, 1940.

#### Basis for Investigation

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that the name David Henry, 606 S. Main Street, Geneva, New York, appeared on one of the membership cards of the Washington Bookshop which were obtained from subpoena served on Mr. McCalmont of the District of Columbia Cooperative League by Mr. Barker of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 16, 1941. The Washington Bookshop was the predecessor organization to the Washington Bookshop Association which has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

#### Results of Investigation

Mr. Fred K. Salter, Department of State, Washington, D. C., advised that he first met the employee in Warsaw, Poland, in 1948, and had renewed acquaintance with him in 1949 when the employee came to Washington, D. C. on assignment. He recalled that on one occasion during a gathering of State Department employees that Henry made the statement that he had been a member of one organization while a student which he was very much surprised to hear was on a list of organizations declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Mr. Salter stated that he was of the opinion that the organization referred to by the employee was the Washington Bookshop as he recalled him mentioning something about having been in an organization to use its library facilities. Mr. Salter also recalled the employee stated that he hoped this affiliation would have no ill affects upon his career.

Mr. Salter further stated that he personally has never had any reason whatsoever to question employee's loyalty. Numerous fellow employees, neighbors, and associates stated they never had any reason to question employee's loyalty.

Reports to Civil Service Commission December 29, 1949; to Department December 29, 1949.

#### Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950. No criminal prosecution by the Department January 13, 1950

121-20849

Class #3

J. J. Bresnahan:man:dbb

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/5/85 BY 921up/eca

RUTH MARY HILL  
nee Lewis  
aka Rony Lewis,  
Mrs. James G. Hill  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
International Broadcasting Unit  
U. S. Department of State

#### Background

Ruth Mary Hill was born April 22, 1917, Roslyn, New York. She attended Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania from September 26, 1935 to June 7, 1937, graduating with the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in Economics. She is married to James Hill who graduated from Swarthmore in 1935.

#### Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under the Voice of America program.

#### Results of Investigation

The "Swarthmore Phoenix" which was a newspaper published by the students of Swarthmore College in its issue of December 8, 1936, reported that Ruth Mary Lewis, President of the Swarthmore Chapter of the American Student Union had announced that members of the American Student Union would travel to Philadelphia on December 10, 1936 for a meeting of the North American Committee for the Defense of Spanish Democracy at which delegates of the Spanish Government would speak.

The "Swarthmore Phoenix" issue of October 27, 1936 contained an article which revealed that Ruth Lewis, also known as Rony Lewis, was temporary chairman of a committee "of students to organize a chapter of the American Student Union at Swarthmore". The same publication in its issue of November 3, 1936 reported that Ruth Lewis was elected president of the newly formed Swarthmore chapter of the American Student Union at its first meeting on October 29, 1936.

The "Swarthmore Phoenix" issue of February 16, 1937 reported that Ruth Mary Lewis was one of the students at Swarthmore College who would attend the "Youth Pilgrimage to Washington" which the American Youth Congress was sponsoring February 19-22, 1937.

The "Swarthmore Phoenix", in an article dated February 23, 1937, about the American Youth Congress activities in Washington, D. C. during the weekend of February 21, 1937 stated, "The World Youth Congress held in Geneva last summer was attended by Ruth Lewis, president of the Swarthmore chapter of the American Student Union.

123-652

Class #3

W. L. Leishear:ees

63

WLF

The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the American Student Union and the World Youth Congress have been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist fronts. The American Youth Congress has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

During applicant's attendance at Swarthmore College, the "Swarthmore Phoenix" newspaper contained numerous articles reflecting her association with a number of other students who were also active in the American Student Union and the World Youth Congress, some of whom were also members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front.

Three associates of Ruth Lewis's father stated that her father, Albert Lewis, before his death, had said she was a Communist. A number of her co-workers in the State Department indicated that her character and loyalty were good.

Reports to CSC - August 9, 1948; reports to State Department - July 27, 1948.

Miscellaneous

Ridgible on Loyalty - August 2, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/5/85 BY SP2TAP/bce

ELWOOD HOLSTEIN

Aka Elwood Wesley Holstein, "Boodie"  
Organization and Methods Examiner - Appointee  
Division of Organization and Budget  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

Elwood Holstein was born on January 3, 1910, at Pottsville, Pennsylvania.

### Basis for Investigation

Elwood Holstein in a sworn statement dated January 23, 1942, furnished in connection with a Hatch Act investigation, admitted membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy. In referenced statement Mr. Holstein advised that he became a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy because of his interest in the Spanish and Chinese wars and the Japanese boycott. He said, however, he lost his interest in the organization when it became laudatory of the Nazi-Soviet pact and ceased his membership in the organization.

### Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 (a highly confidential source of information known to the Washington Field Office) advised that in 1941, the names Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Holstein, 4601 Montgomery Street, Bethesda, Maryland, appeared on the membership list of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Washington T-2 (a highly confidential source of information known to the Washington Field Office) advised in 1941 that the names of Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Holstein, 4601 Montgomery Street, Bethesda, Maryland, appeared in the active indices of the Washington Chapter of the American Peace Mobilization.

Washington T-3 (a highly confidential source of information known to the Washington Field Office) advised that during the early 1940's, an individual known to him as "Boodie" Holstein, was associated with David Wahl. The informant advised that he was not in a position to know the extent of or the nature of this association between Holstein and David Wahl.

b7D

Washington T-10 ( [redacted] active, reliable, former Communist Party member) has advised that David Wahl was a member of a Communist Party underground movement in Washington, D. C., during the late 1930's and early 1940's. He has been described by this informant as a close associate of known Communists and pro-Communist sympathizers.

Washington T-4 (a highly confidential source of information known to the Washington Field Office) advised that in 1942 the names of Elwood and Rosalie Holstein appeared in the active indices or mailing list of the United American Spanish Aid Committee. This informant was not in a position to identify the above-mentioned Elwood and Rosalie Holstein as the appointee and his wife.

121-20393

Class #3 J. J. Bresnahan:hw:zg

65

It is to be noted that on the Request for Report of Loyalty Data submitted by the State Department regarding the appointee, Mr. Holstein's address from March, 1940, until November, 1941, was listed as 4601 Montgomery Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland, and his wife's name was listed as Rosa Lee Holstein.

Miss Elinor G. Hayes, Chief, Personnel Methods Branch, Office of Personnel, Social Security Administration, when interviewed, advised that she was acquainted with Holstein as a co-worker from 1938 until 1942 at the Social Security Board and that she has no reservations where the question of his loyalty is involved. However, Miss Hayes stated that she sometimes questioned Holstein's judgement, particularly because of his support of a local organization which had collected funds for the Spanish Loyalist forces in Spain during the late 1930s. She stated that she had advised Holstein that she was not entirely certain that the organization was a reputable one from a loyalty standpoint, and he appeared to be sympathetic with her viewpoint. However, she stated that she felt certain Holstein's support of the organization was motivated by a sincere conviction that he was supporting a truly democratic force in Spain.

Holstein's personnel file at the Social Security Administration reflected that one Murray Latimer had been largely instrumental in placing appointee with that agency and Holstein on several occasions listed Latimer as a personal reference.

It is noted that Latimer has in the past been reported by reliable informants as one whose name appeared in the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and as a sponsor of the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy. Latimer was also reported in 1938 as a sponsor for the Modern Forum of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

In connection with his employment by the War Production Board, Holstein was under investigation in 1943 by the Investigations Division of the Office of Emergency Management. At that time Holstein was interviewed by a representative of that agency and executed a signed statement in which he stated that he had been a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy for about one year terminating definitely at the time of the announcement of the German-Soviet pact. He said that in the years 1935 and 1936 he contributed some money for the purpose of aiding in the purchase of ambulance and medical supplies for the Loyalists in Spain, advising that this contribution was made to an organization called "Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy." In this statement he stated that he was never sympathetic with the Communist form of Government, and had never been a member of the Communist Party, and voiced his allegiance to this country and its institutions.

Max Freyd, St. Petersburg, Florida, a former fellow employee of Holstein at the Federal Security Agency in Washington, D. C., in 1942, when interviewed during a Hatch Act investigation conducted by this Bureau regarding appointee, advised that during the period of the Spanish Civil War Holstein was very much interested in

raising funds to aid the Loyalist forces in Spain and was active in working for the lifting of the embargo on war supplies to Loyalist Spain. Further, that Holstein contributed approximately thirty-five dollars to the Loyalist cause. When reinterviewed during instant Loyalty investigation, he stated that he was unable to recall that he had reported the above other than the fact that the appointee contacted him for the purpose of obtaining an increase in salary or a change in classification at which time he said that he was compelled to contribute thirty-five dollars a month to the Loyalist cause in the Spanish Civil War. It is to be noted that Mr. Freyd is presently retired and in ill health. Former fellow employees and neighbors were contacted and were unable to furnish any disloyal information regarding the appointee.

The American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the American Peace Mobilization and the United American Spanish Aid Committee have been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy cited by HCUA as Communist Party front.

None of the confidential informants mentioned above will testify.

Reports to Civil Service Commission December 21, 1949; to Department December 21, 1949.

Disposition

Not received February 13, 1950. No final advice from Department regarding prosecution February 13, 1950.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SVANAVA FIEKOVYA JAKOBSON  
Aka Svata Helga Jakobson  
Svatava Helga Jakobson, Svatia  
Voice of America  
Department of State  
New York, New York

CLASSIFIED BY: 82 TAF/bce  
DECLASSIFY ON: 7/5/85 OADR

Background

Mrs. Jakobson born March 19, 1908, Vienna, Austria. Entered the United States with husband at New York City June 4, 1941, from Sweden. Filed declaration of intention October 29, 1941, and second naturalization papers October 3, 1948, at New York City. As of May, 1949, the naturalization of Mr. and Mrs. Jakobson was still pending. u

In May, 1949, Mrs. Jakobson had complete responsibility for editing and arranging translation of Czech edition of magazine "Amerika" for Department of State. Her husband, Roman Jakobson is described as a world renowned authority in the field of comparative linguistics. u

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under Voice of America Program. u

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Results of Investigation

New York T-15 [redacted] (Communist, active, nonpaid, reliable) stated that neither Mrs. Jakobson nor her husband had been Communist Party members in Prague, Czechoslovakia, previous to their immigration to the United States but that they were generally known as intellectual fellow travelers and Communist sympathizers. Informant has heard of anti-Communist sentiments expressed by the Jakobsons since their arrival in U. S. but reserved judgement as to whether they are sincere. (S)

Jan Munser, International Broadcasting Division, State Department, New York City, an acquaintance of Mrs. Jakobson for twenty years stated Mrs. Jakobson had a love affair with an individual named Falc, a Communist who was in the United States from 1940 to 1945, and who has since returned to Czechoslovakia where he is the official cartoonist for the Communist Party paper. Munser did not believe this affair had any political implications although Mrs. Jakobson knew Falc was a Communist. u

New York T-31 (subversive indices, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C.) reported name of Svatava Jakobson appeared on a list of Board of Directors of People's Songs, Inc. u

John G. Sciranka, 178 Maple Avenue, Wallington, New Jersey, Editor of the Slovak semi-weekly "Slovak V. Amerika" published in New York City, stated the Jakobsons since being in the United States have been definitely pro-Russian and u

123-2984 and 121-3319

G. E. GOTSCHALL:eb:zg

Class #3

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pro-Communist. U

Kansas City T-1

[redacted] (reliability unknown) expressed suspicion of Ronan Jakobson's loyalty because of his association in New York City with several Czechs who later returned to their home country and obtained important positions in the Communist dominated government. On the other hand he stated he was aware of Jakobson's friendship with influential persons in the United States whose loyalty to the United States was above question. He expressed an opinion that Jakobson and his wife were "opportunists" whose loyalty to any country or organization would depend upon the personal benefits they received. He further expressed an opinion that Mrs. Jakobson is flattered by her husband's position and probably would follow any course he dictated. U

During October and November, 1947, according to New York T-28 (technical surveillance on Ignace Wlotowski, New York City) Mrs. Jakobson was in frequent contact with Ignace Wlotowski. This individual was described in the February 22, 1949, edition of the "New York World Telegram" as a Polish official in the United States who allegedly had been involved in espionage work in behalf of the Communist Polish Government. X

b7D

New York T-23

[redacted] for Mr. and Mrs. Jakobson, (unknown reliability) stated Mrs. Jakobson claimed to have been married to her present husband in the Russian Embassy in Prague in 1935. [In late 1947, informant stated that the Jakobsons were visited in New York City by officials of the Czechoslovakian Government some of whom were known to the informant to be Communists. In the early part of 1948, according to informant, Jakobson corresponded with officials of the Czechoslovakian Government.] Jakobson allegedly stated he did not want his Communist friends in Czechoslovakia to know he had been talking like an anti-Communist in the U. S. Informant stated Mrs. Jakobson had expressed bitter feelings against the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia. Mrs. Jakobson reportedly reconciled this feeling with the fact that she had many Communist friends by stating that she and her husband had lived closely with these Communist friends during the war and desired to continue their friendship with them. X

In contrast to the allegations of pro-Communist sympathies and associations mentioned herein before other acquaintances have stated the Jakobsons were definitely anti-Communist. For example, Mr. Jakobson is alleged to have expressed apprehension at returning to Czechoslovakia because he believed he would be thrown in prison by the Soviets. U

Concerning the background of Mr. Jakobson, Jan Munzer, mentioned above, has stated that Jakobson went to Czechoslovakia with a Soviet Economic Trade X



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Mission in approximately 1920. He broke with the Russian Government around the middle 1920's and, according to Munzer, absorbed himself in Czechoslovakian life. Among the prominent Communists with whom Jakobson is well acquainted, according to Munzer and other informants, are the following: Ilja Ehrenburg, Russian journalist who toured the U. S. in recent years and upon his return to Russia wrote a highly uncomplimentary story about the U. S. Adolf Hoffmeister who was appointed Ambassador to Paris under the Czechoslovakian Communist Government and has since become a member of the Czechoslovakian delegation to the United Nations. Vladimir Clementis, Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister under the Communist Government. \_\_\_\_\_ Slansky, Secretary of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia. ~~(S)~~

Munzer stated that Jakobson has been a Professor of linguistics and has held the Masaryk Chair of Czechoslovakian literature at Columbia University, New York City. This chair was originally established by the Czechoslovakian Government-in-Exile and has since been continued by endorsement of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia. Munzer indicated Jakobson was leaving Columbia during 1949 partly because he found it embarrassing to hold this chair. u

Among anti-Communist friends of Jakobson, Professor Philip S. Moesley of Columbia University mentioned the name of Hubert Ripka, the former Czech Foreign Minister under the Benes Government and an anti-Communist. u

People's Songs was cited as a Communist front in the 1948 report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities. u

All of the above-mentioned informants are unavailable to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board with the exception of Jan Munzer. u

Reports to CSC August 2, 1949; to State Department July 19, 1949. u

Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950. u

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CLASSIFIED BY *[Signature]*  
DECLASSIFY ON *[Signature]*  
7/5/85 DMR

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

DOROTHY KEYNON  
U. S. Representative to United Nations  
Committee on the Status of Women of the  
Economic and Social Council  
United States Mission to the United Nations  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Keynon was born February 17, 1888, at New York City. She is a former Judge of the Municipal Court of New York City.

Basis for Investigation

Employee's affiliation with numerous organizations cited by the Attorney General and/or the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist fronts.

Results of Investigation

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that Dorothy Keynon, has in the past, been associated with the following numerous organizations all of which have been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist front organizations:

- Descendants of the American Revolution - Member of Advisory Board (1938)
- Film Audiences for Democracy - Member of Advisory Board (1939)
- Films for Democracy - Member of Advisory Board (1939)
- Consumers National Federation - Sponsor of Conference called December 11-12, 1937
- Co-ordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo - No specific affiliation
- American Labor Party - Sponsor of Mass Rally under Auspices ALP, held Masters Institute, New York City
- Milk Consumers Protective Committee - Member of Advisory Board (1940)
- Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain - Member
- Conference on Pan-American Democracy - Sponsor (1938)
- The League of Women Shoppers - Sponsor (1935)

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New York Tom Mooney Committee - Sponsor

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom -  
Sponsor of Citizens Rally held under auspices ACDIF,  
Carnegie Hall, New York City, April 13, 1940. Signer of  
petition to discontinue Dies Committee.

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights -  
Sponsor (1940).

National Lawyers Guild - Member of the Board of Directors (1939).

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities also reflect Dorothy Kenyon's past affiliations with the following organizations cited by the Attorney General, as well as by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

International Labor Defense - Sent greetings to the National  
Conference (1939).

American Council on Soviet Relations - Sent greetings to  
Soviet women.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship - Sponsor of  
Call to the Congress, New York City, November 6-8, 1943.

Photostatic copies of the documents showing Kenyon's association with the above organizations were sent as enclosures with the Bureau's report.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities records also reflect that Kenyon was an affiliate of the American Youth Congress. The date and nature of the affiliation was not noted in the records.

Confidential Informant Washington T-3 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field) advised that in 1940 the name of Dorothy Kenyon was maintained in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties ~~(S)~~

Confidential Informant Washington T-5 (Civil Service Commission) advised that one Dorothy Kenyon, not further identified, has in the past acted as a sponsor of the League for Mutual Aid.

The "Daily Worker", an East Coast Communist publication, in its issue of August 2, 1938, reported that one Dorothy Kenyon was one of the Grand Marshals who were to lead a parade sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy.

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Confidential Informant New York City T-1 [trash cover on American Committee for Yugoslav Relief] in September 1947, furnished a list of sponsors of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief. On this list of sponsors appears the name of "Hon. Dorothy Kenyon."

The official program of a dinner held on October 16, 1944, in honor of the Youth of America on the first anniversary of the American Youth for Democracy, listed Judge Dorothy Kenyon as a sponsor.

On October 9, 1944, an open letter appeared in the "New York Times" captioned "An Open Letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey." The letter was sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee and asked for the pardon of Morris Schappes. Judge Dorothy Kenyon was listed as a signer of this letter.

Employee signed a letter of protest which appeared in the "Daily Worker" on February 21, 1940, protesting the arrest of persons accused of recruiting men to fight for the Spanish Loyalist Government. The article stated "The nation-wide drive against members and friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade not only violates every solemn pledge of liberalism made by this administration but outrages every instinct of Democracy and honest Americanism."

Confidential Informant New York City T-11 (ONI, Third Naval District) advised on March 30, 1942, that Kenyon was a member of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. This committee was formed to defend members of the Socialist Workers Party and to raise funds for their defense through the media of meetings, etc.

Records of the Board of Elections, New York City, reflect that Dorothy Kenyon, 433 West 21st Street, New York City, registered with the American Labor Party, from 1937 to 1939, and from 1943 to 1946.

Appearing in "The Worker", Sunday edition of the "Daily Worker", on March 18, 1945, is an article captioned "War Department Stand on Communists Hailed by Notables in All Walks of Life." One Dorothy Kenyon, attorney, New York City, is listed as one of the many notables signing a statement in support of the Army's policy which makes Communists and alleged Communists eligible for officers commission.

In the "Daily Worker" of September 11, 1944, an article appears captioned "Notables Sponsor Tribute to Ferdinand C. Smith, Negro Leader." Judge Dorothy Kenyon was listed as a sponsor. Reliable informants have advised that Ferdinand C. Smith was a member of the Communist Party.

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The American Youth Congress, Communist Party, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, American Youth for Democracy, Schappes Defense Committee, Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Socialist Workers Party, have been declared by the Attorney General to come within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The League for Mutual Aid and the American Labor Party have been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist front organizations.

In addition to the above information, many associates, fellow employees and neighbors were interviewed, who advised that the employee is a loyal American citizen.

Informants mentioned in this memorandum will not testify.

Reports to CSC June 20, 1949; to Department June 20, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file, February 15, 1950.

No criminal prosecution by Department, June 27, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ISADOR LUBIN  
United States Representative  
Economic and Employment Commission  
United States Mission to United Nations  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Lubin was born June 9, 1896, at Worcester, Massachusetts. He was formerly Director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Labor Department, and has served as a member of the American Delegation - Allied Committee on Reparations at Moscow and Berlin.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 [redacted] who has been reliable but discontinued because of inactivity) advised in June of 1942 that the name of Isador Lubin appeared as a member of the Labor Department Sponsoring Committee on the American Relief Ship for Spain which was sponsored by the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the American Relief Ship for Spain were cited as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

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Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 was recontacted and advised that he could add nothing additional to the information previously furnished by him. A copy of a flyer entitled "Labor Department Relief Ship Committee" was obtained and a photostatic copy was furnished to the Civil Service Commission.

Washington T-2 (a highly confidential informant known only to the Washington Field Office) advised in June of 1942 that the name of Isador Lubin appeared on the active indices or mailing list of the United American Spanish Aid Committee, and that a Dr. Isadore Lubin, 2737 Devonshire Place, N. W., had made a donation of \$50 to the United American Spanish Aid Committee. Washington T-2 was recontacted during instant investigation and advised that he had no further information regarding Lubin. The United American Spanish Aid Committee was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities disclosed that a Dr. Isador Lubin, Washington, D. C., was a speaker at a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union as reported in the "Daily Worker" on March 19, 1930. The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper. A photostatic copy of an article entitled "One Thousand Attend Wash. Meet for Defense of the Soviet Union" was obtained and furnished to the Civil Service Commission. The Friends of the Soviet Union has been cited by the Attorney General.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-8-85 BY SP2TAP/lee

121-10705

Class #3

J. H. Randolph:man:ees

Washington T-50 [redacted]

[redacted] stated that "If anyone in the United States is a Communist, its Lubin"; that Lubin from the very beginning of the work of the Committee attempted to influence the members of the Committee toward a sympathetic understanding of the Soviets by extolling the Russian system of agriculture, plant production, schools, theaters, the Russian people and the Russian system in general. Washington T-50 could not recall the exact statements made by Lubin, and continued that Lubin tried to get favorable commitments for the Soviets in that Lubin wanted to exclude American claims or at most, to obtain only token reparations for American claims.

Washington T-50 related that Lubin by virtue of his position would normally be in contact with Russian officials because of the nature of the work involved, but that on several occasions he observed Lubin in contact with Russian nationals and, further, that he knows Lubin had contacts with Russians without the usual clearance from the head of the Committee. He advised that he does not consider Lubin as a man worthy of any confidential position in the service of the United States and that Lubin, because of his pro-Soviet views and past actions on the Committee in an attempt to exclude all American claims, would work for the advantage of the Soviets over the interest of the United States. b7D

Washington T-4 [redacted] active reliable unpaid informant who furnishes information concerning Communist front groups) advised that over a period of years, since 1935, that she knows that Lubin has expressed contempt and hatred for the United States and for Americans, but extremely careful, however, when making such statements, to see that only known Communists were present. T-4 revealed that Lubin was ardently in favor of the Russian revolution and of Bolshevism, but was a supporter of Trotsky instead of Stalin and was resentful because a clique of Trotskyites were not in power. T-4 said that on occasions Lubin has sneered at everything American and has spoken scornfully of American labor leaders characterizing them as "typical slob."

A representative number of business acquaintances including former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes and Mr. John H. Steelman, Assistant to the President, regard Lubin as a loyal American. Neighbors and other acquaintances also regard him as a loyal American.

Washington T-1, T-2, T-4, and T-50 were not willing to furnish signed statements or appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Reports to CSC December 29, 1948; to Department March 31, 1949.

#### Disposition

None received in file from CSC as of February 14, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department April 21, 1949.

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

DANIEL FRANKS MAROOLIES  
Chief, Production and Labor Section  
Division of Occupied Areas  
Office of Economic Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Employee was born April 12, 1910, at Cleveland, Ohio. From July 16, 1936, to July, 1940, he was loaned by the Criminal Division, Department of Justice, to the Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the U. S. Senate, commonly known as the LaFollette Committee.

b7D

Basis for Investigation

Washington Confidential Informant T-1

[redacted] believed to be reliable) advised that employee was formerly friendly with John J. Abt and other individuals that informant suspected of Communist affiliation during the period of informant's acquaintance with employee on the LaFollette Committee.

Employee on his Loyalty Form dated September 4, 1947, admitted membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy and the National Lawyers Guild.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 upon recontact advised that he knew employee during four months of 1937 when both were employed by the LaFollette Committee. T-1 stated he was not certain that employee was a member of the Communist Party but that he believed him to be such due to the fact that he chose for his friends individuals believed by informant to be either Party members or extremely sympathetic to Communism. These individuals were said to be Charles Flato, Charles Kramer, John J. Abt and Ben Allen. Informant said that employee had never been critical of Russia nor of the Party direction of Communist activities in this country and was sympathetic with the Spanish Loyalists. Informant said that employee had been active in some group believed by him to be attempting to further the cause of Loyalist Spain. However, he could not remember the name of the organization. He said that employee had admitted his membership in this organization to him.

Charles Flato and Charles Kramer were Communist Party members and were involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington and New York in the early 1940's. (S)

121-787

Class 3  
D. H. Young/js

js

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John J. Abt was involved in the above mentioned Soviet espionage conspiracy and was a member of the Communist underground in Washington, D. C., in 1936 and 1937. ~~(S)~~

Washington Confidential Informant [redacted] active, paid Communist Party member, reliable) advised that he knew employee in 1935 when employee came to Washington from New York to enter government employment. Employee was enthusiastically received by members of Local 205, American Federation of Government Employees, described by informant as the left wing group which in 1936 formed the United Federal Workers, presently the United Public Workers of America. Employee was immediately put on the Executive Committee of the Union and according to informant was a close friend of Ben Allen, an admitted Communist Party member. During 1936 and 1937 employee was active in soliciting funds for the Spanish Loyalists and engaged in this activity at numerous union meetings attended by informant. Employee was an intimate friend of one Elizabeth Hale, who informant said was a Communist Party member. At one time he resided with Hale in an apartment where meetings were held for the discussion and furtherance of activities characterized as Communist by informant. Informant also advised that employee was a close friend and associate of Sol Pablik, a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, American League for Peace and Democracy and the Washington Bookshop Association.

b7D

Confidential Informant Washington T-2 [redacted] Washington, D. C., unknown reliability) knew employee when employee was active in the American Federation of Government Employees about ten years ago. Informant advised that employee's closest friends in this organization were those who were considered by informant to be either Communist Party members or closely associated therewith. The only particular individual informant could recall, however, as a close friend of employee was Eleanor Nelson, member of this union, considered by informant to be a Communist.

Eleanor Nelson has been described as a contact between the Communist Party underground movement in Washington, D. C., and the National Communist Party headquarters in New York City. She has been known to have attempted to recruit other persons into the Communist Party.

Confidential Informant Washington T-4 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that in 1942 employee's name was listed in a notebook of Aita Clair Hirschfeld, the significance of which was not known by informant. ~~(S)~~

Aita Hirschfeld is described as a member of the Communist Party and a close friend of Earl Browder and Clarence Hathaway, former editor of the Daily Worker and Secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Confidential Informant Washington T-5 (Roderick W. McKinnon, Jr., Department of State, reliability unknown) advised that employee during the early 1940's while employed by the Office of Price Administration was friendly with one Mortimer Wolf and his wife, Ann, who informant felt were Communist sympathizers.

Ann Wolf is a member of several Communist front organizations and has performed special work for Ella Reeves Bloor, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. Mortimer Wolf was an associate of individuals involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C., in 1940.

Confidential Informant Washington C-443 (technical surveillance on Allen Rosenberg) advised that in 1947 employee and his wife maintained frequent contact with Allen Rosenberg and his wife, Erna, and that the Rosenbergs and Harold Glasser and his wife, Faye, were guests in the home of employee.

Allen Rosenberg and Harold Glasser were involved in the Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington during 1940 and were associates of known Communists and Russian sympathizers. Rosenberg has been a contact of an admitted Soviet espionage agent.

None of the above-mentioned informants will testify before a Loyalty Board.

The American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the Washington Bookshop Association have been declared as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General. The National Lawyers Guild has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Reports to CSC March 3, 1948; to Department February 28, 1949.

Disposition

Retained, July 27, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department, May 9, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/18/83 BY SP2/PK

ROBERT ELANOR HELL  
aka Eleanor W. Bell  
Clerk-Stenographer  
Institute of Inter-American Affairs  
Lima, Peru

### Background

Margaret Eleanor Bell was born November 23, 1906, in New York City, and formerly resided at 1820 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. U

### Basis for Investigation

The Dies Committee files indicate that one Eleanor W. Bell, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., was a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. U

### Results of Investigation

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were checked and the name of Eleanor Bell was noted therein as being the Executive Secretary in May, 1940, of the Washington Committee for Spanish Refugee Aid, which was part of the North American Spanish Aid Committee and which was later changed to the United American Spanish Aid Committee. U

Margaret Eleanor Bell was interviewed on January 2, 1942, under the provisions of the Hatch Act, at which time she stated that she thought she had been a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action about three years prior to the interview. U

Confidential Informant Washington T-1 [redacted] discontinued, reliable informant, furnished information on Communist Party activities) advised that in December, 1941, he had observed the name Eleanor Margaret Bell on the active indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. U b7D

Confidential Informant Washington T-2 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that during January, 1941, he had observed the name of Eleanor W. Bell on the active indices of the Washington Chapter of the American People's Mobilization. U

Confidential Informant Washington T-3 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that on April 18, 1940, at a meeting of the American Spanish Aid Committee, the Executive Committee of the Washington Chapter voted to disassociate itself from the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign

121-2681

Class 3

E. F. Minoux/js

80



and to affiliate with the North American Spanish Aid Committee. Informant stated that he had read minutes of the meeting and noted that Eleanor M. Neill, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue, had been in attendance and was elected Executive Secretary.

Confidential Informant Washington T-4 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised in April, 1944, that Eleanor M. Neill had made a payment of dues to the Washington Bookshop Association on June 11, 1943, and was a current member. Neill's former residence was shown as 1820 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Confidential Informant Washington T-5 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that the name of Eleanor Neill, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., appeared on a list of members of the Washington League of Women Shoppers.

Confidential Informant Washington T-6 (MID, Military Attache, Mexico City) advised that the name of Eleanor Neill, 1820 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., appeared on a list of subscribers to the "Espana Popular," which the informant described as a paper of the Communist Party of Spain in Mexico.

None of the informants described above will testify.

The Washington Committee for Democratic Action, United American Spanish Aid Committee, American People's Mobilization and the Washington Bookshop Association have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The League of Women Shoppers has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front.

A number of former neighbors and fellow employees were interviewed and recommended employee as to loyalty.

Reports to CSC June 4, 1948; to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty," July 15, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department, May 1, 1949.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

EVELYN OSOVITZ  
aka "Hap"  
Research Analyst Employee  
Division of Research for Far East  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Evelyn Osovitz was born on August 30, 1918, at Baltimore, Maryland.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (Division of Security and Investigation, Department of State) advised that employee was Secretary of the Baltimore Council of American-Soviet Friendship and was known to have associated with Communists.

Results of Investigation

T-1 furnished no additional information.

Baltimore C-3 (Tech, Harry Connor, discontinued), Washington T-3 [redacted]  
[redacted], Washington T-4 [redacted]  
[redacted] and Baltimore C-22 (Tech, Communist Party Headquarters, discontinued at this address) identified employee as either a member or Secretary of the Baltimore Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Dr. Henry Carrington Lancaster will testify. u

In May, 1944, Special Agents Ray L. Baker and James T. Magher observed employee in attendance at a meeting of the Bookshop Association of Baltimore, Inc. which meeting was also attended by a number of individuals identified by Agents as Communist Party members.

Baltimore T-7 [redacted] stated employee received the publication, "In Fact" which was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front. [Employee also receives communications from the Embassy of the USSR, Washington, D. C. and the Congress of American - Soviet Friendship, New York City.] ~~CS~~

Washington T-1 (Civil Service Commission) advised that in February, 1944, employee was Secretary to the Baltimore Council of the American - Soviet Friendship.

121-1398

Class # 3  
R. L Millard: wma;ms  
071 111

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*7/8/85*

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*072 m*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Three persons stated employee resigned from the United Public Workers of America because she felt this organization was Communist dominated.

A representative number of acquaintances advised that they consider employee loyal.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The Congress of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities March 29, 1944.

Reports to CSC April 14, 1948; to the Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" February 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department May 11, 1949.

HELENE PLEASANTS  
Radio Information Specialist  
(Radio News Writer) - Appointee  
International Broadcasting Division  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Helene Pleasants was born on April 18, 1914, at Baltimore, Maryland.

Basis for Investigation

Instituted under the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

In her application filed for this position with the Department of State, applicant stated that she was Public Relations Director of the China Aid Council of the United Service to China from 1947 to 1948, at New York City, New York. The China Aid Council has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front.

References and co-workers furnished favorable information concerning Pleasants character and loyalty.

Reports to CSC August 30, 1948 and August 11, 1949; to the Department of State June 23, 1948 and August 25, 1948.

Disposition

Eligible on Loyalty - October 19, 1949.

123-748

Class #3

W. E. Leishear:wma:ees

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY *SP2/af/bc*

*WEL*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP2 TAD/bcc

JOSEPH POLAKOFF  
aka "Polly"  
Assistant Attache  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Joseph Polakoff born October 20, 1908 in Russia, according to naturalization record for his father, Samuel Gdolia Polakoff, to whom Certificate No. 2045600 was granted by U. S. District Court, Middle District, Scranton, Pennsylvania, June 19, 1925.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation was instituted under the provisions of Public Law 402 - 80th Congress (VOA).

Results of Investigation

T-1 [redacted] active, of known reliability, not paid, former wife of organizer of Communist Party in anthracite regions, Pennsylvania) revealed Joseph Polakoff was a member of and regularly attended meetings of Lodge No. 14 of International Workers Order of Lacksawanna County, Pennsylvania, 1935-36-37. Lodge No. 14 is a lodge of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the IWO. Samuel Polakoff, father of Joseph, was a member of the IWO and a leader in the organization in the area prior to his death in the early 1930's. T-1 had access to the records of the Communist Party of Lacksawanna County and does not remember the names of the applicant or his father appearing thereon. Scranton University Registrar, fellow employees, neighbors and references recommend Polakoff as a person who could be trusted with confidential information. These individuals know of no disloyal information concerning Polakoff. The IWO was included on a list of the organizations declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General November 24, 1947. b7D

"Reports to CSC August 23, 1948; reports to State Department July 27, 1948."

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" - June 13, 1949.

123-1271  
Class 3

John J. Flanagan; JHK



EDWARD GEORGE POSNIAK  
Economist  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY *P. J. [unclear]*

Background

Edward George Posniak was born on June 4, 1911, at Moscow, Russia. He entered the United States on August 8, 1936, and was naturalized in Washington, D. C., on January 3, 1939.

Basis for Investigation

In June, 1942, Washington T-1 [redacted] a reliable informant, advised that the name Edward G. Posniak appeared on the mailing list of the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

b7D

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 was recontacted but furnished no additional information.

Washington T-4 [redacted] a reliable informant) advised that Posniak was a member of the United American Spanish Aid Committee in the late 1930's. T-4 further advised that the employee's wife was a member of the Communist Party both before and after her marriage to Posniak. T-4 stated Posniak admitted being a member of the Communist Party in Europe and reportedly stated his father was a Trotskyite. T-4 reported Posniak came to some "open unit" meetings of the Communist Party and also to recruiting meetings of the Communist Party from 1938 to 1942. The informant said Posniak was "horrified" at the Russo-German Pact in 1939. T-4 reported that Posniak's wife was formerly secretary to Dave Lasser of the Workers Alliance. She was also active in the Young Communist League before and for a while after she became a member of the Communist Party. Mrs. Posniak formerly lived with Etta Claire Hershfield and the wife of Bernard Ades. Both employee and his wife have maintained close association with Hershfield, who, according to T-4, is an admitted member of the Communist Party. T-4 stated that Ades and his wife are members of the Communist Party. Mr. Ades ran for Governor of the State of Maryland on the Communist Party ticket in 1934, according to T-4.

Washington T-2 [redacted] a reliable informant) advised that Etta Claire Hershfield is a member of the Communist Party.

Other associates, fellow employees and neighbors consider Posniak loyal.

One informant, Dr. Williams Adams Brown, a fellow employee in the State Department in 1946, now at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, advised that Posniak seemed to be more patriotic to the country of his birth but could furnish

no details. He informed that this opinion was based on his (Posniak's) approach to Czechoslovakian affairs which he handled in the State Department.

The United American Spanish Aid Committee was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front on March 29, 1944. The Workers Alliance, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League were cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Neither Washington T-1 nor Washington T-4 will testify.

Reports to CSC, July 26, 1948; to Department, March 23, 1949.

Disposition

No disposition in file February 13, 1950. No prosecution by Department May 18, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP-1/PLC

ELEANOR ALFORD POWELL  
Voice of America  
Department of State

Background

Eleanor Alford Powell was born September 13, 1904, at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Her sister is married to John Wallace, a brother of Henry A. Wallace, former Vice President of the United States. Eleanor Alford Powell resided from 1938 to 1948 at 2906 P Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Basis for Investigation

Eleanor Alford Powell was investigated under the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

The files of the House Committee on un-American Activities reflect that Eleanor Powell, 2906 P Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., was a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Washington T-1 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised the name Eleanor Powell, 2906 P Street, Northwest, appeared in the indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action in early 1941. On March 12, 1942, Eleanor Alford Powell advised the Washington Field Office that she had never been a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and had never attended any of its meetings or participated in any of its activities.

The confidential investigative files of the Civil Service Commission reflect that Eleanor Alford Powell advised an investigator of the Civil Service Commission on May 20, 1942, that in 1937 she joined a League of Women Shoppers and paid dues for approximately two years but was no longer active in the organization as of 1939.

Neighbors, associates, fellow employees and references consider Eleanor Alford Powell loyal.

The Washington Committee for Democratic Action was cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The League of Women Shoppers was cited by the California Committee on un-American Activities report, 1943, as a Communist front organization.

Reports to Civil Service, September 13, 1948; to State, August 27, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty," June 13, 1949.

123-83

A. B. EDDY:hmm Class #3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP2/TJ/ace

ANDREW ELIOT RICE, aka "Andy"  
Technical Secretary - Appointee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

Rice born August 29, 1922, Boston, Massachusetts. Attended Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939-1943, and 1946-1948.

### Basis for Investigation

Boston T-1 (highly confidential source Boston Office September 22, 1941) reported that Andrew E. Rice had attended a "Town Meeting" sponsored by the American Youth Congress. Rice attended this meeting as a representative of the Harvard Liberal Union. The date and place of the meeting was unknown to informant.

### Results of Investigation

Boston T-1 could furnish no additional data.

Special Agent M. J. Connolly, FBI, determined that Andrew E. Rice of the Harvard Liberal Union wished to speak on the subject "Danger of British Defeat" at the convention of the American Youth Congress held at Turner Arena, Washington, D. C., February 7-9, 1941.

Between February 1 and May 5, 1947, San Juan T-1 [redacted] (believed reliable) reported that Maxwell Napier Weisman, Professor of Biology, College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, received two pieces of fourth class mail having the appearance of rolled up magazines each bearing the return address "Andrew E. Rice, 21 Dudley Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts." Reliable informants have reported Communist Party membership and activity on the part of Weisman as early as 1936. In 1946 and 1947, he conferred on several occasions with the Executive Committee of the Partido Comunista Puertorriqueño (Puerto Rican Communist Party) at San Juan. b7D

In the spring of 1947, a bill was introduced in the Massachusetts General Court designed to exclude from public office persons who were members of the Communist Party or other subversive organizations. Among those who recorded opposition to this bill, according to Boston T-4 [redacted] [redacted] reliable, non-paid, active), was Rice who claimed to represent the American Veterans Committee.

Boston Informant [redacted] active, paid, reliable) furnished a program of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy which was scheduled to be presented on March 25, 1947, in Boston. The name of Andrew E. Rice was listed in this flyer as a member of the "Boston Committee on Arrangements." The topic of the meeting was "Report on China Today."

b7D

Frederick Woltman, Staff Writer for the "New York World Telegram," advised on June 13, 1947, that Andrew Rice of Harvard University was listed in a release by the U. S. Committee for the World Youth Festival as a "U. S. participant" in the festival which was held at Prague, Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1947. According to New York T-3 [redacted] who attended festival, reliable) the cultural plans for this festival were controlled by a representative from the Soviet Union and one of the most influential individuals present at the festival was a Communist member of the French Chamber of Deputies. One of the active participants from the United States, according to informant, was Vince Pierri, co-Chairman of the American Youth for Democracy.

In late August and early September, 1947, Rice was a delegate from Harvard University to a conference held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin at which the National Students Association was established. Boston T-3 (trash cover, Communist Party Headquarters, New York) reported that Marvin Shaw, a national leader of the American Youth for Democracy with offices in Communist Party Headquarters, New York City, received a report regarding Rice's attendance at this conference. In the report, Rice was characterized as "a good meeting director. A hint of wishy-washy liberal - mean streak. Ex-fellow traveler."

In the "Request for Report on Loyalty Data" submitted by Rice, he claimed membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

A representative number of acquaintances of Rice have described him as anti-Communist and loyal to the United States. Others have been unable to comment upon his loyalty.

The American Youth Congress, the Communist Party, the American Youth for Democracy and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy have been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its March 29, 1944 report.

Frederick Holtzman will testify before a loyalty hearing board. Boston T-1, Boston T-4, Boston T-3 and [redacted] have declined to testify. No information is available concerning the willingness to testify of San Juan T-1 or New York T-3. b7D

Reports to DSC May 19, 1949; to Department May 19, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" December 20, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department June 2, 1949.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/18/85 BY SP2Tuf/bce

MRS. ROWENA SHELDON BELLOWES ROEMEL  
aka Sister, now, Mrs. Wilfred Herser Roemel  
Program Analyst  
Office of Secretary for Public Affairs Secretariat  
Departmental Committee on Scientific and  
Cultural Cooperation  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Employee was born on April 22, 1911, in Providence, Rhode Island.

Basis for Investigation

The State Department alleged that the employee was an associate of Robert T. Miller, III, described by Informant [redacted] (Elisabeth Terrill Bentley) as a member of a Soviet Espionage Conspiracy existing in New York and Washington, D. C. in the early 1940's, and was an associate of Alger Hiss, identified by Whittaker Chambers as a member of a Russian espionage system operating in Washington, D. C. in the mid-1930's.

b7D

Results of Investigation

Employee, in a statement to her superior, Francis H. Russell, Director, Division of Public Affairs, Department of State, on December 6, 1946, admitted membership in the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, which is an organization declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The personnel file of Robert T. Miller, III, reflected that Mrs. Roemel recommended and used her influence to obtain a position in the State Department for Miller, beginning in March, 1944. Washington C-376 (technical surveillance on Robert T. Miller, discontinued) and Washington C-463 (technical surveillance on Richard Max Seigel, discontinued) substantiated a friendly association between Miller and Roemel.

Washington C-454 (technical surveillance on Alger Hiss, discontinued) substantiated the allegation that the employee contacted Alger and Priscilla Hiss. This contact appeared to be in the nature of personal friendship.

Three fellow employees in the State Department have stated that Mrs. Roemel had the same political philosophy as Mr. Miller, whom they considered to be pre-Communist. Thirty fellow employees considered Mrs. Roemel to be loyal to this country, although they disagreed with her "liberal" policies in advocating friendship toward

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_ Class #3  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_ C. E. Sandall:man

Russia, belief in the theory of cooperatives, and perpetuation of FEPC. A representative number of neighbors, friends, and former instructors in college considered the employee to be loyal.

Informants  were unwilling to testify in a Loyalty Hearing. b7D

State Department records contain an allegation that Mrs. Rommel was instrumental in preparing a report on Germany which was slanted in favor of Communism and Russia. Investigation showed that this report reached the then Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson who rejected it because of its pro-Communist slant and sent it back to Mrs. Rommel for correction. Mrs. Rommel insisted that the report should keep its original language but finally changed it when her superior, Mr. Russell, mentioned above, became adamant. Copies of this report as originally prepared and edited by the employee were made exhibits and furnished the Civil Service Commission.

Reports to Civil Service Commission - March 30, 1948.

Reports to the Department - March 4, 1949.

#### Disposition

Civil Service Commission - "Retained" - February 4, 1949.

Department - No criminal prosecution - November 28, 1949.



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY *SP2 Tuf/bca*

ANN SHIRLEY ROSENBLOTH  
Visual Presentation Information Specialist  
(Picture Editor)  
International Press and Publication Division  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

#### Background

Ann Shirley Rosenbloth was born November 17, 1911, at Newport News, Virginia. Her parents are Meyer D. Rosenbloth and Ida Davis Rosenbloth. From 1937 to 1947, she has resided at 2816 28th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

#### Basis for Investigation

Washington Confidential Informant E-1 [redacted] discontinued, janitor, Office Building, 1410 R Street, N. W.) advised that in early 1941, the name of Ann Rosenbloth, identified as residing on 28th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., appeared on the list of memberships of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

b7D

#### Results of Investigation

Washington Confidential Informant E-1 was recontacted but was unable to furnish any additional information concerning the employee. This informant will not appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

The Attorney General of the United States has declared that the Washington Committee for Democratic Action comes within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities listed Ann Rosenbloth, Mrs. Ida Rosenbloth and Meyer D. Rosenbloth, all residing at 2816 28th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., as members of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

The files of the Civil Service Commission reflected that on September 24, 1943, employee furnished a signed statement, a pertinent portion of which is quoted as follows: "I do not know of any organization by the name of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action or any similar name. So far as I know, I have not been a member of any such organization. I still live at 2816 28th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C."

Washington Confidential Informant E-3 [redacted] reliable, active informant, former member CP), who has assisted in forming numerous front organizations for the Communist Party, advised that the name of Ann Shirley Rosenbloth was unknown to her.

*AKM*

121-3666

Class #3

H. A. Mudd:ahr

Former associates, acquaintances and neighbors not aware of any organizational activities on the part of employee and reported that nothing had come to their attention to raise any question as to employee's loyalty and patriotism.

Reports to CSC June 9, 1948; reports to Department October 28, 1948.

Disposition

"Retained" October 27, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department May 26, 1949.

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

HENRY LEE JACOBSON KROBLES  
Yolco of America Program

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Background

Henryville Jacobs Huggles was born May 8, 1915, at Toledo, Ohio.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under Volco of America Program.

Results of Investigation

New York T-1 [redacted] (b7D)  
Henryville Jacobs Huggles, 554 West 114th Street, New York City.

New York T-2 (a highly confidential source who on November 21, 1941, made available a list of members of the American Russian Institute to an Agent of the New York Office) advised that in November, 1941, a list of the present and past members of the American Russian Institute contained the name of Henryville J. Huggles, 554 West 114th Street, New York City. It is noted Huggles formerly resided at 524 West 114th Street, New York City.

Mrs. Pauline E. Barton, Toledo, Ohio, Huggles' former high school teacher, advised that Huggles had given her the definite impression that he was sympathetic to the Soviet form of government.

Bowenwood Elliott P. Tolson, Jr., St. Martin Episcopal Church, Toledo, advised that Huggles had formerly been a member of his church and that he had assisted him financially to attend Oberlin College. He stated that during the last year or two of Huggles' attendance at Oberlin he noted that Huggles had become associated with a group of "communisticly inclined" students and that he had spoken fervently in favor of Communism and had exhibited copies of a "Communist paper." In this connection it is noted that hospital records in Boston show Bowenwood Tolson made homosexual advances to Huggles and that Huggles denied participation.

Records of Belmont Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts, a mental hospital, disclosed Huggles admitted to the hospital November 28, 1936, and was discharged February 24, 1937, as "recovered" from his mental illness. During an interview when first confined to the hospital, Huggles advised his doctor that he had been converted to Communism in the previous two years, desired to aid the Communist Party and to become a Communist Party member. The doctor in charge stated that Huggles' statement regarding Communism was an ordinary reaction to his financial and mental state at that time and he did not consider Huggles to be delusional.

123-1278  
REFRAsmussen:jmh  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

During a special hearing and partial interview conducted by the Civil Service Commission on February 16, 1943, Ruggles advised that to his knowledge he was never a member of the American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union. He stated he was a member of the American Russian Institute and that his membership expired in 1942. He also advised that he had attended various meetings where various people spoke on Russia for research purposes while he was working on his Masters Degree at Columbia University. He advised that he was preparing a thesis of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union. During the interview, Ruggles denied membership in the Communist Party, German American Bund or any Fascist or Nazi organization.

Former and present business associates and acquaintances, neighbors and references have advised that Ruggles is considered loyal and patriotic.

The American Russian Institute and Friends of the Soviet Union have been named by the Attorney General as organizations within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC, July 27, 1948; to Department of State, July 27, 1948.

Disposition

"Retained," February 4, 1949.

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CLASSIFIED BY: SP2 TAF/BC  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR  
7/8/85

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

FLORENCE ELIZABETH SAUNDERS  
aka Florence Elisabeth Bacote  
nee Florence BaCote  
Clerk-Stenographer  
United Nations Educational Scientific  
and Cultural Organization  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Florence Elizabeth Saunders was born April 26, 1910, at Ansonia, Connecticut.

Basis for Investigation

Saunders stated in her application for her position with the Department of State that she had been employed by the Washington Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare from March 1947 to May 1948.

Washington T-1 [redacted] (active, reliable) advised applicant was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in June 1948 and on previous occasions had assumed the responsibility of operating the office of the organization. b7D

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 (identified above) verified the above information upon recontact and stated Mrs. Saunders frequently attended regular meetings of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in the first half of 1948. He also advised that she was a close associate of Mrs. Gertrude L. Rodman, Vice-Chairman of the organization. Reliable informants have advised that Mrs. Rodman was very active in Communist Party front organizations and that her husband contributed substantial sums of money to the Communist Party. Washington T-1 advised that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Washington, D. C., was thoroughly infiltrated by the Communist Party and that the Communist Party controlled the organization to a considerable extent. Washington T-1 named six individuals who usually attended meetings of the organization and a reliable confidential informant advised that all six were members of the Communist Party in the Washington area.

Washington T-8 (technical surveillance on Martin Popper) advised that Mrs. Saunders did special work early in 1948 for Martin Popper, an officer of the National Lawyers Guild. A reliable informant advised that Martin Popper was identified in 1940 as a member of the Communist Party. (C)

Former associates, superiors, neighbors, and acquaintances in Warsaw, Virginia, New York, and Washington stated employee loyal and not connected with the Communist Party.

121-10998

Class 3 R. E. Rasmussen:jgh

98

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1002

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the National Lawyers Guild were cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist fronts. The Communist Party was named by the Attorney General as an organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

CONFIDENTIAL  
It is noted the confidential informants mentioned above are not available to testify.

Reports to CSC, August 4, 1948; to Department, October 29, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" - September 26, 1949

No criminal prosecution by Department - May 31, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THOMAS WILL SIMPSON  
Aka T. W. Simpson, "Tom"  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Thomas Simpson was born January 7, 1908, at Kolhapur, India, but claimed citizenship by birth to American foreign missionaries. He served as officer in United States Army from 1942 to 1946, and in civilian capacity with Army since 1946.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation of Simpson instituted as result of request received from Voice of America, Department of State, under Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

On April 22, 1949, Simpson executed a Request for Investigation Data for the Department of State in which he listed membership in the Washington Cooperative Bookshop for one year. This organization was declared to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General.

Mrs. Dorothy J. Dunn and Mrs. Jeannette H. Johnson, neighbors of Simpson in Washington, D. C., furnished a signed statement to Bureau Agents in which they alleged that in 1945, at a house party, Simpson made statements indicating he was in sympathy with Communist philosophy. These individuals could not give specific terminology used by Simpson but were in agreement as to the pro-Communist, anti-Government nature thereof. Both stated they are willing to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board if necessary.

Simpson served in the Military Intelligence Division of the United States Army as an officer from 1942 until 1946, when he was released with the rank of Major. He was awarded the Army commendation ribbon and received efficiency ratings of excellent through superior while in the service. Employers, references and neighbors, other than those noted above, were generally favorable to Simpson relative to his loyalty, character and reputation.

Reports to CSC September 21, 1949; to Department of State August 31, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" December 13, 1949.

123-3312

Class #3

P. A. TURNER:cg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP2 Tuff/bca

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP2 TAP/abc

THOMAS BAER STAUFFER  
Foreign Service Officer  
Department of State  
Cairo, Egypt

#### Background

Stauffer was born April 23, 1917, at River Falls, Wisconsin. He attended the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, from October 3, 1933, to September 16, 1936, when he received a B.A. degree. He later attended the Graduate School at the University of Chicago from October 1, 1936 to June, 1941, but did not receive a degree. Prior to his present employment he was employed as a civilian with the Office of Military Government, Berlin, Germany.

#### Basis for Investigation

Miss Ruth Miller, Secretary in the Office of the Assistant Dean of Students, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, advised that past membership records of the American Student Union at the University of Chicago reflect that Thomas Baer Stauffer was listed as a member as of April, 1936. The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, on January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944.

#### Results of Investigation

Miss Ruth Miller, upon being recontacted, advised that she had no additional information concerning the employee. The enrollment records at the University of Chicago show that only one Thomas Baer Stauffer was in attendance at the University during the years 1936-1937.

David Sapoos, Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., was interviewed and furnished a signed statement which revealed, in part, that he, himself, was employed in Military Government for Germany from June, 1945, to July, 1946, and that Sapoos revealed that Stauffer resided with one Charles Willard Whittmore while in Germany, who, in his opinion, was very pro-Russian. A reliable informant has advised that C. W. Whittmore's name appeared on the active membership list of the Washington Bookshop Association.

Joseph Dunn, Consultant, Savings Bond Division, U. S. Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., a fellow employee of Stauffer while in Germany, disclosed that he observed that Stauffer and several of his close associates while in Germany shared the same views and thoughts which he described as being in favor of Russia with respect to eliminating differences then existing between the Governments of the United States and Russia.

121-10619

Class 3

101

J.H.RANDOLPH:hw:mjt

ATL



Richard Seamon, Chief of the Division of Research for Europe, Department of State, Washington, D. C., a fellow employee of Stauffer while in Germany, advised that Stauffer was often critical of the United States' approach to problems in connection with the civil government being set up in Berlin but was never critical of the Russian approach.

Major Harold Mulaney, attached to the Deputy Chief of Staff's Office, Andrews Field, Maryland, a fellow employee of Stauffer while employed in Germany, related that he personally thought that Stauffer, who held an influential position in Military Government, went overboard in placing persons with extremely liberal, if not pro-Communist, views in some of the various key positions in Military Government. He recalled one particular incident where Stauffer was influential in appointing an individual to the University of Berlin who was later disclosed to be anti-Allied and pro-Communist. Mulaney could not recall the name of this individual, but described him as a German author who was the son of an internationally famous writer. Mulaney related that shortly after it had become obvious that this individual was pro-Communist, he, Mulaney, while having lunch with Stauffer, brought up the fact that this individual was obviously pro-Communist. He said that Stauffer instead of conceding that he had made a mistake in judgment vigorously defended his action on the basis that it was good from the standpoint of East-West unity.

Washington T-11 [redacted]

[redacted] informed that he was acquainted with Stauffer in 1947 when Stauffer was serving with the Office of Military Government for Germany in Berlin. He said he knew of an instance whereby Stauffer had recommended one Juergen Kuezinaki for employment as a Consultant in Military Government, who had been recruited by him in England, who, upon arrival in Berlin to begin employment with the Military Government, resigned from his position and went immediately to work for the official newspaper of the Soviet military administration in Berlin known as "Tageliche Rundschau." b7D

A representative number of school officials, neighbors, associates, references and other fellow employees of Stauffer regard him as a loyal American. Washington T-11 was not willing to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Reports to Civil Service Commission September 13, 1948; supplemental reports, April 13, 1949, and October 12, 1949; to Department November 29, 1948; supplemental, October 12, 1949.

#### Disposition

None received in file from Civil Service Commission as of February 13, 1950. No original prosecution by Department based only on first transmittal of reports.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/8/85 BY 5/2 Tap/bce

FRANCIS MYRLE TUCHSCHER  
Editor - Writer Employee  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Frances Myrle Tuchscher was born on August 8, 1918, at Newport News, Virginia.

Basis for Investigation

Tuchscher admitted to Washington T-1 (Office of Controls, Department of State) that she was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare during 1946.

Results of Investigation

On recontact Washington T-1 could furnish no additional information.

Wallace O. Bassford, 2724 Porter St., N.W., Washington, D. C., advised in a signed statement that appointee found many things objectionable in the capitalistic system followed in this country. He also stated she pointed out superiorities in the Russian government, such as the absence of racial prejudice and freedom from the influence of wealth. He advised Tuchscher also claimed that England and the United States were seeking to prevent recovery of Russia and that Russia had borne the brunt of the war against Germany. Bassford advised he would consider her a security risk in any controversy between Russia and the United States.

Robert E. Reynolds, Washington, D. C., advised in a signed statement that Frances Tuchscher's activities in connections with the United Public Workers of America led him to believe she followed the Communist Party line. He recalled a resolution adopted in convention at Atlantic City, N. J., which he personally considered "Communist" and therefore opposed. As a result of his opposition he received a telephone call from Tuchscher denouncing him for his opposition and asking him to resign from the union. He advised that on one occasion she voted for sending a delegate to the convention of the National Negro Congress.

Mr. Bassford and Mr. Reynolds agreed to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Three other acquaintances could not provide definite statements concerning Tuchscher, but advised she is a "liberal" in view of her interest in the rights and progress of labor and in the maintenance of racial equality. They also felt she followed the Communist Party line, but could not offer additional specific examples.

121-2117

Class 3

R. L. Millard:wma:mbf

Katherine Shryver, former roommate of employee at Washington, D. C., has been identified by a highly confidential source, known only to the Washington Field Office, as a member of the Communist Party.

A representative number of acquaintances stated that they consider employee loyal.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944. The National Negro Congress and the Communist Party have been named by the Attorney General as organizations within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC, March 13, 1948; to Department, March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" February 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department June 13, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/8/85 BY SP2tap/bce

JOHN EDWIN VISHER  
Organization and Methods Examiner-Appointee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Visher born March 20, 1917, Moorhead, Minnesota. From July, 1941, to April, 1942, he resided at 2727 Lorcum Lane, Arlington, Virginia.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (highly confidential source, Washington Field Office) reported in April, 1944, that the name of John Visher, 2727 Lorcum Lane, Arlington, Virginia, appeared on an expired list of members of the Washington Bookshop Association. His last payment of dues in the Association was on September 7, 1941.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 could furnish no additional information.

A total of fifteen acquaintances of Visher considered him loyal to the United States or stated they could furnish no information in this regard.

The Washington Bookshop Association has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Washington T-1 declined to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Reports to CSC April 15, 1949; to Department April 15, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" June 20, 1949.

No criminal prosecution by Department, June 10, 1949.

121-16508

Class 3

G. F. GOTSCHALL:eb

REGIS HILLS WALTHER  
Classification Officer  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Employee was born in Chicago, Illinois, November 24, 1917.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (technical surveillance on Olivia Israeli Abelson, discontinued) reported that in June and July, 1946, Regis Hills Walther was Chairman of the Educational Committee, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the latter being an organization which was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front on March 29, 1944.

Results of Investigation

Informant Washington T-1 could furnish no further information concerning the employee.

The above informant would not testify in the Loyalty Hearing.

A representative number of the employee's neighbors, fellow employees, and associates were contacted during this investigation and they consider him to be loyal to the United States.

Reports to the Civil Service Commission: July 29, 1948.

Reports to Department: February 4, 1949.

Disposition

Civil Service Commission - "Retained" - November 16, 1948.

Department - No criminal prosecution by Department - June 10, 1949.

121-77195

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

C. E. Sandall, man

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-10-85 BY SP2/af/ble

Communist Party  
Petition-Signers

(106 #)

PHILIP GARRETT LEWIS  
aka Barton Adams  
Radio Dramatic Writer  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Lewis born February 11, 1904, Crystal, Michigan. Although Lewis was an applicant at the time of the Bureau's investigation which was completed in August, 1949, the Civil Service Commission letter of December 15, 1947, indicating he is eligible for employment on loyalty grounds reflects he is an "employee or appointee".

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

In 1943 Lewis admitted to Confidential Informant Washington T-1 (Investigations Division, Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.) that he signed a Communist Party petition on or about January 16, 1940, for the 10th Assembly District of New York, nominating Earl Browder for the Presidency of the United States. Lewis claimed "there is nothing ideological about it." He said he was then living with a group of other persons at 106 Waverly Place, New York, and after discussion in which they decided any man had a right to run for office the entire group signed the petition for the individual who had brought it to the door.

Guilford Pemberton, Larverville, Pennsylvania, stated Lewis resided with him from June to September, 1941. A reliable informant has advised that Pemberton attended meetings of the American League for Peace and Democracy just prior to World War II. He did not know whether Lewis attended those meetings with Pemberton. In July, 1942, Philadelphia T-1 (Pennsylvania State Police, Doylestown, Pennsylvania) reported Pemberton to be a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

A total of twenty-five acquaintances of Lewis considered him loyal to the United States or stated they possessed no information in this regard.

121-2943

Class 3

G. E. GOTSCHALL:eb:iwt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP2Tup/bce

The Communist Party and the American League for Peace and Democracy have been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC, October 5, 1949; to State: July 13, 1949, and August 29, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" December 15, 1949.



BENJAMIN SHERMAN  
Reports Clerk  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Sherman born in New York, New York, May 13, 1914. On the papers which he filled out in connection with his employment under the Greek-Turkey Aid Program he listed his address from August, 1939 to March, 1942 as 4615 Tenth Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted originally under provisions Greek-Turkey Aid Bill, State Department, and then under provisions Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOA).

Results of Investigation

The records of the New York City Police Department contain a 1939 Communist Party nominating petition for Councilman Peter V. Casalone of Kings County, New York. On page 3194 of this petition it was noted that Benjamin Sherman, 4615 10th Avenue, Brooklyn, had signed on August 21, 1939. Mrs. Lillian Farber, 4615 10th Avenue, Brooklyn, advised she was a sister to Sherman and that he had resided there for most of his life prior to moving to Washington, D. C. She was certain no other Sherman family had resided at that address for the past fifteen years. The FBI Laboratory advised that as a result of the examination conducted it was concluded that the questioned signature "Benjamin Sherman" on the above-mentioned nominating petition was written by the same person who wrote the signature "Benjamin Sherman" on the Voice of America application form. References, neighbors, business associates advise Sherman's loyalty and patriotism above reproach.

Reports to State Department July 9, 1947 and October 8, 1948; reports to CSO October 13, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" -- December 21, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP2TJG/bce

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/18/85 BY SP2TAP/bce

GEORGE SHERMAN  
Mimeograph Operator-Employee  
U. S. Mission to the United Nations  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

George Sherman was born on March 12, 1912, at New York, New York. He formerly resided at 94 Sheriff Street, New York City, and 528 East 5th Street, New York City, with his wife, Ida Sherman.

Basis for Investigation

New York T-2 (reliable confidential source known to the Albany Office) advised that in 1942 one George Sherman signed a Communist Party nominating petition in the State of New York.

Results of Investigation

New York T-2, when recontacted, could furnish no additional information regarding Sherman.

New York T-3 (ONI, New York City) made available a copy of page 10349 of the above mentioned 1942 New York State Communist Party nominating petition which bears the signature of George Sherman, 528 East 5th Street, New York City.

New York T-4 (New York City Police Department) furnished a copy of page 2123 of 1941 Communist Party nominating petition for Carl Brodsky, candidate for Councilman, New York City, which contains the names of George Sherman and Ida Sherman, 94 Sheriff Street, Manhattan, New York.

Known specimens of the employee's handwriting were compared with the signatures on the above mentioned 1941 and 1942 Communist Party nominating petitions by the FBI Laboratory. It was concluded that the signatures on the petitions were prepared by the employee. Copies of these petitions were sent to the Civil Service Commission in this case.

According to the records of New York T-5 (New York City Department of Welfare), the employee adopted an exceedingly "belligerent and antagonistic" attitude in his efforts to obtain additional relief and on April 11, 1941, he stated "I will get what I want. I am still a member of the Workers Alliance which is strong and will fight you." These records reflect that in 1940 and 1941 the Workers Alliance was very active in seeking increases in the amount of financial assistance given to Sherman.

According to the records of New York T-6 (Department of State) the employee, when questioned concerning his association with the Workers Alliance, stated he had never attended any Workers Alliance meetings and, after finding out what the organization was, had nothing further to do with it.

121-9257

110

Class 3

O. J. AUERSWALD:eb

[redacted] (highly confidential source known to the New York Office) advised that, as of December, 1946, George Sherman, born in 1912, was a member of the International Workers Order, Lodge 795, 1190 St. Johns Place, Brooklyn, New York. b7D

New York T-8 (information received from Mrs. Ida Sherman, employee's wife, by means of pretext telephone call by investigating agent) advised that the employee had belonged to the International Workers Order a few years ago but dropped his membership because of financial reasons and is no longer a member.

The Communist Party, the Workers Alliance, and the International Workers Order are on the list of organizations named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Fellow employees, neighbors and acquaintances interviewed during the investigation advised that they consider Sherman to be a loyal American.

The informants mentioned above are not willing to testify at a Loyalty Hearing concerning the information furnished by them.

Report to CSC July 21, 1948; to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" — February 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department — November 28, 1949.

EDWIN ELLIOTT VALLON  
Labor Attache  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Vallon was born on May 1, 1910, at New York, New York. He is married to Eleanor Karen Gabrielson Hainert.

Basis for Investigation

The files of Washington T-1 (Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.) list one Edwin E. Vallon, 923 E. 28th Street, Brooklyn, New York, as a signer of a 1939 Communist Party petition for candidate Cashione, page 3645.

A photostatic copy of this petition was attached as an exhibit in this case.

Results of Investigation

The files of Washington T-1 contain no additional pertinent information.

It was concluded by the FBI Laboratory that the Edwin E. Vallon's signature appearing on this Communist Party petition was written by the employee.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities list one "Eleanor Hainert, stenographer, Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor, 1513 Van Buren Street, N.W." as a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The employee's wife was formerly known as Eleanor Hainert and she was at one time employed by the Department of Labor. In a statement given under oath Eleanor Karen Hainert in 1942 admitted membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy, stating that she joined this organization for social reasons and attended one meeting. She also admitted attending one meeting of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Henry G. Baker, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Washington, D. C., advised that Vallon had been brought into that Agency by Edgar G. Warren, who formerly acted as Director of that agency. Mr. Baker stated that it was his impression that the employee and Edgar G. Warren were rather close personal friends and that explained why Warren brought him into that agency. He added that from his limited knowledge of Vallon he would state that he was a loyal, patriotic American.

121-18274  
Class 3  
R.H.Egan:mer

112

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/8/85 BY *sp/af/bca*

The records of the HCUA list Edgar G. Warren as a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the Washington Bookshop Association.

The employee resided at 2809 28th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., from 1939 to 1942, at which time he was a roomer in the home of Thomas H. Tippet. He likewise worked under the immediate supervision of Tippet in the Office of Price Administration at one time.

At hearings of the HCUA held in September, 1939, Benjamin Gitlow stated that Tippet had formerly worked for the Federated Press and was not a Communist, but that the Communist Party had been utilizing him for its activities.

The records of the Board of Elections, Borough of Brooklyn, Brooklyn, New York, reflect that Edwin Vallon had registered with the American Labor Party in 1937 and 1938.

Fellow employees, neighbors and associates furnished no information reflecting on the loyalty of Vallon.

The American League for Peace and Democracy, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, and the Washington Bookshop Association appear on the list of organizations named by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The Federated Press was cited as a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises, by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report, March 29, 1944.

The report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, dated May 29, 1946, contains the following information concerning the American Labor Party:

1. Support of the Communist Party to the above has been recognized by the appointment of a Communist to an official position in the City Government. (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report 1938, page 356)
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Reports to CSC August 12, 1949; to Department August 12, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950. No final advice re prosecution  
February 13, 1950.

(114A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY: *SP2 TAP/bce*  
DECLASSIFY ON: *DADR*  
*7/8/85*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

VOJTECH ERVIN ANDIC,  
aka Vojtech Ervin Andehsay  
Script Writer (Foreign Language) - Appointee  
Office of International Information  
International Broadcasting Division  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Vojtech Ervin Andic was born March 8, 1910, in Czechoslovakia, and was naturalized in the District Court of New York City July 16, 1942.

Basis for Investigation

Andic was investigated under the Voice of America Program during August and September 1948.

Results of Investigation

A bulletin issued by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship announced that a dinner would be held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City, on February 21, 1944, on the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of Red Army Day. The list of guests who attended this dinner as announced by the Council included the name of Vojtech E. Andic. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization.

Newark Informant T-1 [redacted] advised that around 1944 or 1945 Vojtech Andic was affiliated with the American Slav Congress, an organization also cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization. T-1 advised that in speeches made before the American Slav Congress, Andic boasted about "the brotherhood of Russia."

b7D

Andrew J. Volusek, Managing Editor of the "New Yorksky Dennik", Czechoslovak daily newspaper published in New York City, advised that Andic was Editor in Chief of the "New Yorksky Dennik" from October 1936 to June 1948, and thereafter was employed by the "New Yorkske Listy." He remained in this employment until the outbreak of World War II when he obtained employment with the Czechoslovakian Consulate at New York. This information is verified by Andic's Application for Employment with the State Department. According to Valusek, Andic informed him he resigned his position with the Czechoslovakian Consulate directly after the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, because he was not in sympathy with Communism and the Communist Government in Czechoslovakia.

123-1925

Class #3

C. M. Noone: dhr *[initials]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*[Handwritten mark]*



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to New York Informant T-6 ( [redacted] active, not paid) the "New Yorks Listy" and the "New Yorksky Dennik" supported the Czechoslovakian post war government policies in all respects even when the Czechoslovakian Government's policy was in accord with the Communist Party line and opposed to the policies of the United States Government.

b7D

According to New York Informant T-2 ( [redacted] reliable, paid, discontinued) the "New Yorksky Dennik" followed a line of collaboration with the Soviet Union until the Communist coup in February 1948.

From 1942 to 1945 Andie had numerous meetings and conversations with members of the Russian Consulate in New York City, according to New York Informant T-24 (technical surveillance on Russian Consulate, New York City). (S)

Other persons interviewed during the course of the investigation, including business and social acquaintances, neighbors and fellow employees, stated that they considered Andie reliable and loyal. A number of these individuals said that Andie voluntarily resigned his position with the Czechoslovakian Consulate in New York City at the time of the Communist coup because he was anti-Communist. These individuals stated that Andie resigned his position although he was in financial difficulties.

Reports to CSC, October 1, 1948; to State Department October 1, 1948; supplemental letter to State Department, October 20, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty", letter from Loyalty Review Board, October 19, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/85 BY SP2 taf/bce

RALPH JOSEPH BLOCK  
Acting Special Assistant  
to the Director, OIE  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

The employee was born June 21, 1889, at Cherokee, Iowa. His permanent residence has been given as 707 N. Alpine Drive, Beverly Hills, California. In 1948 he was residing at 3002 R Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., at the time his loyalty form was received.

Basis for Investigation

On September 20, 1937 [redacted] of known reliability, discontinued) advised the San Francisco Office that in a confidential memorandum prepared by T-1 [redacted] who is known to be reliable) the name of Ralph Block, 707 N. Alpine Drive, Beverly Hills, California, appeared as a financial contributor to the Communist Party in California. b7D

Results of Investigation

[redacted] advised that he has no further information than that already given. [redacted] stated that he did not know the employee personally. Confidential Informant New York City T-1 (Bureau of Special Service and Investigations, New York City Police Department) advised that its records indicated that the employee was a contributor to "Writers Take Sides," a publication of the League of American Writers in New York City, which organization was named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The allegation that the employee was a financial contributor to the Communist Party in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1937 was discussed with LA T-2 [redacted] previously identified above of known reliability) who stated that at the time he furnished this information in 1937 it was based upon facts known to him. T-2 stated that he had no recollection at this time of the basis for this allegation.

Los Angeles T-8 [redacted] of known reliability) described the employee as follows: "He is a fellow traveler. By that I mean one who knowingly or otherwise joins Communist movements."

Los Angeles T-9 [redacted] of known reliability) described Block as "on the edge of the Communists" and stated that "he was being used by the Communists." T-9 stated that the Communist question began to "come out in the open in Hollywood in about 1935. The informant said

121-9511

CTBrown:hsb  
Class 3

further that Hollywood was split in two, socially and politically, and T-9 described Block as "one of the leaders" of the pro-Communist group, along with John Howard Lawson.

Los Angeles T-10 [redacted]

[redacted] of known reliability) stated that Block never denied to him that he, Block, was a Communist or a Communist sympathizer although T-10 accused Block of it because of his activity in the Screen Writers Guild. T-10 said that Block was one of those who maneuvered to get control of the Screen Writers Guild in Hollywood and that he was a confederate and buddy of the very radical element including John Howard Lawson. T-10 further advised that Block ran the meetings and he and John Howard Lawson were the ring leaders in trying to split the Screen Writers Guild.

b7D

Confidential Informant Los Angeles T-5 [redacted]

[redacted] of known reliability) advised that Block went right along with John Howard Lawson, Sam Ornitz, and other Communists in the Screen Writers Guild. (Sam Ornitz was one of the alleged "10 unfriendly witnesses" who refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in October, 1947 as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party. Ornitz was a member of the Communist Political Association and the Communist Party, USA, in 1944 - 1945, according to a Los Angeles informant). In describing the move within the Screen Writers Guild, T-5 said: "It was a clever Communist move to control all the writers in the United States and one of the leaders in the movement was Mr. Ralph Block."

Los Angeles T-12 [redacted]

[redacted] of known reliability) stated "If he (Block) could have overthrown the constitution and set up an American dictatorship he would have done so." T-12 said that "Block was pro-Communist but not pro-Russian." According to T-12, Block did not become a Communist because he couldn't give allegiance to Russia. T-12 said that Block would lead a revolution here but he would balk at Russian domination.

Los Angeles T-6 [redacted]

[redacted] of known reliability, paid, member of Communist Party, discontinued) stated that Block was a member of the Executive Board of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee in 1939, which organization T-6 described as strictly "Communist dominated." The Motion Picture Democratic Committee was cited as a Communist front organization in the testimony before the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943. T-6 also stated that Block was a member of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, which organization was cited as a Communist front organization in the report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its 1948 report. T-6 also reported that Block was Vice-President of the Screen Writers Guild from November, 1941 to 1942. The other officials listed were Sidney

Buchman, President; Robert Rossen, Secretary; and Lester Cole, Treasurer. T-6 stated that Block became an officer of the Guild because of his association with John Howard Lawson, Buchman, and Cole. Sidney Buchman was a member of the Communist Political Association in 1944, according to a Los Angeles informant. Rossen and Cole were both members of the Communist Political Association and the Communist Party, USA, in 1944 and 1945, according to a Los Angeles informant.

A representative number of fellow employees and neighbors were interviewed regarding Block and these persons reported that Block, in their opinion, was a person whose loyalty was not to be questioned.

The above informants who furnished information concerning the loyalty of Block refused to furnish signed statements and declined to testify to the information furnished by them.

Reports to CSC - August 2, 1948; to Attorney General November 3, 1948.

Disposition

Retained - February 4, 1949. No final advice as to criminal prosecution February 14, 1950.

CLASSIFIED BY: S P2 ZAP / bce  
DECLASSIFY ON: 7/18/85 - OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

DR. ESTHER CAULFIELD BRUNNER  
aka Mrs. Stephen Brunner  
Assistant Director for Policy Studies  
DRESCO Publications Staff  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background  
Dr. Esther Caulfield Brunner was born on July 7, 1901 at Jackson, California. She was employed from September, 1927 to March, 1944 by the American Association of Individualists by name, Washington, D. C., and at the conclusion of her services with that organization she was International Publications Secretary. She is married to Dr. Stephen Brunner who is with the Office of Naval Research, Department of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

Media for Investigation  
The House Committee on Un-American Activities reported that the employee provided at a meeting on June 11, 1936 which was sponsored by the American Friends of the Soviet Union in Washington, D. C.

Results of Investigation  
The files of the HCUA reflect that on June 11, 1936 in Washington, D. C. the employee provided over a lecture given by Irena Pigo which was held under the auspices of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. A journal describing this lecture states that Irena Pigo was an instructor at Commonwealth College in Arkansas, was a former member of the "Newspaper Daily News" and was on the editorial staff of the magazine "Soviet Russia Today."

The American Friends of the Soviet Union was cited by HCUA as a Communist front. The magazine "Soviet Russia Today" was cited as a Communist front. Commonwealth College was also cited by HCUA as having received extensive donations from the Communist supporting Overland Fund.

HCUA files reflect that the New York Times, March 16, 1939, described Esther Brunner as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Union for Connected Peace Efforts, which the HCUA cited as a Communist front.

Washington Informant C-21 (anonymous source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that "Dr. Esther Brunner, American Association of Individualists, 1634 I Street, N.W." appeared on the active indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, an organization which the Attorney General cited as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Washington T-2 (a highly confidential source known to the Little Rock, Arkansas Office) advised that the employee's name appeared in the active indices of Commonwealth College, described above.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Washington [redacted] advised that <sup>b7D</sup> employee in December, 1942, as a representative of the American Association of University Women, made arrangements with Vladimir Bogynin, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, to exchange publications with the Soviet Embassy's Anti-Fascist Committee. The informant stated employee had received a communication from the latter organization. (C)

Files of the NCMA also reflect that in November, 1937, the American Friends of the Soviet Union issued a one hundred page edition of its official publication, "Soviet Russia Today, celebrating the twentieth anniversary of Soviet Russia. This publication contained a list of speakers sponsored by the AFSU, including one Dr. Stephen Brunauer. Washington T-4 [redacted]

[redacted] recalled that the employee met her husband through their mutual interest and activity in the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Joseph B. Matthews, former Research Director of the Dies Committee, recalled his association with the employee and her husband in the late 1920s and early 1930s while he was a professor at Howard University in Washington, D. C. Matthews said that in 1928 Stephen Brunauer informed him that he was a member of the Communist Party.

A representative number of neighbors, fellow employees, and associates of the employee, in addition to those described above, were interviewed and considered the employee loyal to the United States.

Informants mentioned above will not testify in a Loyalty Hearing.

Reports to CSC - March 2, 1948; reports to Department - March 19, 1949.

Disposition

Civil Service Commission - "Retained" - February 4, 1949. Department - No final advice re prosecution - February 14, 1950.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BESSIE BRUNNER  
nee Berkofsky  
Secretary (Stenographer)  
Department of State  
Voice of America  
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/2/82 BY SP2 ZAP/MLC

Background

Bessie Brunner was born on June 25, 1918, at Rome, New York.

Basis for Investigation

Bessie Brunner was investigated under the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Mrs. Caroline Manning, 4550 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C., advised that she knew Bessie Brunner from 1943 to 1948. She informed that on one occasion Bessie Brunner told her in confidence that her brother-in-law, Mr. Kamerling, had been a Communist in the past. Kamerling, according to Mrs. Manning, is married to Esther Berkofsky, a sister of Bessie Brunner. Mrs. Manning regarded Bessie Brunner as loyal.

Confidential Informant T-1 (an anonymous informant known only to the New York Office and of known reliability) advised that Rudolph Kamerling, brother-in-law of Bessie Brunner was transferred from the Cultural Group, Manhattan, New York City, under transfer No. 11478A, to the Windsor Club, Kings County, New York Communist Party on February 24, 1944. This informant advised that Kamerling held Communist Party book No. 7902 at the time of this transfer.

The Communist Party was cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to Civil Service, November 8, 1949; to State, November 2, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty", January 9, 1950.

123-3697

A. B. Eddy:ham:pey 2/11

Class #3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/8/85 BY SP2/BJB/bee

SERAFIN SIMON BUTA  
Employee  
Cultural Office  
State Department  
Bucharest, Rumania

#### Background

Born October 24, 1911, Rosario de Santa Fe, Argentina. Naturalized April 9, 1937, Court of Common Pleas, Lisbon, Ohio. [Assigned OSS while Sergeant, U. S. Army, May, 1942 to September, 1943, serving as instructor in Washington, D. C., Algiers, North Africa and Italy. (S)]

#### Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

b7D

#### Results of Investigation

##### Contact with Cleveland T-1

[redacted] a friend of unknown reliability) reflected from 1935 to 1940, Buta was close friend of Nicholas Balinda and Dr. Louis I. Hojin, both pro-Communist and advocates of Communist principles in Union and League of Rumanian Societies of America. Buta also advocated Communist policies during same period.

Cleveland T-3 [redacted] friend of unknown reliability) advised that Buta from October to December, 1944, argued in favor of Communist principles. Cleveland T-5 [redacted]

[redacted] (an acquaintance of unknown reliability) advised that he had heard arguments between Buta and others concerning the way that the Russians were treating Rumanians and hindering Americans. Buta always defended the Russian action.

Washington Field Office T-2 [redacted], an acquaintance of unknown reliability) advised that he worked in Bucharest with Buta. He stated that Buta was handling radical Communist contacts on direct orders from his superior officer.

Representative number of neighbors and acquaintances contacted Columbus and Salem, Ohio, and no disloyal data reflected.

Review of service record concerning Buta reflected he served U. S. Army March 22, 1941 to August 29, 1945. Honorably discharged. Character and efficiency reported unknown to excellent.

Reports to CSC November 23, 1948; to State Department July 27, 1948. Supplemental reports to State Department November 12, 1948.

#### Disposition

"Flagiate on Loyalty."

123-1205  
3 Class #3  
CARROLL DOYLE:cg



DOUGLAS GORDON CAMPBELL  
Aka George Douglas Campbell  
Senior Scientist  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/11/85 BY SP2TJG/jbc

### Background

Campbell was born on February 1, 1902, at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, and claimed citizenship by court decree on July 7, 1938, at Chicago, Illinois. He is married to Marian Van Tuyl Campbell.

### Basis for Investigation

The April 7, 1944, issue of the "Daily People's World," newspaper of San Francisco, California, contained an article entitled "Meet the People" which described a cocktail party at the home of Mrs. Sydney Joseph for the benefit of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the names of Dr. and Mrs. Douglas Gordon Campbell were listed among the sponsors.

### Results of Investigation

SF-1301 (technical surveillance Louise Rosenberg Bransten) advised that Dr. and Mrs. Douglas Campbell were sponsors of a party to raise funds for the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in the Spring of 1944.

T-2 (highly confidential source known only to San Francisco Office) advised that in the Spring of 1944, Dr. and Mrs. Douglas Campbell were donors to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

The San Francisco Telephone Directory of February 1949 listed the San Francisco Dance League at 160 Pale Alto Avenue, which was the address of the employee at that time.

Records of San Francisco T-5 (Manhattan Engineer District) reflect that a representative of this agency was present on May 13, 1944, when the San Francisco Dance League presented its first public appearance. The program listed a Van Tuyl Group of dancers. Among the approximately twenty dancers listed were Helen Metz, Libby Burke, Edith Weiner, Eleanor Goff, Mimi Kagan, and Mildred Smith.

Informants have reported Helen Metz as being a member of the American Youth for Democracy in 1944, and a member of the Communist Party in 1947. Libby Burke was reported to have been a member of the Communist Political Association at Berkeley, California in 1944, and that Communist meetings were held in her home. Edith Weiner was reported to have been a Communist Party member in San Francisco in 1947. One Eleanor Goff and one Mildred Smith were reported to have been members of the American Youth for Democracy in June 1944. One Mimi Kagan was reported to have been an instructor at the California Labor School in 1946 and 1947.

Tolson  
Ladd  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harbo  
Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy 121-19541

124

Class #3

John T. Harrington:cg:mem:lgh:jks

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the American Youth for Democracy and the California Labor School have been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The "Daily People's World" is the official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast as described by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

All fellow employees, associates, neighbors and friends considered Campbell as being loyal.

and T-2 refused to testify.

b7D

Reports to CSC - October 21, 1949; to Department 10/21/49.

Disposition

None received in file - February 13, 1950.

No criminal prosecution by the Department October 31, 1949.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/11/81 BY SP 2/2/81

JOSEPH CHASE

Alan Joseph Chasorlach

Foreign Affairs Specialist

Office of the Secretary

Department of State

Washington, D. C.

Background

The employee was born Joseph Chasorlach on August 2, 1911 at New York City. Records of the Clerk of Court, New York Supreme Court, Bronx, New York, reflect that the employee changed his name to Joseph Chase on March 12, 1942. The employee was conscription in the U. S. Navy July 1, 1942 and was separated from the Service on December 18, 1945, at which time he held the rank of Lieutenant Commander. While in the Navy, Chase served as Radar Officer to the Russian Navy, Assistant Naval Attaché to Moscow, and as a member of the Military Mission to Moscow. During his service in the latter capacity, the employee acted as interpreter at the Potsdam and Yalta Conferences for Merrill Terleson, then U. S. Ambassador to Moscow. From April, 1946 to July 25, 1948, the employee served as International Affairs Analyst and Liaison Man with U. S. Representatives, United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, and U. S. Representatives, United Nations Commission for Constitutional Amendments.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant New York City 7-2 (CII) advised that the employee stated while attending the Institut de Touraine, Tours, France, Branch of the University of the Potiers, France, in 1938, that he, the employee, was a Communist.

Communist Party, USA was cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant New York City 7-2 advised that the original information had been supplied by Confidential Informant New York City 7-1 [redacted]

Confidential Informant New York City 7-1 furnished a signed statement on December 3, 1943 and subsequently in response to a request of the Loyalty Security Board, Department of State, expressed his willingness to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board. In his statement New York City 7-2 stated that he was acquainted with Joseph Chase in the summer of 1938, at which time they were students at the Institut de Touraine, Tours, France, which is a branch of the University of Potiers. The informant explained that he knew Joseph Chase at that time only as Tom whose last name was of foreign extraction and that he was later advised in 1943 that this same individual was then known as Joseph Chase. The informant continued that during the

121-13093

Class 2

J. R. Grealy:EHC

126

b7D

summer that they attended the university Communist meetings were held at Tours and Joe attended these meetings. He pointed out that he himself did not attend the meetings and did not know where they were held but that Joe's attendance at these meetings was general knowledge as a result of conversation with other students of the school whose names he could not recall. He continued that on one occasion in approximately August, 1938, while conversing with a group of students, including Joe, the topic of conversation was a forthcoming Communist Party meeting to be held at an early date. During this discussion the informant was asked by one of the students whether or not he intended to go to the meeting in question. After stating he definitely did not desire to attend, Joe remarked to him that he should attend the meeting and suggested that he was acting too conservatively by not doing so. A few days later one of the students whose identity he could not recall advised him that Joe had attended the meeting mentioned above and had actually made a speech at the gathering. The informant was unable to recall specific details and statements concerning the facts he had mentioned due to the long time since the incident occurred. He pointed out that it was his impression that Joe, who he now knew as Joseph Chase, was definitely a Communist while attending the Institut de Touraine in 1938.

It was pointed out that Confidential Informant New York City T-1 could identify the employee with the person named Joe in his signed statement, as a result of their re-contact while serving together in the Navy during World War II.

Several former and present neighbors, fellow employees, associates, and references were contacted during the investigation and they advised that they regarded the employee as being loyal to the United States and had no reason to question his loyalty.

Reports to CSC December 21, 1948; to Department January 5, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" - July 1, 1949.

No criminal prosecution by Department - February 28, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY: SP2TAP/bce  
DECLASSIFY ON: 9/11/85  
OADR

NELSON CHIPCHIN  
Aka Nielsen Chipchin  
Radio Script Writer-Foreign Language  
Department of State  
New York

Background

INS records reflect Chipchin was born March 18, 1911, at Warsaw, Russia. Naturalized in Circuit Court of Washington County, Maryland on February 12, 1943.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOA).

Results of Investigation

In his "Request for Investigation Data" form Chipchin advised he had been employed as a translator by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, 5th Avenue, New York from March, 1937, to March, 1941.

Joseph B. Cooper, a New York City Broker in gold, silver and platinum, advised he secured Chipchin's position with Amtorg due to his, Chipchin's, ability to translate Russian.

T-1 (Dun and Bradstreet records, New York City) advised that the Amtorg Trading Corporation filed a Certificate of Incorporation in the New York County Clerk's Office on May 27, 1924, which revealed it was the sole representative in North America of the various Soviet trade and industrial organizations through which trade was conducted between the U. S. and Russia until the Soviet Government Purchasing Commission was established in 1942.

T-2 [redacted] unknown reliability, former member CP and [redacted] advised that prior to 1929 all American employees of Amtorg were members of the CP and that subsequent to 1929 30 per cent of all Americans employed there were Communists. (C)

b7D

In his testimony before the Dies Committee on September 7, 1939, Benjamin Gitlow, formerly a prominent CP functionary, advised that the Amtorg Office consulted the Party as to the employing of its personnel. (C)

T-3 [redacted] former Communist, reliability unknown) advised on September 11, 1941, that the Amtorg employees belonged to a closed branch of the CP and that all were forbidden to mingle with regular Party members. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

123-1593

Class 3

128

J.J.Flanagan:tg

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

T-4 (ONI) furnished various records which revealed that Amtorg's relations with the CP had been carefully concealed; also that the clerical work is usually done by Americans chosen by the Communist Party of America. ~~TS~~

In October, 1943, Military Intelligence conducted investigation of Chipchin. In addition to the above, it was ascertained that his father was an attorney in Russia and that his brother was an engineer, also employed in Russia. The investigation further reflected that Nelson Chipchin resided in a community in which a number of known or suspected Communists resided. This investigation reflected that of a number of the persons interviewed only one believed Chipchin was a Communist and that person based his belief on the attitude of Chipchin toward Russia and the fact that he had been employed by Amtorg for four years. According to the conclusions of the MID report, the investigation reflected that his integrity and discretion appeared to be above reproach but that his Communist background was too conclusively established to ignore. It was therefore recommended that he be denied access to any confidential material. ~~(C)~~

Neighbors, former employers and references, including Army officers under whom he served during and subsequent to World War II, consider him a loyal citizen.

Reports to State Department August 19, 1948; reports to CSC August 27, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" August 22, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

CLASSIFIED BY: S. P. [unclear]  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR  
7/11/85

JAMES ALEXANDER COLLINS, JR.  
Aka "Sandy"  
Vice Consul  
American Embassy  
Torreón, Mexico  
Department of State

### Background

James Alexander Collins, Jr., was born on March 9, 1907, at North Yakima, Washington. On May 18, 1944, while assigned to the American Embassy at Moscow, Russia, he married Tatyana Vlassouna, aka Tanetschka Vlassouna, a Russian National. The employee's wife was naturalized at Tacoma, Washington, on March 25, 1946. Collins has been employed by the Department of State in China, Russia, Italy and Brazil.

### Basis for Investigation

The files of Washington T-1 (Department of State, Washington, D.C.) reflect that in early 1948 information was received from an unnamed informant of unknown reliability in Moscow, Russia, to the effect that Tatyana Collins, wife of the employee, is an intelligence agent of the Soviet Government and is in regular communication with the secret police in Moscow. ~~(S)~~

### Results of Investigation

Several former fellow employees advised that although they have no definite information indicating disloyalty on the part of the employee or his wife, they suspect that the employee's wife may have been an informant for the NKVD. They advised that their suspicions are based upon the general impression of State Department officials that most Russian women permitted to leave Russia, did so only with the sanction of the NKVD. ~~(S)~~

A number of neighbors and acquaintances who were interviewed advised that they believe Collins to be a loyal American.

The Department of State conducted an investigation regarding Collins in China, Russia, Italy and Brazil. Their investigation disclosed that the employee's wife has been in communication with her parents and relatives in Russia and that the mother of Mrs. Collins who resides in Russia is reportedly favored by the Russian Government. It was stated that the employee and his wife, while in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, transmitted and received numerous communications of such a nature that they could be construed to be "advantageous and of interest to countries other than the USA." Reports reflecting the results of investigation conducted by the Department of State have been transmitted to the Civil Service Commission. ~~(S)~~

121-15007

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

130

D. J. AUERSWALD:eb:mem

CLASS # 3

578

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reports to OSC January 17, 1949; to ~~Department~~ March 18, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file - February 14, 1950. No criminal prosecution by Department - April 1, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/11/85 BY SP2TJ/ace

GEORGE HOWES COPELAND  
News Editor  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

George Howes Copeland was born January 22, 1893 at Brooklyn, New York. He presently resides at 2434 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

### Basis for Investigation

Washington Confidential Informant T-1 (a highly confidential source known to agents of the Washington Field Office) advised that during the first four months of 1946, Copeland was a close associate of Helen Scott. It has been learned from other informants known to be reliable, that Scott has been associated with persons known to have been active in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in the early 1940's in Washington, D. C.

### Results of Investigation

Washington Confidential Informant T-1 advised, when recontacted, that Helen Scott, as she recalled, apparently had frequent contacts with Copeland during the first four months of 1946, and that her contacts with the employee were not limited to business hours. T-1 could furnish no additional information regarding the nature of the contacts between Scott and the employee and stated that she was unwilling to appear before a loyalty hearing board.

With reference to Helen Scott, information has been obtained from sources known to be reliable that she left the State Department in May, 1946, and that she was a very good friend of Bernard and Joan Radacot, who have also been under investigation in connection with the activities of a Soviet espionage ring. Scott has also been reliably reported to have been in contact with known and suspected members of the Communist Party.

An anonymous source (truly anonymous) on May 14, 1944, furnished this Bureau a list of names of 100 Government employees who joined the Communist Party after January 1, 1944. Included in this list was the name of the employee. No other information concerning the employee was noted in this list.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities disclosed that one George Copeland was the former husband of Mary Reed, daughter of Mrs. Fernandis Reed of Cambridge, Massachusetts, at one time one of three owners of the Daily Worker, an East Coast Communist publication.

Mrs. Anne Scribnick, 514 East 114th Street, New York, advised that she has known the Copelands since approximately 1919. Mr. Gilbert E. Feath, 60 East 42nd Street, New York City, advised that he has known the employee since they

121-3456

H. K. Mudd:mhb:zg

Class #3

132

HKM

were both freshmen at Princeton University about 1911. Both of these individuals state that George Copeland in the early 1920's, married Mary Reed, the daughter of Fernanda Reed, and that the latter had been in later years a part owner of the Daily Worker. According to these individuals both Fernanda and her daughter, Mary, were "rabid Communists" who were "definitely in favor of the Russian form of Government." In the late 1920's, Mr. Faeth advised that Mrs. Copeland moved to Russia and that she had taken their son with her. As a result of this separation the employee secured a divorce from Mary Reed. Both Mrs. Scribnick and Mr. Faeth advised that they had seen a newspaper article which set out an account of employee's son's death in the battle of Leningrad, at which time John, the son, had been fighting in the Russian Army. Both of the above individuals stated that Fernanda Reed also left her husband and moved to Russia to join her daughter. Mrs. Scribnick added that the advocacy of Communism on the part of the employee's wife was the primary reason that George Copeland divorced her.

Employee's present wife is Mrs. Lynn Preston Copeland, who was born Leba Presner on February 27, 1916, at New York City. She later had her name changed to Lynn Preston by court order.

Confidential Informant New York T-2 [redacted] member Communist Party Chelsea Club, discontinued) who is not in a position to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board, advised that the name of Lynn Preston, residing at 200 West 15th Street, New York, appeared on a membership list of the Chelsea Club of the Communist Party, New York City, in July, 1946. This informant advised that a notation "Negro" appeared beside the name of Lynn Preston. The exact meaning of the word "Negro" as used here is not known to the informant. However, he stated it might mean that she was interested in Negro activities in the club. b7D

Lesley Meyer, rental agent, 200 West 15th Street, New York City, advised that Lynn Preston had occupied an apartment at the above address from October 1, 1943, until September 30, 1945. He stated that sometime in 1945, Miss Preston married George Copeland who continued to lease the apartment until September 30, 1947.

William Forsyth, superintendent at 200 West 15th Street, New York City, advised that he had been acquainted with Lynn Preston during her period of residence at this address and had also met her husband, George Copeland, on several occasions. He stated that it was his opinion that Lynn Preston possessed unquestionable loyalty to the United States. In concluding Mr. Forsyth advised that to his knowledge no other person by the name of Lynn Preston had ever resided at this address.

The records of the Board of Elections, New York City, reflect that Lynn Preston, while residing at 200 West 15th Street, New York, was registered for one of the major political parties in 1943 and 1944. While residing at 161 West 16th Street, New York, she was registered with the American Labor Party in 1942.

The American Labor Party was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

Neighbors, former business associates and acquaintances regard employee as a loyal American.

Reports to CSC June 21, 1949. Reports to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" February 18, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department April 19, 1949.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY: *SP2 EAF/Hce*  
DECLASSIFY ON: *7/17/85*

JOHN PATON DAVIES, JR.  
Policy Planning Staff  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

John Paton Davies, Jr. was born on April 7, 1908, in Kiating, China. His parents were then missionaries in China.

Basis for Investigation

The files of the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee reflect that General Patrick J. Hurley, while testifying before that Committee in December, 1945, in the course of an investigation of Far Eastern Policy, named John Davies as one of the career officials of the State Department who undermined the policy of the United States in China.

Results of Investigation

On interview General Hurley stated that when he arrived in China in the Fall of 1944 Davies was attached to General Stillwell's staff and later attached to the staff of General Wedemeyer. General Hurley stated that during his contact with Davies he came to feel that Davies was very sympathetic to the Communist Party of China. He stated that Davies did not support the American policy of support to Chiang Kai-shek. In the opinion of General Hurley, Davies wished to bring about the collapse of the Nationalist Government of China at the time the United States policy was to prevent this collapse. General Hurley advised that in his opinion Davies supported the Communist policy in China at the time he knew him in 1944. He related that he was unable to furnish an opinion concerning Davies' loyalty and added that the only way he had to judge Davies was by his deeds. He stated that it is possible that Davies might have been guilty of bad judgment but he felt that Davies consistently expressed a sympathy towards the Chinese Communists and doctrines expounded by them.

John Stewart Service also served on General Stillwell's staff as a political adviser at the same time as the employee. This information was reflected in the testimony of General Hurley.

John Stewart Service was apprehended on June 6, 1945, together with Philip Jacob Jaffe and Kate Mitchell, co-editors of Amerasia, together with others who were charged with conspiracy to violate Section 31-D, Title 50, U. S. Code. During the loyalty investigation of Service in November, 1948, Davies was interviewed concerning his knowledge of Service, at which time he advised that he and Service are life-long friends, were reared together in China and

121-18528

Class 3  
R.H.Egan:mer

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*PK*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

had worked together since 1933. He said that Service's reports to General Stillwell might have been considered by some as favorable to the Chinese Communists because the Chinese Communists were better organized than the Nationalist Government of China and were doing a better job of fighting the Japanese. Davies said that in his opinion Service sincerely felt that the Communists could be of more help to the United States at that time and that Service did not sympathize with Communists but felt that they were doing more for China than any other group.

Washington T-1 [redacted] advised that he was well acquainted with the employee when both he and Davies were located in China. He related that in his opinion Davies was definitely sympathetic towards the Chinese Communists during the time he knew him in China, which was in 1944. He related that he could not definitely state whether Davies' sympathy towards the Chinese Communists was an error of judgment or an actual expression of disloyalty. He stated that he would never place Davies in a position involving high responsibility. He described Davies as being a rather glib, facile person who wrote political reports in China that consistently pointed out the good points of the Chinese Communists and just as consistently pointed out the bad points of the Nationalist Government. He advised that there were many bad points relating to the Nationalist Government but in his opinion Davies never recognized that any good was present in it. b7D

An article written by Emmanuel S. Larsen appearing in the first issue of PlainTalk Magazine in September, 1946, made reference to an alleged pro-Communist China group in the Department of State and alleged that the employee was a member of this group. A photostatic copy of this article was attached as an exhibit in this case.

The files of the Department of State Visa Division reflect that that Division received a visa application from Geoffrey Chen, also known as Chen-Han Seng on February 17, 1945. John Davies, Jr., State Department, Washington, D. C., was listed as a sponsor of Geoffrey Chen in this visa application along with Edward C. Carter, New York, New York.

In 1942 information was furnished this Bureau by a reliable informant listing the principal books and pamphlets issued by the Workers Library in 1941. This list included a book entitled "Landlord and Peasant in China" by Chen Han-Seng. Concerning the Workers Library, Washington T-8 [redacted] a reliable informant, has advised that "The Communist," which was the official monthly theoretical organ of the Communist Party, was published by the Workers Library Publishers, which publishing house was under the control of the Communist Party for the period prior to 1945.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Contained in Department of State Visa Division files was a letter dated January 25, 1945, from John Davies, Jr., Foreign Service Officer, to the Honorable Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.:

"My endorsement of Dr. Chen is enthusiastic because he is one of the outstanding scholars of China. His understanding of current events in China is exceptional; he has been of help to American officials in interpreting these events, and I believe he can be of real assistance to American officials in the United States who are dealing with the Far Eastern problems."

Edward C. Carter, who was listed as an enderser for Geoffrey Chen in February, 1945, listed his occupation as Secretary General, Institute of Pacific Relations. He likewise listed affiliation with the American-Russian Institute.

In June, 1945, Milwaukee T-1 (microphone surveillance on Josephine Nordstrand, Milwaukee) advised that Fred Blair, then Wisconsin State Secretary of the Communist Political Association, had remarked that his friend, John Davies, was in favor of the Chinese Communists. Blair said that Davies and John Service were ordered out of Chungking by Hurley when they were employed by the State Department. Blair, who was also known as Carroll W. Blair, further stated that he and Davies had attended the Experimental College at Wisconsin together. ~~(S)~~

It was subsequently ascertained that Davies and Blair both attended the Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin during the school years 1927 - 1928 and 1928-1929.

None of the individuals mentioned above are willing to testify.

Neighbors and other co-workers consider Davies to be loyal.

The American Russian Institute, New York, and the Communist Political Association appear in the list of organizations named by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC - July 20, 1949; to Department - July 20, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/11/85 BY SP2 tgd/bce

ALICE MARGARET DEMERJIAN  
Administrative Officer  
Acquisition and Distribution of Information Division  
State Department  
Washington, D. C. b7D

Background

Alice Margaret Demerjian was born March 4, 1905, at Paterson, New Jersey. She resided at 930 Randolph Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., from 1936 to 1941.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 [redacted]

[redacted] reliable) advised that Alice Demerjian contributed to United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Results of Investigation

T-1, in May 1942, advised that the name of Alice Demerjian, 930 Randolph Street, Washington, D. C., appeared on a list of donors to the United American Spanish Aid Committee, which has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. She contributed \$6.00 to this organization.

During the course of another investigation, Special Agents of the F.B.I. observed that employee associated with Mary Jane and Angus Keeney, Irving Kaplan, and Allen Rosenberg. This association was more than casual.

A reliable informant has advised that Mary Jane and Angus Keeney were members of the Communist Party underground in Washington, D. C., in the early 1940s.

A reliable informant has advised that Irving Kaplan and Allen Rosenberg were involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy during the early 1940s and were closely associated with Communist Party members and pro-Soviet sympathizers.

Washington T-6 [redacted] obtained through a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that in April 1946, Mary Jane Keeney was offered a position with the State Department. She refused to accept the position and suggested that Alice Demerjian be given the job. Based on this recommendation, the employee was given the position.

None of the above informants will testify before a loyalty board.

Neighbors, present and former fellow employees report employee as loyal or deny knowledge of any disloyal information regarding her.

Reports to CSC, June 4, 1946; supplemental report, October 7, 1946; reports to Department, March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" - July 25, 1949. Department declined prosecution September 27, 1949.

121-2793

Class 3

F.P. Dougherty:EHG

DHY:lgk

140

RMJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/11/85 BY SP2tag/bce

PAUL MADRONE DEAC  
Radio Script Writer  
Department of State  
New York, New York

#### Background

Paul Madrone Deac was born November 5, 1908, at Macea, Arad, Rumania. He became a naturalized United States citizen on September 7, 1944. Deac listed Senator Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.), Representative George Sadowski (D., Mich.), and Federal Judge Frank A. Picard, Detroit, as references in his application with the State Department.

#### Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program.

#### Results of Investigation

The report of hearings held September 27-29 and October 3-5, 1944, by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities reflects that Paul M. Deac, President of "Americans All, Inc." was one of the sponsors of a Call to a statewide conference to be held at the Masonic Temple (city not given) on September 12 (year not given) under the auspices of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation. The Attorney General has cited said organization under Executive Order 9835.

Deac has stated he was the Founder of "Americans All, Inc." but has denied any connection with the Civil Rights Federation.

Senator Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.), Representative George Sadowski (D., Mich.), and Federal Judge Frank A. Picard, U. S. District Court, Detroit, advised that as far as they know Deac was a loyal citizen. Comments of all superiors, associates, and neighbors in New York and Detroit favorable concerning Deac's loyalty. A State Department investigation of Deac reported "Investigation disclosed no evidence of a material nature tending to reflect adversely subject's loyalty to the Government of the United States and its institutions" and was granted clearance on April 22, 1947, as a script writer with the International Broadcasting Division.

Reports to CSC 12-20-48; to State Department 12-7-48.

#### Disposition

Eligible on loyalty 10-19-49.

123-2197

Class 3

S. BLAIR, JR. :wma



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/11/85 BY sp/taf/bca

GEORGE JOHN ELIASBERG  
aka John George Eliasberg, Stefan Weyl,  
John Georg Eliasberg, John Georgs Eliasberg,  
Stefan Neuberg  
Appointee  
Voice of America

Background

The captioned person was born January 31, 1906, at Wiesbaden, Germany, according to the records of the Adjutant General's Office, Department of the Army. His father and mother, both deceased, were born in Russia. His Alien Registration number was 754A17A. It is further noted that his wife, Erna, was born December 21, 1910, in Russia. The captioned individual was naturalized in the U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York on February 4, 1947.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress, Voice of America.

Results of Investigation

A confidential source (the U. S. Office of Censorship, report dated December 21, 1943) listed Dr. Georg Eliasberg as a "leading member" of the German organization "New Beginnings." This was a group formed in Germany during the Hitler regime made up of young and active members of the Social Democrat Party. It is noted that various sources have described it as encompassing Communists, Social Democrats and other political classifications.

The records of the Civilian Personnel Branch, AGO, Department of the Army, reflect that the captioned person was appointed to a position of expert on the authorization of the Secretary of War January 21, 1947. This appointment was cancelled January 30, 1947, for "security reasons." These records did not reflect the particular reason for the revocation of said authorization.

In applying for a position with the government under the Voice of America Program, Eliasberg listed one Alfred V. Bingham, Colchester, Connecticut, as a reference. This individual described the applicant as opposed to Communism and Nazism; as active in anti-Nazi activities in Germany and as a Social Democrat opposed to Communism. He recommended Eliasberg for a position of trust with the U. S. Government.  New Haven Confidential Informant I-2 (report prepared by Operations Branch, Security Group, ID, General Staff, U. S. Army) a government agency engaged in intelligence investigations, reported that Bingham was connected

123-2332  
Class 3  
J. A. Reilly/js/

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JAR

In some way with the Conference of Pan American Democracy, National Committee, Friends of the Soviet Union, sponsor, New York Tom Hooney Committee and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, signers of protest. *J.R.D.*

The Conference of Pan American Democracy and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General. The Friends of the Soviet Union has been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities and the Attorney General.

Former U. S. Representative Fred K. Busbey, 10 South Inaalle Street, Chicago, Illinois, stated that during the 80th Congress he delivered a speech in which he criticized the fact that the captioned person and certain other individuals were employed by the United States Government. Busbey could not recall the details nor locate his speech material but recalled criticizing the fact that Elmsberg upon his arrival in the United States as a German refugee was able to obtain employment almost immediately in the Office of War Information. He stated he had no personal acquaintance with Elmsberg but obtained information which was the basis for his attack from a confidential source in the Department of State. He also stated Elmsberg requested a retraction but that he, Busbey, refused.

Bernhardt Taurer, Bennington, Vermont, advised on interview in May, 1949, that he has been closely associated with Elmsberg since 1935. He described the captioned person as anti-Communist and as an individual who had aided the underground movement in Germany from 1935 until arrested by the German Police. He stated that the organization "New Beginning", a translation of the German set out above, is currently merged with the Social Democrat Party in Germany. Taurer mentioned was Paul Hagen, a former Communist Party member who quit said organization in 1938 and who was associated with Elmsberg. Is no longer closely connected with him. He described the captioned individual's wife as emotionally and outspokenly anti-Communist and anti-Russian. It was also his opinion that the German Police did not possess information connecting the captioned person's wife with the Communists in Germany.

Dr. Reinhold Kolbuhr, Union Theological Seminary, New York, New York, was interviewed at Fulton, Missouri. He stated that he first met Elmsberg when he came to the United States as a refugee in approximately 1937. Kolbuhr advised that he wrote a foreword to a book prepared by the captioned individual and some other persons which as he recalled it was titled "The German Underworld" or some similar name. He noted that as he recalled he lectured on two or three occasions with the captioned individual. He described said individual as anti-Communist and recommended him for a position of trust. It is noted that various individuals have advised that Kolbuhr has been associated as a member or sponsor of more than fifteen organizations or committees. One of these was the National Advisory

Board of the American Friends of the Chinese People. This organization was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944. Investigation at New York City has developed information that the Paul Hagen mentioned above, who is reliably described as a member of the Communist Party in Germany for a period of ten years or more, was also known as Carl Frank. An informant considered reliable has advised that Paul Hagen, an Austrian by birth, was at one time editor of the publication "Die rote Pahn," the alleged official organ of the German Communist Party. The same source also stated that in 1930 Hagen participated in the kidnapping of an editor of a Social Democrat newspaper and allegedly served a sentence of one and one-half years imprisonment for this crime. This source described Hagen as the founder and leader of the "New Beginning" group. Another confidential source considered to be of normal reliability described Hagen as a member of the Communist Party who served on the City Executive Committee of Berlin for the Party for a span of thirteen years. This source alleged that Hagen participated in several plots against the Democratic form of government in Germany.

The "New Beginning" group has been described by a reliable source in 1943 as formed ten years previously as a clandestine anti-Nazi organization with young and active members of the Social Democrat Party making up its organization. This source listed Dr. George Ellsberg as one of the leading members of the said group.

New York Confidential Informant T-4, [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau) who is believed reliable, stated that Paul Hagen was Austrian by birth and that at one time he was editor of the "Die rote Pahn," the alleged official organ of the German Communist Party.

New York Confidential Informant T-6 [redacted]

[redacted] He was a former member of the Social Democrat Party in Germany.) who is believed reliable, stated Paul Hagen, born in Austria, came to Berlin sometime between 1918 and 1920. This source stated that Hagen had a long career in the Communist Party and was an official in the Berlin District of said group. This source also advised that General Walter Kivitsky, former Intelligence Officer for Eastern Europe for the Communist International, while in New York stated that Carl Frank (Hagen) was an agent of the CPNY in Germany for many years.

New York Confidential Informant T-2 [redacted] of unknown reliability, advised it was his understanding Ellsberg was a "fellow traveler"

b7D

of the Communist Party in Germany, although probably not a Party member as it was more convenient for him to engage in the work of the "New Beginning" group which was headed by Carl Frank (Hagen). This source also characterized Hagen as a Communist for many years but claimed he abandoned the Communist Party to join the Social Democrats.

Reports to CSC June 6, 1949; to State Department May 31, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty", October 19, 1949.

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY  
Supervisory Committee on the German  
War Documents Project - Appointee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-19-81 BY SP2/af/ace

Background

Fay was born April 13, 1876 at Washington, D. C. He had been with Harvard University since 1929 and in 1949 was serving as Professor Emeritus of History at Harvard.

Basis for Investigation

The Daily Worker for March 19, 1942, reflects that Sidney B. Fay, Professor of History at Harvard University was one of 38 prominent New England educators who signed an appeal to President Roosevelt calling for the release of Earl Browder from prison. The Daily Worker is an East Coast Communist newspaper. Earl Browder was formerly secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

b7D

Results of Investigation

In October, 1943, Boston T-2 [redacted] (who is a reliable informant) furnished a four page pamphlet entitled, "Are you interested in Russia? If so, you should be a member of the American Russian Institute." This pamphlet was published by the New England Branch of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union. On Page 4 of the pamphlet one Professor Sidney Fay was listed as a member of the Board of Directors of this organization. This pamphlet was an exhibit in this case. Boston T-2 does not desire to testify.

The American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union was cited as "a Communist organization supported by 'intellectuals'" by the Massachusetts House Committee on un-American Activities, 1938 report, Page 279.

Neighbors, associates and co-workers advised that they have no reason to question the appointee's loyalty.

Reports to Civil Service Commission September 26, 1949. To Department September 26, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file, February 14, 1950. No criminal prosecution by Department, September 29, 1949.

121-17904

R.H.Egan;hmm

Class #3

SAM FISHBACK  
Ala Sam Fishback  
Research Analyst  
Division of Research for Parast  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Sam Fishback was born April 9, 1917, at New York City. He formerly resided at 1830 Washington Avenue, Bronx, New York.

Fields for Investigation

Washington T-2 (State Department, Washington, D. C.) advised that during an investigation conducted by that agency information was received from John L. Afros, Washington, D. C., to the effect that Fishback and his friends are just a bunch of Trotskyites."

Results of Investigation

John L. Afros, 172 Halsewood Avenue, SE, Washington, D. C., advised that he had had little contact with Fishback. He stated that he gathered the impression that there are "Trotskyites" in Fishback's family but said that he was not able to give any definite statement which prompted this conclusion. He will testify.

New York City T-2 (CIVIL Service Commission, Washington, D. C.) advised that the records of the College of the City of New York reflect that Sam Fishback 1830 Washington Avenue, Bronx, had signed a petition for approval of the American Student Union Charter in the spring of 1936. Dan James (name), College of the City of New York, advised that those records have been destroyed. However, he pointed out that Fishback had attended this college from 1932 to 1936.

At a hearing before the U. S. CIVIL Service Commission on April 6, 1943, Fishback stated: "I used to attend an occasional meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism when I was about 16 or 17 years old. I didn't realize they were a Communist front. I used to attend meetings of the American Student Union also I didn't know they was a Communist organization."

121-1864  
Class 3  
R. H. Egan:mhb

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-30-85 BY spacy/ka  
147

According to the Bureau of Special Services and Investigations of the New York City Police Department, Sam Fishback of 1840 Washington Avenue, sent a post card to District Attorney Thomas F. Dewey in 1942, protesting the perjury prosecution and conviction of Morris U. Schappes.

The records of the Clerk of the General Sessions Court, County of New York, disclosed that Morris U. Schappes, an instructor in English at the City College of New York, was dismissed on March 15, 1941, following an investigation of Communism in the educational system of the State of New York by the Rapp-Coulert Joint Legislative Committee. At those hearings, Schappes admitted that he had been a member of the Communist Party and active as such on the college campus from 1935 to 1940. He testified specifically that during the period of his activity there were but four members of the City College Unit of the Communist Party whereas other witnesses offer testimony showing there were 50 members. On the basis of this testimony, Schappes was indicted on four counts for giving false testimony before the Committee. He was convicted on June 28, 1941, in the General Sessions Court, New York, and sentenced to serve 13 to 24 months in state prison.

Harry P. Kaminsky, Post Office Department, New York, in a signed statement advised that he had worked with Fishback in the Post Office Department, New York from about 1939 to 1941. He stated that Fishback preached about Russia at every available opportunity. Kaminsky stated: "I remember that he used to discuss Communism and although I cannot recall his exact words, he was in favor of Communism. Everytime I heard him talk I became more and more convinced that he would like to see Communism as the form of Government in this country." Kaminsky will testify.

Nathan Slutsky, Post Office Department, New York, furnished a signed statement in which he pointed out that during 1939 to 1941, Fishback, on many occasions "forcefully expounded Communistic propaganis. By that I mean by continually defending the Communistic 'line.' Specifically he denounced any questioning the wrong in the Stalin-Hitler pact of September, 1939. He also defended Russia's aggression of Poland. He always defended Russia and reviled and ridiculed anyone who was against anything Russia did or said." Slutsky will testify.

Mrs. Anne Sanhofer, a former neighbor, furnished a signed statement in April, 1948, in which she pointed out that she had been a neighbor of the Fishback family from about 1940 to 1942. She said "I was acquainted with the Fishback girl, Bella, more than with the other members of the family, but I knew the others. Bella used to visit me in my apartment almost daily. I remember her telling me on several occasions that Sam was a Communist. I remember her saying 'Oh, my

brother is a Communist and so is his girl friend'. I never discussed politics with her and she never went into the subject of her brother's being a Communist other than that she made this statement on several occasions." Mrs. Sandhofer will testify.

Associates and other neighbors and fellow workers advise that they had no information reflecting on the loyalty of the employee.

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944. The American League Against War and Fascism appears on the list of organizations named by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSO May 13, 1948; to Department March 23, 1949.

Disposition

Retained September 30, 1943. No criminal prosecution by Department April 11, 1949.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/30/85 BY SP-1/16

GUY STANTON FORD  
Advisory Committee - Appointee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background  
Ford was born July 9, 1913, at Salem, Wisconsin. He was President of the University of Minnesota from 1938 to 1941.

Basis for Investigation  
The files of the House Committee for un-American Activities reflect that the name Guy Stanton Ford had been mentioned in connection with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Results of Investigation  
The files of the House Committee on un-American Activities contain the following information:

A. A booklet entitled "Spies on the USSA," which is described on the cover as a selective classified bibliography prepared by Jessie Wasserman of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, Washington, D. C. Page 4 of this booklet mentions "notoriously in the Modern World" a book edited by Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota press, 1939. Pertinent portions of this booklet were an exhibit in this case. The Washington Cooperative Bookshop was the predecessor of the Washington Bookshop Association.

B. A mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead dated January 17, 1940, which bears the caption, "American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom." The mimeographed sheet contains the name "Guy Stanton Ford, President, University of Minnesota," as one of the signers of the petition sponsored by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom to discontinue the Dies Committee. Exhibit in this case.

C. Letter bearing the caption, "Sixth National Conference, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Hotel Carter, Cleveland, Ohio, May 9 - 10, 1942. Attached to this letter was a program and call to the above-mentioned conference which lists among the sponsors of the conference Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D. C. Exhibit in this case.

D. The February 6, 1943 issue of the Daily Worker contained an article which stated that "Prominent Americans, 1500 of them - Leaders in the Arts, Sciences, Sociology, Civic and Trade Unions life of America yesterday called on the House of Representatives to end once and for all the names of the Dies Committee." This article contained a list of some of the signers of the petition which included "Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D. C." Exhibit in this case.

E. Advertisement appearing in the New York Times of December 22, 1943, Page 40, which was placed by the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee. This advertisement lists the name of Dr. Guy Stanton Ford as one of the signers of the information furnished by the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee. Exhibit in this case.

F. Copy of a message to the House of Representatives which was sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties which opposed renewal of the Dies Committee. One of the signers of this message was Guy Stanton Ford, Washington, D. C. Exhibit in this case.

The letterhead of the American Committee to Save Refugees listed Guy Stanton Ford as a sponsor of this Committee as of April, 1941. Exhibit in this case.

The American-Russian Institute which held a dinner and presentation of its first annual award on May 7, 1946, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, listed one Guy Stanton Ford as a sponsor on its program. Exhibit in this case.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Washington Bookshop Association and the American-Russian Institute, New York, appear on the list of organizations named by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom and the American Committee to Save Refugees, were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee on un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Associates, neighbors and fellow employees advised that they had no reason to question the appointee's loyalty to the United States.

Reports to Civil Service Commission October 10, 1949; to Department October 10, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950. No criminal prosecution by Department, October 19, 1949.

TEGNER CONRAD GRONDAHL  
Public Affairs Officer - Employee  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Born September 23, 1908, Red Wing, Minnesota.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provision of Voice of America, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

Ernest Daly, 2430 Leavenworth Street, San Francisco, California, advised during 1948 that from 1942 until 1944 when Grondahl had charge of news desk for OWI he appeared to want more publicity given to Russian victories.

Virginia Worth, 801 Junipero Serra Boulevard, San Francisco, advised that Grondahl was a close friend of Robin Kinkead also employed by OWI. San Francisco T-3 (Maida McLaughlin, discontinued as unreliable, not paid) advised that Kinkead attended closed Communist Party meetings in San Francisco from 1935 until 1937.

Grondahl gave Philip Lillienthal as reference. San Francisco 1301 (technical surveillance on home of Louise Bransten) advised that Louise Bransten, active on behalf of Communist activities, made statement that Philip Lillienthal was good contact at OWI office, San Francisco.

Philip Lillienthal advised that he personally was associated with Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York City, during 1948. Louis Budenz, former Managing Editor of Daily Worker, advised that Institute of Pacific Relations was Communist infiltrated. Representative number of neighbors and associates contacted and furnished no disloyal data.

Reports to the Civil Service Commission August 11, 1948; to the State Department July 27, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" June 15, 1949.

123-1212

Class # 3  
C.DOYLE:mjt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/30/85 BY SP2Fog/ka

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PHILIP MORRIS HAUSER  
aka Philip Morris Moser  
U. S. Member of the United Nations  
Population Commission - Appointee  
Office of the U. S. Representative  
on the Economic and Social Council  
U. S. Mission to the United Nations  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Classified by *[Handwritten Signature]*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*9-19-85*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Background

Hauser was born September 27, 1909 in Chicago, Illinois. Since 1947 he has resided at 5729 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Basis for Investigation

[Washington T-1 (technical surveillance on Harry Magdoff, subject in the Gregory case, a reliable confidential informant) and Washington T-2 (technical surveillance on Irving Kaplan, subject in the Gregory case, a reliable confidential informant) advised that Philip M. Hauser was a close personal associate of Magdoff and Edward Joseph Fitzgerald, subjects in the Gregory case. Hauser visited in the homes of these two individuals socially and he was also professionally associated with them. Washington T-3 ( [redacted] reliable confidential informant) advised that Magdoff and Fitzgerald were known to her to be Communist Party members. The informant also advised that Fitzgerald and Magdoff were allegedly involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. in the early 1940's.

(S)

b7D

Results of Investigation

Upon recontact Washington T-1 and Washington T-2 advised that they had no additional information regarding Hauser. A review of the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflected the following information obtained from Confidential Informant Chicago T-6 (Industrial Detail, Chicago Police Department): One Philip Hauser listed as a Communist as of 1933, Chicago, Illinois, instructor of Sociology, Workers School, brother of Julius Hauser, and son of Morris Hauser. The Workers School has been cited as a Communist educational medium in Chicago by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities report dated March 29, 1944. This report also states that the Abraham Lincoln School is the successor of the Workers School in Chicago, Illinois. The Abraham Lincoln School has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities also listed one Julius Hauser, brother of Philip Hauser, as a dues paying member of the 6th Ward Branch of the Communist Party, Chicago, Illinois. His address was listed as 6048 Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The same files also listed one Julius Hauser

121-8991

CTBrown:hsb

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Class 3*

*[Handwritten Signature]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1404 East 55th Street, and 5648 Harper Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, as a Communist, son of Morris Hauser, Communist, 1404 East 55th Street, cleaner and dyer, 5648 Harper Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. In a previous investigation conducted by this Bureau and not as the result of a loyalty investigation it was reported that Julius Hauser admitted that he was a member of the Young Communist League at the University of Chicago. It was also reported that he had pledged five dollars to the Communist Party in December, 1942 and was referred to as "an old timer." The Young Communist League was named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The House records also reflect the name of one Morris Hauser listed as a Communist, 1405 East 55th or 1404 East 55th Street, Chicago, Illinois. He was described as a tailor, cleaner and dyer at 5648 Harper Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, a member of the Communist Party, Nucleus 507, Secretary of the 4th District and listed on the Pioneer Convention Program dated December 27, 1929. One M. Hauser, 5220 Drexel Boulevard, is listed in the same files as a member of the IWO, Lodge 186, in 1940. The IWO was named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The House Committee file also listed the name of one Lillian Hauser, Communist, sister of Julius Hauser, daughter of Morris Hauser, 5648 Harper Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Washington T-8 (an anonymous source, reliable) advised that on February 18, 1944 the name Lillian Dreiser, 4220 2nd Road North Arlington, Virginia, was listed in the active indices of the Washington Bookshop, which organization was named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The personnel file of the appointee maintained at the Bureau of Census at Suitland, Maryland, reflects that Lillian Dreiser is the appointee's sister. The files of Washington T-9 (Intelligence Division of the Army) in a personal history statement contained in these files listed his father as Morris Hauser, 1404 East 55th Street, Chicago, Illinois; his sisters as Lillian Dreiser, LaGrange, Illinois; Isabel Katz, 928 Windsor, Chicago, and his brother, Julius Hauser, 6048 Ingleside, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Bernard L. Gladieux, Executive Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, in a signed statement on July 25, 1949 advised that in the latter part of 1946 while he and the appointee were talking about their families Hauser volunteered the information that his father had been for many years an admitted member of the Communist Party. According to Mr. Gladieux, Hauser further said that his father within recent years had been expelled from the Communist Party for some deviation from Communist philosophy. Mr. Gladieux went on to say in his statement that Dr. Hauser was in no way sympathetic with the views and sympathies of his father. Gladieux said that Hauser was so remote from his father that he could look at him

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and his Communist affiliations in a very objective and disinterested manner.

In a signed statement furnished by Mr. William Kleves, 33 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, a reference for Hauser, information was furnished by Mr. Kleves that Hauser lived with his father for several years and then left him. Mr. Kleves said that one of the reasons Hauser left his father was that Hauser's father wanted Hauser to join the Communist Party. Mr. Kleves stated that he had learned recently that Hauser's brother, Julius, as a youngster belonged to the Young Communist League. Mr. Kleves stated he learned this when he was informed by Philip Hauser that disloyalty charges were made against Julius.

The Chicago Office of the Dies Committee advised in August, 1944 that Julius Hauser was a member of the 6th Ward Branch of the Communist Party, Chicago, having registration number 36 as of July 27, 1942. Chicago T-8 (technical surveillance on the headquarters of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Chicago, Illinois,) advised that in August, 1944 Isabelle Katz, 928 Windsor Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, was a member of the North Side Committee of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which organization was named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835. In a loyalty investigation of Julius Hauser, brother of the appointee, conducted in 1948 information was obtained that Julius Hauser had a sister, Isobel H. Katz, residing at 923 West Windsor Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Washington T-4 (an anonymous reliable informant) revealed that the name of Mrs. Philip M. Hauser, 2911 2nd Street, Arlington, Virginia, appeared on the active indices of the Washington League of Women Choppers as of January 1, 1941. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the League of Women Choppers as a Communist front.

The loyalty form for the appointee revealed that he resided on 2nd Road North, Arlington, Virginia, from June, 1940 until June, 1942.

A representative number of persons who were neighbors and fellow employees of the appointee were interviewed and these individuals advised that they had no reason to question the loyalty of the appointee.

Reports to CSC - September 6, 1949; to Attorney General - September 6, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file - February 14, 1950. No criminal prosecution by Department - September 29, 1949.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

CLASSIFIED BY: *SP/2/bee*  
DECLASSIFY ON: *9/30/85* ORDER

EMIL HAVAS, aka  
Moses Emanuel Havas Handlemann, Moses Emanuel Havas,  
Moses Emanuel Havas Handleman, Mojsis Emanuel Havas,  
Moyses Emanuel Havas  
Employee - Voice of America Program

#### Background

Emil Havas was born January 16, 1892, in Czechoslovakia, and arrived in the United States June 2, 1939. He was naturalized July 20, 1944, at New York City.

#### Basis for Investigation

Havas was investigated under the Voice of America Program during May, June and July 1949.

#### Results of Investigation

Laszlo Boros, publisher of "The American Hungarian" newspaper at Bridgeport, Connecticut, stated that during World War II, Havas wrote articles for "Harc," a newspaper published at New York City and characterized by Boros as a newspaper which follows the Communist Party line.

John Hahn, Hungarian newspaperman in Bridgeport, Connecticut, stated that he was not personally acquainted with Havas but that he recalled him as a contributor to the Hungarian newspaper "Az Ember" published in New York. The editor of this paper was Ferenc Gondor, who in Mr. Hahn's opinion was a Communist Party follower.

Ignatz Schultz of the Continental Export-Import Company, New York City, advised that he has known Havas for over thirty years. Schultz described Havas as anti-Communist and anti-Fascist.

Ferenc Gondor, editor of "Az Ember," advised he had known Havas for 35 years and described Havas as a sincere American of good character, reputation and loyalty.

Dr. Bella Fabian, former member of the Hungarian Parliament, stated that he would not recommend Havas for a position with the United States Government, because of his association with Ignatz Schultz and Ferenc Gondor. Dr. Fabian stated that Gondor had constantly published the charge that Cardinal Mindzenty was anti-Semitic and a Fascist. This proved to Dr. Fabian that Gondor, if not a card carrying member of the Communist Party, was willing to further the aims and purposes of the Hungarian Communists. Ignatz Schultz was another member of the same group, according to Fabian, and anybody who associated with these two, especially to the extent that Havas had associated with them, became immediately suspect in Dr. Fabian's mind.

123-3051  
Class #3

C. M. Noone: dhr

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156

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New York Informant T-15 (Alien Criminal Squad, New York PD) advised that Ferenz Gondor was a speaker at the Earl Browder Rally held at New York City on March 6, 1942.

With regard to Ignatz Schultz, New York Informant T-22 [redacted] [redacted] to the United States, fairly reliable, not paid, discontinued) stated that Schultz is a sincere anti-Communist whom he trusts completely. (S)

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New York T-4 [redacted] stated that Havas is a brother-in-law of Dr. Simon Rudas. Mr. Herman Grammer, Superintendent of the Apartment Building at 315 East 77th Street, New York City, advised that Havas occupied an apartment at that address jointly with Dr. Simon Rudas and his wife from 1945, until May 1949.

Records of the Security and Investigations Division, Department of State, indicate that on May 7, 1949, the American Embassy at Praha, advised that it had learned from a confidential source that Dr. Simon Rudas, who was alleged to be the chief link between Czechoslovakian agents in America and Communist authorities was the brother-in-law of Havas.

Other persons interviewed during the course of the investigation, including references, social and business acquaintances and neighbors, stated that they considered Havas loyal to this country but advised that Havas is an opportunist who would do anything for material profit.

Reports to CSC, August 23, 1949; to State Department, August 1, 1949.

Disposition

"Investigated under P.L. 402. Not processed under E.O. 9835," Loyalty Review Board letter October 31, 1949.

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Classified by *sp/tp/pl/bca*  
Declassify on: OADR  
9-19-85

NOEL HERRMENDINGER  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Background

Employee was born December 25, 1913, at Bernardsville, New Jersey. From January, 1939, to October, 1941, he was Assistant U. S. Attorney, Southern District of New York, New York City. From October, 1941, to May, 1942, he was Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Claims Division, Department of Justice, New York City, and from February, 1946, to April, 1946, was with the Claims Division, Department of Justice.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informants Washington T-1 and Washington T-2 (technical surveillances on home and office of David Kahl) have advised that Noel Herrmendinger is a personal friend of David Kahl. (S)

David Kahl was a member of a Communist Party underground group in Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and early 1940's. Kahl on one occasion advised an informant that he had been sent down from New York to Washington to direct the activities of this underground group. Kahl is a close associate of known Communists and pre-Soviet sympathizers.

Result of Investigation

Washington T-1 and T-2 upon recontact advised that Herrmendinger in 1947 frequently discussed with Kahl problems affecting Jewish displaced persons in Germany.

A reliable informant has advised that Kahl is the Executive Secretary of the "Americans for Hagana" in New York and in 1947 was Washington representative of the American Jewish Conference. These organizations are described as being interested in the rehabilitation of the Jewish people in Europe, Palestine and Israel.

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Confidential Informant Washington T-5 [redacted] an acquaintance of employee, knew employee at Princeton and Harvard. He said that at both universities employee associated with a group of students considered by informant to follow the Communist Party line. Informant said he felt certain that employee's association with this group was prompted by intellectual curiosity.

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121-4804

Class 3  
D. H. Young/js

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During a Departmental applicant investigation concerning employee in 1938, Osmond K. Fraenkel, long time acquaintance, advised that employee was then a member of the National Lawyers Guild and that he, Fraenkel, was an active member of the Guild and was responsible for employee's membership in that organization. During the course of the applicant investigation it was determined that the records of the National Lawyers Guild, New York Chapter, contained a record of employee's membership.

On November 6, 1942, Irving F. Tighs, 73 Martin Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, made available to the Bureau certain papers belonging to a Japanese named Shigeto Tsuru, formerly a teacher at Harvard College, who was repatriated to Japan on June 18, 1942. Among these papers was a list of subscribers to the magazine "Science and Society," dated December 2, 1936. This list contained the name Noel Hemmendinger, 12 Wendell Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Employee formerly resided at this address during 1936 and 1937.

On March 8, 1949, Baron I. Shacklette, War Assets Administration, Washington, D. C., advised that he knew the employee at Harvard Law School from 1934 to 1937 and that employee was associated with Howard Hausman, who Shacklette stated was a card carrying Communist. Shacklette believed that employee was also a Communist due to his association with Hausman but he never had any tangible evidence of such. He said that employee and Hausman were associated with a group at Harvard which followed the Communist Party line on various occasions.

An informant has advised that one Howard Hausman and his wife, Marie, 33-21 165th Street, Flushing, New York, were members of the Flushing Club of the Communist Political Association.

None of the above informants will testify before a Loyalty Board with the exception of Baron I. Shacklette, who was willing to so appear.

The National Lawyers Guild and "Science and Society" have been cited as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 29, 1944.

Reports to CSC August 30, 1948; to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

Retained, January 7, 1948. Eligible on loyalty, August 26, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department, April 8, 1949.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-19-85 BY *SP2 Tuf/Bia*

KATHERINE AMEND KELLOCK  
Neé Katherine Hayes Amend  
Ala Mrs. Harold Kellock  
Division Assistant - Economist  
Division of Occupied Areas Economic Affairs  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

Employee was born at Brushton, Pennsylvania, May 21, 1892; employed 1921 to 1924, by American Friends Service Committee and traveled in Poland, Austria and Russia.

### Basis for Investigation

Investigation based upon information received from Washington T-1 (Office of Chief Special Agent, Division of Controls and Investigations, Department of State) that the employee's husband, Harold Kellock, was employed by the Soviet Information Bureau and the Soviet Embassy for a period of over ten years up to the year 1936.

### Results of Investigation

The files of the Special Investigations Squad, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C., reflect an article appearing in the Washington Times Herald dated February 20, 1936, regarding Katherine Kellock. This article stated that a letter vigorously protesting the "Communist" appointment of Katherine Kellock as field supervisor of the Works Progress Administration's "American Bards" project was sent to President Roosevelt on February 19, 1936, by the National Republican Brothers of New York City. Mrs. Kellock was described in this article as the "wife of publicity director of the Soviet Embassy." The article quoted the letter sent to President Roosevelt in part as follows: "We protest against employing in such a position a woman whose husband, because of his office must necessarily be pro-Communist."

Underhill Moore, Professor of Banking Law, Yale University Law School, advised that he had been acquainted with employee and her husband, Harold Kellock, since his graduate days at Columbia University. He advised that Kellock shortly after completion of studies at Columbia, established a publicity firm and about 1918 was retained by the Red-Finnish Government to do publicity work for that Government. Later Kellock was employed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic in connection with trade matters and according to Professor Moore, visited

121-1161

Class 3

J. J. Bresnahan:mhb

the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. Mr. Moore further related that when the Soviet Union was recognized by the United States, Kallouk continued in the employ of the Russian Embassy in Washington, D. C. and remained so employed until about 1941. Mr. Moore advised that he did not know whether Kallouk worked for the Russian Embassy because of an agreement with Russian ideals or because of the pecuniary gain which he received. Kallouk, according to Mr. Moore, never made any statements which would show him to be thoroughly in agreement with the entire Russian form of Government and he stated that he doubted that Kallouk was ever a member of the Communist Party. Professor Moore advised that he knew nothing whatever concerning the loyalty of the employee.

James J. Hofema, President of the Dime Savings Bank, Wallingford, Connecticut, stated he had been a classmate of Harold Kallouk at Columbia University. Mr. Hofema stated that Kallouk has been employed by the Russian Government since the early 1920s, first working for the Amberg Trading Corporation and later in the employ of the Russian Embassy. Hofema believed that Kallouk was mainly interested in the remuneration he received from the Russian Embassy and did not believe that Kallouk believed in the Russian form of Government. Hofema stated that it was his opinion that the employee and her husband were loyal citizens of the United States.

Washington T-2 (highly confidential source of information known to the Washington Field Office), who has been acquainted with the affairs of Mary Jane Kenney for a considerable period of time, advised that Catherine Kallouk is a contact of Mrs. Kenney, who, according to a confidential reliable source, is a member of the Communist Party and active in Communist activities in the District of Columbia.

Katherine Kallouk, when interviewed by Washington T-4 (SC) on January 16, 1943, advised as follows: "I was interested in guide books and I gave that idea to Mr. Henry Alsborg who was a very good friend of my husband. Mr. Kallouk knew Mr. Henry Alsborg when they were going to Columbia. I contacted Henry and gave him the idea of the State Guide Books and he obtained the project for it." The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that the Honorable Martin Dies on February 1, 1943, made the following statement on the floor of the House of Representatives: "I call your attention to the case of Henry O. Alsborg who is now Senior Feature Writer at the Office of War Information for a salary of \$4600. In the early life of our Committee back in 1938, we exposed the extensive infiltration of the Communists into the Federal Writers Project. We showed how Communists had used the Writers Project to obtain the Government imprimatur upon their propaganda. We exposed some of the Communist Fifth which was put into the official publications of the Federal Writers Project."

As a result of our exposure the Congress abolished the Writers Project. Who was the head of the Writers Project - none other than Henry R. Alsborg who has crept back into Government employment in the OWI."

At the direction of the Board of Economic Warfare, Katherine A. Kellock was interviewed on May 21, 1943, by a Special Committee. This committee reported that it was "unanimously of the opinion that there was no evidence whatever upon which a reasonable conclusion could be reached that Mrs. Kellock has at any time engaged in un-American or subversive activities." The committee also pointed out that the committee had found that Mrs. Kellock's visits to Russia gave no basis for reflecting any partiality for the Soviet system of Government.

Mrs. Kellock was interviewed by special Agents of the FBI on March 26, 1943, in connection with a Hatch Act investigation at which time she denied membership or affiliation with the Communist Party or any Communist Party front organization and stated that she was almost fanatically "loyalty to the United States."

Mr. David M. Lubrowsky was interviewed by Special Agents of this Bureau on February 27, 1948, at Orlando, Florida. In a signed statement Mr. Lubrowsky advised that he first met Harold Kellock, husband of the employee, in 1917 or 1918, at which time Mr. Lubrowsky was doing publicity work for Alexander Kerzova, who was supposed to be Ambassador from Finland but was never recognized by the United States Government thus such as Kerzova was representing the Communist Government that controlled Finland at that time. According to Lubrowsky, Kellock later became associated with Kerzova and other in a weekly publication entitled "Soviet Russia." In 1923, on 12/21, Lubrowsky stated that he was asked by the Soviet Government to take over some Russian exhibits that had been shown in this country at New York City, and Kellock was recommended as the man who would be able to handle the exhibits. At that time, Lubrowsky advised, Kellock became editor of the publication "Soviet Russia" which became the weekly publication of the Soviet Information Bureau. According to Lubrowsky, "Soviet Russia" in 1928, ceased to be the official publication of the Soviet Information Bureau and was taken over by the Communist group in the United States. Kellock, at this time, according to Lubrowsky, remained with the Soviet Embassy and acted as a mouthpiece for the Soviet Government in the capacity of a publicity agent. Lubrowsky, who was born in Russia and from the time of his arrival in the United States in 1907, up until 1925, did various types of work for the Soviet Government in the United States, stated that "through my knowledge and experience with the Soviet Government I know that no person could be so accepted and trusted (reference is to Kellock) whose life and livelihood are based per cent support to all phases of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party."

Father A. McCowan, member of the staff of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, advised that he has known the Kellock's for approximately 20 years and considered them to be loyal Americans. Father McCowan stated that he has had occasion to study Communism for more than 30 years and he considers Harold Kellock to be a very conservative individual who does not act like a Communist nor is he sympathetic toward their ideologies.

The confidential informants mentioned above will not testify.

Numerous associates of the employee and her husband in newspaper and professional fields advise that the Kellock's are extremely loyal to the United States, as do former neighbors and acquaintances.

Reports CSC April 6, 1948; Department March 23, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" September 20, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department April 20, 1949.

ESTHER KOPELEWICH  
nee Less, aka. Mrs. Leonard Lukanov,  
Mrs. Leonard Kopelewich, Esphir  
Leaf-Kovelvich, Esther Less Kopelevich  
Voice of America  
State Department  
New York, New York

Background

Esther Less Kopelewich was born August 30, 1902 in Russia according to State Department records; however, the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service record her birth as August 30, 1903, in Russia. She was naturalized on April 19, 1940, at New York, New York. She had been an actress in Russia prior to her entry into the United States. Her husband is Leonard Kopelewich.

Basis of Investigation

Instituted under Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

The files of the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C. contain a catalog of the Workers School, New York, which states that one E. Less and one L. K. Lukanov, who were not further identified, were instructors in Russian in the Workers School in 1935. During 1949 Esther Less Kopelewich admitted that both she and her husband had been instructors in the Russian language in the Workers School in New York City during the depression as both she and her husband were out of work prior to securing such employment. She claimed that she felt she was not an integral part of the faculty as her class was of a specialized nature involving no political teaching. She said she never attended any meetings of the faculty and never had any outside associations with faculty members. She said she realized that the instructors at the school who taught political subjects were probably Communists or at least strong sympathizers but she recalled that some of the instructors who taught non-political specialized subjects were not Communists.

Confidential Informant T-3 [redacted] a discontinued paid Communist Party member) advised that the Workers School ceased to function and its work was taken over by the Jefferson School of Social Science. The Jefferson School of Social Science, New York, was designated by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

b7D

References advised Kopelewich and her husband were refugees from the Red Revolution and were anti-Communists and associated with White Russians.

A number of neighbors furnished favorable information concerning her character, reputation and loyalty.

Reports to State Department - July 26, 1948, and January 26, 1949, enclosing one photostatic copy of the winter term announcement of courses, the Workers School, January to March 1935.

Reports to CSC - February 3, 1949

Disposition

None received - February 13, 1950

123-807

Class 3

W. E. LEISHEAR:jgh



~~SECRET~~

DAN DAVID LEVIN  
Reports Analyst - Employee  
Department of State  
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Background

Levin was born in Simferopol, Russia, on March 7, 1914. He is married to Kathleen Miller of Cleveland, Ohio. A certificate of derivative citizenship was granted him by the Immigration and Naturalization Service on October 29, 1943. Employee's last known duties consist of attending United Nations meetings and furnishing information on daily debates, proposals of other delegations, progress reports on deliberations and objective comments to high officials of the State Department.

Basis for Investigation

Washington Informant C-468 (A technical surveillance of Phillip Olin and Mary Jane Keeney) disclosed that Dan David Levin and his wife were close personal friends and in frequent contact with Mary Jane Keeney during the period of 1945 to 1947. A reliable informant has reported that Mary Jane Keeney was a member of the Communist underground in Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's and early 1940's and, in addition, associated with many known Communists and sympathizers.

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Washington Informant [redacted]

[redacted] reported on November 11, 1942, that one Dan Levin offered his services as a translator or otherwise to Fedotov of the Soviet Embassy. This Levin advised that he was then working for the U. S. Government. It is noted that the employee was also working for the U. S. Government at this time in Washington, D. C., and has indicated in his personnel records that he is a linguist. (S)

Results of Investigation

Reliable informants have reported that Levin's sister-in-law, Doris Miller Barnes and husband, Arden Hammond Barnes of Cleveland, Ohio, were Communist Party members. Reliable informants have identified as Communist Party members the following close associates of the employee in Cleveland, Ohio, in the period of 1930 to 1942: Louis S. Rubin, Kalman Kubinyi, Doris Mall Kubinyi, and Joseph Haber.

A representative number of other fellow employees, combat correspondents who served in the Marine Corps with the employee and acquaintances consider Levin to be loyal to the United States.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

121-1743

Class #3  
C.E. SANDALL:jks

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Washington Confidential Informants [redacted] could furnish no additional information pertaining to this investigation.

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Reports to CSC - April 13, 1948. Reports to the Department - March 23, 1949.

Disposition

CSC - "retained" March 4, 1949. Department - no criminal prosecution by Department - April 21, 1949.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/27/89 BY 9-19-85

VAL ROGIN LORWIN  
aka Valentine Rogin, Valentine Levine  
Chief, European Section  
Division of International Labor  
Social and Health Affairs  
Office of International Trade Policy - Employee  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Lorwin was born on July 21, 1907, in New York City. His father, Lewis Levitski Lorwin, and his mother, Rose Rogin, were born in Russia. After his graduation from Cornell University in 1933, Lorwin was assigned to do research work and write articles for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, National Recovery Administration and the President's Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe dealing with the problems of cooperatives and consumers. His personal history indicates that he has spent considerable time in Europe and has written a number of published articles concerning his ideas there.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that as of February 17, 1941, Val R. Lorwin was on the active indices of the American Peoples Mobilization, formerly the American Peace Mobilization.

Washington T-2 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that Val R. Lorwin as of January 21, 1941, was on the active indices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

The American Peoples Mobilization and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action have been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 and T-2 could furnish no additional information relating to the employee.

Many persons interviewed concerning the loyalty of the employee advised, of their own personal knowledge, that the employee is a member of the Socialist Party.

121-1744

Class # 3

S. E. SANDALL:swma

*Handwritten signature/initials*

*Handwritten mark*

Washington T-11 [redacted] a member of the Socialist Party, residing in Washington, D. C. who has furnished reliable information in the past on Communist matters) stated that through his 10 or 12 years acquaintance with the employee he considers him to be a Communist, more than a Socialist, recalling that employee was active in attempting to bring about a united front between these two parties. This informant stated that Lorwin followed the Communist Party line on the occasion of the Soviet - German Pact in 1939. This informant would not testify before a Loyalty Board.

Other pertinent Socialist Party members, who know the employee well, have stated that it is impossible for the employee to be considered a Communist and recall that he has actively fought Communist infiltration into the Government Employees Labor Union.

In an interview with Agents of the Washington Field Office on September 29, 1941, during the course of another investigation of the employee, he denied ever having been a member of the American Peace Mobilization, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties and the Communist Party.

Washington T-4 [redacted] who was born in Russia of a prominent family, considered Lorwin to be a believer in Communist doctrines, and considered him a political opportunist, who presently finds it favorable to appear anti-Communist. T-4 reported that an individual known to the informant to be reliable observed banners on the walls in Lorwin's apartment in 1942 or 1943 which bore the Hammer and Sickle and slogans such as "Workers Unite," and others.

Washington T-5 [redacted] address above) furnished similar information to that provided by T-4.

Washington T-6 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised that the name Val Lorin appeared in the active indices of the United American Spanish Aid Committee in 1941. This organization was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Washington T-7 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) observed the name "Lorwin, Val R., 3725 Macomb, N. W. (150)" in a list of names in the possession of Oscar Wetherford, who has been reliably reported to the Washington Field Office to be active in the Communist Party in

1941 and 1942, acting as one of the executive board members of the CP, Branch No. 20 in Washington, D. C. The significance of this list of names was not known to the informant.

Washington informant [redacted] (active paid and reliable informant but not a Communist Party member) recalled that the employee was an instructor at the Workers School of the United Federal Workers of America in 1940. Lorwin and the director of the school were subject to criticism by the Communists because Lorwin was allowed to be there. Employee was sneeringly referred to as "The Patriot."

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Washington informant [redacted] (an active reliable informant) former member of the Communist Party knows the employee well as a member of the Communist Party, believed to be in the Underground Government Section, where he associated with Gertrude Evans, reliably identified as a Communist Party member; Sarah Montgomery, reliably identified as a Communist Party member; and Dorothy Bailey, known to [redacted] as a member of the "Closed Group" of the Communist Party since about 1935. [redacted] advised that employee was active in the American League for Peace and Democracy, an organization cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. To the best recollection of [redacted] Lorwin had been assigned duties by the Communist Party to build the Government Employees Union.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that one Val Lorwin, Washington, D. C., endorsed the National Negro Congress which has been declared by the Attorney General to come within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The same files reflect that the employee was a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, also declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Gloria Waldron, 330 West 42nd Street, New York City, advised that she had associated with employee from 1936 to 1939 as a co-member of the Socialist Party, Washington, D. C. She recalled that during this time employee favored a united front with the Communist Party. Miss Waldron was willing to testify at loyalty hearings.

Dorothy Bailey, Chief, Staff Training Section, U. S. Employment Service, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C., whose Communist Party activities are referred to above, said she has known Lorwin for 10 or 12 years, meeting him through the Employee's Union at the Department of Labor. She considered him loyal 10 years ago, but could not vouch for the subsequent period. (It will be recalled that Dorothy Bailey was dismissed from her Federal employment as a result of an investigation conducted of her under Executive Order 9835.)

Mrs. Gertrude Evans, Executive Secretary of the Washington Industrial Union Council - CIO, Washington, D. C., knew the employee several years ago, but not well enough to comment on his loyalty to the United States. As was previously set out, Mrs. Evans is a member of the Communist Party and managed the Washington Bookshop Association in 1943.

Other close associates of the employee feel strongly that the employee is anti-Communist and anti-Fascist. One of these, Miss Jean A. Flexner, also known as Mrs. Paul Lewinson, Department of Labor, stated she has known the employee since 1927 and has collaborated with his father in writing books on labor matters. She stated that a person in the employee's position would likely have to make contact with known Communists to carry out his job and that these contacts might be construed by some as disloyal activity on his part. Reliable informants have reported that Miss Flexner is an associate of Helen Tenney, who was involved in a Soviet Espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York in the early 1940's.

Neighbors contacted in this investigation considered the employee to be loyal to the United States.

Persons identified as confidential informants above were unwilling to testify at a loyalty hearing.

Reports to CSC March 5, 1948, supplemental reports to CSC April 21, 1948 and September 21, 1948. Reports to Department March 28, 1949.

Disposition

CSC - "Retained" - February 4, 1949. Department - no criminal prosecution by Department - April 21, 1949.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-19-85 BY SP2taf/bce

GEORGE AUGUST MANN  
Foreign Affairs Specialist - Employee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

George August Mann was born on April 14, 1906, at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. He was employed as a reporter by the "Milwaukee Sentinel" from June 11, 1928, until December 27, 1941. Mann was employed by the Office of War Information at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, from December 27, 1941 until August 16, 1943.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

A number of acquaintances have advised that Mann, while employed by the "Milwaukee Sentinel" associated with individuals suspected by them of being Communists including John Kykyri, Gunnar Mickelson, and Josephine Nordstrand, who have been affiliated with the Communist Party according to reliable informants.

Dr. Harry Philip Dohn, a fellow employee at the "Milwaukee Sentinel" from 1939 until 1941, advised that in his opinion Mann was interested in following the Communist Party at that time as he was often seen in the company of Gunnar Mickelson. He described Mickelson as being active in the Communist Party.

Mr. Robert Kleckner, Assistant City Editor, "Chicago Sun" who was acquainted with Mann in Milwaukee from 1938 until 1942, stated that on various occasions the employee spoke in favor of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American League for Peace and Democracy and the American Peace Mobilisation at meetings of the Newspaper Guild. He has no information to indicate the employee was actually a member of those organizations.

Mr. Eugene Johnson, Washington, D. C., former Milwaukee County Organizer for the Socialist Party, advised that he believes Mann was a member of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in about 1938 and believes that in 1938 the employee held a membership card in the Communist Party. He stated these beliefs are based upon Mann's associates at that time.

Frank Zeidler, Mayor of Milwaukee and former Secretary of the Socialist Party at Milwaukee, advised that from what he observed and heard of the employee's activities in 1936, he believed Mann was a Communist who cleverly concealed his actual affiliation with the Communist Party although he has no specific information to support this belief.

Milwaukee T-3 ( a highly confidential source known to the Milwaukee Office) advised that in 1939 the name "Newspaper Guild, George Mann, Pres.," appeared on a list of individuals who cooperated locally with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. This list was prepared by the Milwaukee Chapter of that organization.

According to Milwaukee [redacted] former reliable informant) George Mann, Wisconsin Director of OWI was to be a discussion leader at a Eau Claire, Wisconsin, conference of the Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation on April 18, 1943. The informant advised that Mann later informed Josephine Nordstrand, Executive Secretary of the Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation that he could not appear.

The Communist Party, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American League for Peace and Democracy and the American Peace Mobilization have been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General. The Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

A representative number of neighbors, acquaintances, and fellow employees who were interviewed advised that they consider Mann to be a loyal American.

Reports to CSC July 26, 1948; to Department of State July 26, 1948; to Department April 1, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" - March 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department - April 28, 1949.

121-9698

O. J. Auerswald:jgh

Class 3



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-19-85 BY *gr/tp/bca*

CARYL MARSH, nee Amsterdam  
Aka Mrs. Michael Marsh  
Assistant to Cultural Attache  
American Embassy  
Paris, France

Background

Marsh born March 9, 1929, Brooklyn, New York. Married to Michael Marsh in September, 1942. Michael Marsh is son of Benjamin C. Marsh. Caryl Marsh and her husband resided temporarily between 1939-1941, at residence of his mother, Eleanor Taylor in Apartment 5H, 40-50 East 10th Street, New York City.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation was instituted under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress (YCA).

Results of Investigation

T-1 (a confidential source known only to the Washington Field Office, reliable) reported that Michael Marsh was a paid member of the Washington Book Shop Association.

T-2 [redacted] advised that Benjamin C. Marsh, 517 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., was a loyal donor to the United American-Spanish Aid Committee and that Michael Marsh was on the mailing list of the organization.

b7D

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities disclosed that one Michael Marsh of 40 East 10th Street, New York City, was listed as a member of the Washington Book Shop.

Swarthmore College professors advised Marsh was an inconspicuous member of the Chapter of the American Student Union. These professors advised this Chapter not sympathetic to Communist causes and shunned Communism.

The Washington Book Shop Association is an association declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited the United American-Spanish Aid Committee in the report dated March 29, 1944, to be a Communist front organization.

The American Student Union was cited as "a Communist front" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

All persons contacted during the investigation reported favorably concerning Caryl Marsh. All except one reported favorably concerning her husband, Michael Marsh.

Reports to State Department August 4, 1948. Reports to CSC August 4, 1948.

Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2TAP/bce

JOHN MILES,  
Aka John Miles Surquist,  
Miles Surquist, Miles John Surquist  
Director of Reports  
Greek Turkey Aid  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

John Miles was born John Miles Surquist on July 2, 1909, at Chicago, Illinois, the son of John Axel Surquist and Clara Miles Surquist. The employee had his name changed to John Miles in the Dane County Circuit Court, Madison, Wisconsin, in July, 1932. From 1937 to the spring of 1941, employee resided at 720 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.

### Basis for Investigation

The records of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, reflect that one John Miles, 673 Roscoe Street, Chicago, Illinois, is listed as a signer of a Communist Party nominating petition in 1940.

### Results of Investigation

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities contain no information in addition to Communist Party nominating petition.

Washington Confidential Informant T-1 (a highly confidential source known only to the Washington Field Office who had access to the residence of Just Lunning at 1851 Columbia Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.) advised that the employee is a friend of Just Lunning, a former State Department employee. This informant did not know the extent of the relationship between the employee and Lunning.

Washington Confidential Informant T-2 (technical surveillance on Just Lunning - discontinued) stated that John Miles has been quite friendly with Just Lunning, former employee of the State Department. This informant advised that they have visited in each other's homes on several occasions and that they appear to be quite friendly.

Concerning Just Lunning, reliable informants have reported that he is an associate of known Communists and pro-Soviet sympathizers.

Former instructors, fellow employees, references and neighbors have no information reflecting on employee's loyalty.

121-7653

Class #3

HKMadd:dhr:zg

Neighborhood investigation at 673 Roscoe Street, Chicago, failed to reveal anyone who knew the employee or anyone by the name of John Miles residing at this address.

Neighborhood investigation at 720 North Rush Street, Chicago, reflects that employee was known to reside at 720 North Rush Street, but the records of tenants prior to 1944 had been destroyed.

Dr. Asher Chapman, Oyster Bay, New York, formerly roomed at 720 North Rush Street, Chicago, advised in a signed statement that Miles was opposed to capitalistic system in that he favored financial equality regardless of ability and effort. Dr. Chapman was unable to recall specific statements made by the employee.

Reports to CSC August 4, 1948; report to Department March 23, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" January 7, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department November 28, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by *Speta/bcc*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*9-19-85*

JAN MUNZER  
aka John Munzer, J. Muenzer,  
Fintisek Rubes  
Czech Radio Script Writer  
International Broadcast Division  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at New York City reflect that Jan Muenzer was born April 25, 1898, at Rumburk, Bohemia, and that he arrived in the United States from Czechoslovakia in April, 1939. He filed a petition for naturalization at New York City June 7, 1948.

Basis for Investigation

Munzer was investigated as an employee under the Voice of America Program during April, May and June, 1949.

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant St. Paul T-1

[redacted] formerly honorary Czech Consul for Minnesota, reliable) stated that upon his arrival in the United States Munzer became associated with the Czechoslovak Information Service and became Editor of the Czechoslovak Press Bureau. According to T-1, Munzer is a brother-in-law of Jan Fierlinger and is extremely close to him. According to the informant, Fierlinger at one time was Czechoslovakian Minister to the United States, later became Minister to Moscow and is now in Government service in Prague with the Communist regime. The informant stated that Fierlinger was Secretary in Charge of Radio and General Information Matters in the Czech General Consulate while closely associated with Munzer in this country.

b7D

St. Paul T-1 stated that Munzer was recommended to the Voice of America in the summer of 1946 and for several weeks thereafter Munzer wrote and broadcast programs for Voice of America. According to the informant, it was determined that Munzer had been initially recommended for this position by his close and intimate friend Jiri George Hronek. The informant stated that in 1946 Hronek was Political Chief of the Prague Broadcasting Station and a leading Communist Party worker in Czechoslovakia. The informant added that Hronek was one of the twenty-one delegates from Soviet Russia and Eastern European countries who attended the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York in March, 1949.

123-2878

Class # 3  
C.M.NOONE/LHS/mbf

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*file*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

St. Paul T-1 said that in view of the close relationship existing between Munser and men known to be loyal to Soviet Russia he doubted seriously that Munser, being a Czech, would be loyal to the United States as against the best interests of his friends. The St. Paul report does not indicate whether the informant will testify. (S)

New York Confidential Informant T-5 ( ) active, not paid) advised that she has known the employee and his family for the past twenty-five years. The informant stated that Jan Munser's wife, Zdenka Munser, has a sister who is married to Jan Fierlinger, former head of the Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia who sold out the party to the Communists. T-5 stated that Fierlinger is currently a high official in the Czechoslovakian Government. (S) b7D

T-5 stated that Munser and his wife were never Communists but until about two years ago they admired Russia greatly. According to the informant, Munser believed in Czechoslovakian collaboration with its great Slav neighbor, Russia, and agreed with President Benes' policy of collaboration. (S)

T-5 added that Jan Munser became an editor of the "New Yorks Listy" in 1940. During the war Munser worked under Stanislaw Budin, who was then editor of the "New Yorks Listy" and who was known as advocating collaboration with Russia and the immediate opening of a second front. According to the informant, Budin was friendly with Earl Browder and Budin's articles in the "Listy" were always pro-Russian. The informant reported that Munser continued to work with Budin and never complained about his policies or beliefs. According to the informant, Budin is now in Czechoslovakia and has a position with the Communist Government. (S)

The informant added that Munser was a friend of Adolf Hoffmeister, a known Communist, formerly employed by OWI. The informant stated that Munser had known Hoffmeister from student days in Prague and never objected to Hoffmeister's Communist principles but associated closely with him. The informant stated that Hoffmeister is now the Ambassador of the Czechoslovakian Communist Government to France. Prior to coming to the United States, according to the informant, Hoffmeister was imprisoned in France for Communist activities. The informant stated that Munser now speaks as an anti-Communist and anti-Russian but T-5 does not know about his sincerity. She stated that she could not recommend Munser for a Government position because of his former pro-Russian sympathies. New York Informant T-5 will not be available to testify. (S)

Dr. Juray Slavic, former Ambassador from Czechoslovakia, advised that he has been acquainted with Munser and his wife since the 1930's in Czechoslovakia. He stated that he met Munser and his wife in the United States in 1939 and commented that Mrs. Munser is currently in the library at the United Nations in New York. Dr. Slavic said that Munser and his wife were intelligent persons and he considered them entirely reliable. He said that they never deviated even slightly from the line of true democracy. (S)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Jan Papanek, former chief of the Czechoslovakia Delegation to the United Nations, advised that he knew Jan Munser casually in Czechoslovakia prior to World War II and that since approximately 1939 he has been associated with him and has been in contact with Munser on the average of once a week. Mr. Papanek stated that in his opinion Munser was a person of sound character who was always reliable, trustworthy and dependable. He said that Munser was very anti-Communist and said that he did not believe that Munser followed the line of appeasement toward Soviet Russia. Mr. Papanek mentioned Mrs. Munser's sister, who is married to Jan Pierlinger; Mr. Papanek described Pierlinger as a Communist currently in the service of the Czechoslovakian Government in Czechoslovakia. According to Mr. Papanek, Mrs. Munser and the Pierlingers are not on friendly terms with each other and have had no contact since 1945 or 1946. Mr. Papanek concluded with the statement that he would recommend Munser for employment in Government service without reservation and described Munser as a believer in the United States form of government. (S)

A representative number of other persons acquainted with Munser including fellow employees, neighbors and professional and social acquaintances were unable to add any substantive information concerning Munser's loyalty.

Reports to CSC July 8, 1949; to State Department July 6, 1949.

Disposition

None in file February 14, 1950.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 9266/ka  
Declassify on: OADR  
10-10-85

HACHEL CONRAD NASON, nee Jones  
Specialist on International Organization Affairs -  
Appointee  
U. S. Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Rachel Conrad Nason was born June 2, 1899, at Conshohocken, Pennsylvania. She presently resides in Washington, D. C., and formerly resided in West Hartford, Connecticut.

Basis for Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-1 [redacted] reliable, active paid CP member) advised that Nason had been quite friendly with Sarah Rosenbaum, former co-manager, Washington Bookshop Association, and had been observed by the informant on numerous occasions at the Bookshop attending lectures, forums and other affairs. Nason was last observed by informant at the Bookshop during Winter-Spring, 1948-49, possibly in February or March 1949. Informant does not know if Nason is member of Washington Bookshop Association.

b7D

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-1, upon recontact, advised that she had no additional information regarding the appointee. However, the informant advised that Sarah Rosenbaum had been appointed co-manager of the Washington Bookshop Association in June 1943, and attended a Communist Party meeting in November 1945.

Confidential Informant Washington T-3 [redacted] reliable, active paid CP member) advised that Sarah Rosenbaum has been a Communist Party member since moving to Washington, D. C., in 1943.

Confidential Informant Washington T-4 (a highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised in March 1941, that the name of Rachel Conrad Nason, West Hartford, Connecticut, was contained in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. ~~(S)~~

The informants mentioned above will not testify in this matter.

The Washington Bookshop Association, the Communist Party and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties have been declared by the Attorney General to come within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

121-19029

Class #3

E. F. Minoux:dhr

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Numerous persons including associates, fellow employees and neighbors upon interview advised they had no information relating adversely on the employee's loyalty.

Reports to CSC October 27, 1949; to Department October 28, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file, February 13, 1950.

No criminal prosecution by Department, November 10, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-19-85 BY SP2TAP/bca

JACOB ALLAN OLIVER NELSON  
Foreign Service Staff  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Nelson was born November 22, 1916, at Fort Bragg, California.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

San Francisco Informant [redacted], paid and reliable informant) advised that Allan Nelson was a delegate from the Junior Order of the United Finnish Kaleva to the American Youth Congress on July 13, 1935.

San Francisco T-2 [redacted] advised that Allan Nelson's name appeared in a notebook belonging to Franklin C. Miller, an organizer of the American Youth Congress in 1935, in the Berkeley, California area.

b7D

An acquaintance of the employee's father, Arvid Nelson, for seven years and a Minister of a Finnish-Lutheran Church, advised that they considered Arvid Nelson to be a Communist sympathizer. They stated he supported the Russian position in Russo-Finnish relations and had expressed such views in the Finnish language newspaper "Lannen-Uutiset," published at Astoria, Oregon.

Portland T-1 [redacted] advised that for the past ten years Arvid Nelson has written a column for "Lannen-Uutiset," Supra, and also writes a column for a Finnish language newspaper "Tyoesies," published at Superior, Wisconsin, which the informant characterized as a Communist newspaper. The informant asserted that as a result of following Nelson's newspaper writings he considered him to be a follower of Communist principles. He stated that about 1946, the Finnish newspaper "Hauvaja," published at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, for which Nelson had once been an editor, openly accused Arvid Nelson of being a Communist. The informant reported that Nelson did not answer this charge. The informant further advised that from what he could learn from his sources, Arvid Nelson was not an active member of the Communist Party or of any Communist organization, or that he was backed by any such organization.

123-2267

S. Blair: mhb  
Class 3

George Makela, editor of the Finnish language newspaper "Paivaja," Supra, advised Arvid Nelson was inclined to adopt a Soviet viewpoint on Finnish issues while he was employed by them as a news editor during 1943-1944. He asserted that Nelson had been editor of "Paiv. Iles," Supra, from prior to 1917 to 1929. He added that Nelson was acting as a correspondent as of 1945, for the Finnish language newspaper "Kalevainen," published at Yonkers, New York, for the "Industrialist," published at Duluth, Minnesota and described by him as a publication of the Industrial Workers of the World, and also serving as a correspondent for "Lammen-Uutiset," Supra.

William H. Heivo, General Manager of the Paivaja Club, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, who has known Arvid Nelson since 1912, stated that as far as he knew, Nelson was not associated with any Communist organization. Heivo considered Nelson to be a believer in Socialism and a supporter of Russian policy in Finland. He related that Nelson had been a member for many years until 1947, of the Finnish-American League for Democracy, which he characterized as an organization supporting social democracy in Finland and as being opposed to Communism.

[redacted] Supra, reported that Arvid Nelson subscribed to the Peoples World during the years 1938, 1939, 1941, and 1942.

b7D

George Makela, Supra, reported that the employee's mother, Helmi Nelson, visited Finland in 1947, to visit her son and upon her return to the United States published a report in "Lammen-Uutiset," which reflected favorably upon Russian domination of Finnish affairs.

Several persons well acquainted with the employee and his family reported that they did not believe that the employee was influenced by his father's views. Life long acquaintances of the employee and his father advised that the employee does not follow his father's "political thinking." Influential members of the Finnish-American community at Berkeley, California, considered the employee to be loyal and advised that he has not been close to his parents.

The employee's superiors at the Bank of America in California, his references, neighbors at Berkeley, California, and his landlady in Washington, D. C., reported favorably on Allan Nelson's loyalty.

The attorney General has cited the American Youth Congress as a Communist organization and the Industrial Workers of the World as an organization which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

Finnish language newspapers "Työväen" and "Eteenpäin," were described in 1941, by the California Committee on Un-American Activities among a list of publications which the Committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin Solar System." In 1938, the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities described said Finnish newspapers as ones which the Communist Party admitted were under Communist influence. The Peoples World has been described by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of March 28, 1944, and January 3, 1941, as "the official organ of the Communist Party on West Coast."

Reports to CSC December 7, 1948; to State Department December 7, 1948.

Disposition

Eligible on Loyalty December 14, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by SP2 Tef/ave  
Declassify on: OADR  
10/10/85

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

GEORGE BERNARD NOBLE  
Chief  
Division of Historical Policy Research  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

George Bernard Noble was born on July 11, 1892 at Leesburg, Florida. He was a Professor of Political Science at Reed College, Portland, Oregon, from 1922 until 1943, and formerly resided at 7524 S.E. 31st Street, Portland, Oregon.

Basis for Investigation

In July, 1945, Portland T-1 (highly confidential source known to the Portland Office) advised that the name of Dr. and Mrs. G. B. Noble, 7524 S.E. First Avenue, appeared on the letterhead of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, 517 Guardian Building, Portland, Oregon. Portland T-2 (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) advised in March, 1941 that the name of Professor Noble, Reed College, Portland, Oregon, appeared in the active indices of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Jex

Results of Investigation

Portland T-1 and Portland T-2, when re-contacted, confirmed the information they had previously supplied but could furnish no additional data regarding the employee.

Detective Walter Odale advised that the files of the Subversive Squad, Portland, Oregon Police Department, reflect the employee's name appeared on the letterhead of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy in 1937 and that in 1936, Noble was active as a sponsor for Ann Louise Strong, Communist Party member, when she spoke in Portland, Oregon. According to these files, Noble was among those who had protested to the Censor Board because of the banning of the Russian film "Professor Mallock" and that the name of Dr. G. Bernard Noble appeared as a member of the Advisory Committee on stationery of the Oregon Friends of China, described in the files as a Communist front group active prior to World War II. According to Detective Odale, the information in his files was furnished by reliable informants whom he did not desire to name.

Records of the Municipal Board of Review, Motion Pictures, Portland, Oregon, reflect that the Russian film "Professor Mallock" was reviewed on March 27, 1939 and banned. Mrs. Thomas M. Joyce, Chairman of the Censor Board, advised that the film was banned because it was a Communist film.

The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign and the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy have been cited as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

121-3961  
Class 3  
O.J. Auerswald:EHC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10/10/85

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Fellow employees, neighbors, and acquaintances who were interviewed consider the employee to be a loyal American.

Portland T-1 and Portland T-2 are not willing to testify at a loyalty hearing regarding information furnished by them.

Reports to CSC, July 28, 1948; to Department April 13, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" - November 16, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department - May 10, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-19-85 BY *SP2 Tuf/bce*

LOTTIE M. ROARK PAEZ  
nee Roark, aka Mrs. Adolfo Paez  
Foreign Service Clerk  
Department of State  
American Embassy  
Quito, Ecuador

Background

Mrs. Paez was born March 4, 1911, at Renton, Washington. Her husband was a Chief Clerk in the Ecuador Foreign Office in 1937. His older brother was one-time President of Ecuador. His father is reportedly in the Ecuadoran Supreme Court. She has been employed by the State Department intermittently since 1934 and has been assigned to Quito, Ecuador, since January, 1945, having previously served there during 1942-1944.

Basis for Investigation

Instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

The employee's husband has been rumored as pro-Nazi and at one time to have associated with the mistress of a Nazi agent. Mr. Howard Tewksbury of the State Department, a supervisor of the employee, stated that the rumors concerning the employee's husband are unfounded, although he did become involved at one time with the wife of a Spanish Minister and is considered a weak character. He advised that he does not consider the employee's husband to be anti-American. He further reported that the employee is definitely loyal to the United States and has been the main support of her family since he has known her.

In January, 1941, the name of the employee's father and sister, Chester Roark and Helen Roark Himmelfarb, appeared on the indices of members or the mailing list of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

This source, Washington T-1, (highly confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) stated that Helen Roark attended a meeting of the WCDA on May 15, 1940, and joined this organization at that time.

Washington T-2 (highly confidential source known to Washington Field Office) advised in February, 1941, that the name of Helen Himmelfarb appeared in the indices of members or the mailing list of the American Peace Mobilization.

Washington T-3 (highly confidential source known to Washington Field Office) advised in January, 1941, that Helen Roark appeared on the membership list of the Washington Bookshop Association and had paid dues to this organization on July 2, 1940.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

123-1691

Class #3

S. Blair:man *man*

Various informants at the National Labor Relations Board advised that the employee's sister, while employed at the NLRB, was considered an advocate of the Communist Party Line. Certain informants at the NLRB stated that this reputation may have been based on the fact that she extended privileges and favors to the colored employees working under her supervision.

Mrs. T. E. Bisson, 8400 119 South, Seattle, Washington, advised that she was well acquainted with the employee, her sister, Helen Roark Himmelfarb, and her father, Chester Roark, having known them for approximately ten years. Mrs. Bisson said that the sister had definitely espoused the Communist cause and had tried to distribute pamphlets and literature advocating Communism to her. She was unable to recall the titles of this literature. She further advised that the father was very active in Communist matters and had attended numerous lectures conducted in her neighborhood by Howard Costigan, identified as an admitted former member of the Communist Party in the State of Washington. Mrs. Bisson advised that with regard to the employee's loyalty she believed that in the case of difficulties between the United States and a Communist power, the employee would be loyal to the United States.

Mrs. George Hisey, 3412 South, 118th Street, Seattle, Washington, who has also known the employee and her family for approximately ten years, stated that she considered the father to be a Communist and was inclined to believe that her sister was also a Communist. She added that the sister had told her of attending numerous Communist sponsored meetings and had praised the Communist system several times which prompted her to ask the sister why she did not go to Russia if she liked that form of government so well. The sister replied that she believed in the Communist form of government and she hoped it would prevail in the United States. With regard to the employee, Mrs. Hisey said that she did not express herself on matters of Communism as definitely as did her sister and father, but Mrs. Hisey believed that she was in favor of a Communistic system of government. She did not furnish any additional basis for her opinion nor specific instances of the alleged expressions on Communism by the employee.

A co-worker of the employee's sister advised that he believed that the employee and her sister were friendly.

The Communist Party, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the American Peace Mobilization, and the Washington Bookshop Association have all been cited as Communist organizations by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.



Employee's sister has been investigated under the provisions of Executive Order 9835.

The employee's references, superiors and fellow employees at the NLRB and State Department, as well as employers in Seattle and neighbors, reported favorably on the employee's loyalty.

Reports to CSC September 10, 1948; State Department September 10, 1948, plus supplemental reports December 1, 1948.

Disposition

Eligible on Loyalty, July 27, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by SP2TAP/ku  
Declassify on: OADR  
9-7-85

HOLLIS WILLIAM PETER  
aka Pete and Holly  
Economist - Employee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Hollis William Peter was born February 14, 1915 at Hanking, China. The birth certificate was issued by the American Vice Consul.

Basis for Investigation

Washington C-437 (tech, William Remington, discontinued) advised that William Walter Remington was in contact with Hollis William Peter on several occasions during 1946.

Results of Investigation

On recontact C-437 furnished no additional information.

Washington C-485 (Tech, Bernard Nortman, discontinued) stated that P. Bernard Nortman was in contact with Hollis Peter during 1947. The extent of the association was unknown. (X)

Washington T-1 [redacted] (reliable, unpaid, active) stated that Nortman was a member of the Communist Party in New York City. T-1 further stated that William Walter Remington was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington and New York in the early 1940s; that he was an associate of known Communists and pro-Soviet sympathizers and for a period was a dues paying member of the Communist Party. Further that Remington was a frequent associate of an admitted Soviet espionage agent.

b7D

K. O. Lynch, Alexandria, Va., a former investigator for the Civil Service Commission, advised that through a confidential source he does not wish to reveal it was ascertained that Hollis William Peter received "Soviet Russia Today" at his home prior to June 1943. "Soviet Russia Today" was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Kenneth Goff, Denver, Colorado, advised that he was a member of the Communist Party in the State of Wisconsin from 1936 to 1939. He stated that from his personal knowledge that a Salli Crane whom he believes to be identical with employee's wife,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

am

121-1397

RL MILLARD:REV

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Salli Crane Peter was recruited into the Young Communist League and the Communist Party in 1936. She attended closed meetings of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party in Madison, Wisconsin during 1936 and 1937. Goff will testify.

Two additional acquaintances stated that from things said by Mrs. Peter they believed her to have been a member of the Communist Party in Wisconsin.

A representative number of acquaintances stated they believed employee loyal.

Reports to CSC, March 24, 1948; to Department February 28, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" February 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department May 18, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*J.P.M.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

OLIVER ARTHUR PETERSON  
Attache to Stockholm, Sweden  
Foreign Service Division  
Department of State

10-10-86  
OLIVER  
10-10-86  
10-10-86

Background

Peterson born June 14, 1903, at Crookston, Minnesota, and formerly resided at 27 Littell Road, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Basis for Investigation

Boston Confidential Informant T-1 (a surveillance at 210 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois, conducted by Agents of the Chicago Office) who is reliable, stated that in August, 1944, Mr. Claire B. Cowan, who in 1944, was the Presidential Candidate of the Revolutionary Workers League, was in Chicago, Illinois. At that time, Cowan had in his possession a list entitled "Waller Contact List." Informant T-1 explained that the Revolutionary Workers League had been active "in defending a negro named Waller, who was tried and executed for the murder of his landlord." Informant T-1 stated he observed this list which he noted contained the name of Oliver A. Peterson, 27 Littell Road, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Cyril H. Siames, Rowley, Massachusetts, and Miss Grace Sparks, Boston, Massachusetts, stated that the employee resided at 27 Littell Road, Brookline, Massachusetts. Mr. H. C. Levick, owner of a two family house at 25-27 Littell Road, advised that he had never had any other tenant named Oliver A. Peterson residing at 27 Littell Road. The Revolutionary Workers League was declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General.

Results of Investigation

Boston Confidential Informant T-1 (previously identified) on recontact, advised that he could furnish no additional information with respect to the captioned individual.

J. V. Quillin, attorney, Mann, Arkansas, advised that he represented the State of Arkansas in the capacity of a Deputy Prosecuting Attorney during the trial of "Commonwealth College" in January, 1941. He stated that this trial was held in the Polk County Circuit Court, Mann, Arkansas, and that Commonwealth College was convicted on the charges of displaying an illegal emblem, the hammer and sickle, failure to display the American flag and of teaching anarchy. He also reported that said college ceased operations on August 30, 1940, and has been inactive since that date.

Mr. Quillin has in his possession certain records seized at the time "Commonwealth College" was closed. These records include a card index system containing the names and addresses of faculty members, campers, students, maintenance

121-15418

Class 3

J. A. REILLY; J. T. HARRINGTON:cg

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Handwritten initials and marks at the bottom right corner.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

workers and friends of the college. Among these cards was the following:

Oliver A. Peterson, Administrative Assistant in Workers Education,  
1734 NY Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C.

It will be noted that Peterson was at one time employed by the Works Progress Administration, 1734 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C. Quillin advised that he is not personally acquainted with Peterson but in his opinion the card indicates that Peterson "was friendly to the school."

Washington Confidential Informant T-1 (a technical surveillance on Elizabeth Sasuly, discontinued) of known reliability, reported that Oliver Arthur Peterson and his wife Esther were social and business acquaintances of Richard and Elizabeth Sasuly. T-1 described Elizabeth Sasuly in part as an individual in frequent contact with persons believed to be engaged in Soviet espionage. The same source has described Richard Sasuly as in frequent contact with Robert Hall, Washington representative of the "Daily Worker" an east coast Communist newspaper and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Washington Confidential Informant T-3 (a highly confidential source of information known to the Pittsburgh Division) who is reliable, reported that Marie Josephine Reid was, in 1944, in possession of an address book which contained the name Oliver Peterson, 265 West 14th Street, Room 1001, New York City. A reliable source advised in November, 1942, that Marie Josephine Reid was a member of the Communist Party. (S)

Washington Confidential Informant T-5 (a technical surveillance on Charles Kramer, discontinued) who is reliable, advised that Oliver and Esther Peterson were social and business acquaintances of Charles and Mildred Kramer. A confidential and reliable source has reported that Charles Kramer was involved in an alleged Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C., and New York, New York, in the early 1940's; that he was a close associate of Communists and pro-Soviet sympathizers and for a period of time was a dues paying member of the Communist Party and that Kramer was a contact of an admitted Soviet espionage agent.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that one Esther Peterson attended a dinner given by the Washington Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on April 7, 1947, at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Commonwealth College has been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General. The House Committee on Un-American Activities cited

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front organization on March 20, 1944.

Confidential Informants Boston T-1, Washington T-1, T-3, T-4, and T-5 declined to furnish a signed statement or testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Reports to CSC February 9, 1949; to Department February 17, 1949.

Disposition

"Ineligible on loyalty" August 26, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department May 17, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DATE 9-19-88 BY SP2 tjb/bce

WEBSTER CLAY POWELL  
aka Web Powell  
Webb Powell  
Attache  
Department of State  
Foreign Service  
Washington, D. C.

### Background

Webster Clay Powell was born on October 31, 1897, at New York, New York. He is married to Alice Coe Menham and his last known residence is 600 Pickwick Lane, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

b7D

### Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 [redacted] (a reliable informant) advised in January, 1949 that Webster Clay Powell was known generally among Communist Party circles in Washington, D. C. in the late 1930's as a Communist. T-1 was unable to furnish positive evidence of Powell's Communist Party membership. T-1 recalled having attended a large Spanish Loyalist rally at Powell's home in Greenacres, Maryland, in 1937, which, according to T-1, was attended by most of the Communist Party members in Washington, D. C. T-1 further informed that Powell was employed by Farm Research Incorporated, which, according to T-1, was a "straight Communist Party front" and operated by one Bob Coe who is known to the informant as a member of the Communist Party. T-1 further stated that Marie Coleman was employed by Farm Research Incorporated to do cartoon work for its publication and Washington T-1 has identified Coleman as a member of the Communist Party.

### Results of Investigation

In addition to the foregoing information, Washington T-1 advised that Harold Ware was one of the original founders and directors of Farm Research Incorporated. T-1 identified Harold Ware as the son of Mother Bloor who is known as the mother of Communism in the United States.

Personnel files at the War Production Board, National Labor Relations Board and the State Department reflect that Powell named the following persons as references: Michael W. Strauss, Ewan Clague, Frank Bloom, and David Ziskin. Strauss is reliably reported to have been a close associate and friend of Adam Lapin, former Washington correspondent for the "Daily Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper and of Larry Todd of the Tass News Agency, official Soviet news service in the United States. Ewan Clague has been reported by a reliable confidential informant to have been on the active indices of the United American Spanish Aid Committee. Frank Bloom has been described by a confidential informant as being a follower of the Communist Party line and as a Communist Party contact man in the District of Columbia. David Ziskin, according to reliable confidential informants, is a member of the National Lawyers

121-14356

Class 3

ABEddy:hsb

Guild and the American League for Peace and Democracy. The House Committee on Un-American Activities indices reflect that David Ziskin's name appeared on the membership list of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

The indices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that Webster Powell, 800 Pickwick Lane, Chevy Chase, Maryland, was a member of the Washington Bookshop Association during 1942. The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities also indicate that Alice Coe Menham, maiden name of employee's wife, was a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action.

Washington T-10 (a highly confidential informant known to the Washington Field Office) advised that the name of Alice Coe Menham, 800 Pickwick Lane, Chevy Chase, Maryland, appeared in the active indices of the League of Women Shoppers in January, 1941.

Washington T-5 [redacted] (a reliable informant) advised that she attended a social affair at the Greenacres Progressive Nursery School on Georgia Avenue near Silver Spring, Maryland, which was operated by employee and his wife and that others in attendance at this particular affair were Jessica Buck Rhine, Henry Rhine, and Horace W. Truesdell. Washington T-1, previously mentioned, identified Jessica Buck and her husband Henry Rhine and Horace W. Truesdell as members of the Communist Party.

b7D

Washington T-9 [redacted] (of unknown reliability) advised that she lived and taught at the Greenwood Farm School operated by Mr. and Mrs. Webster Powell near Brookeville, Maryland, in the early 1930's. Informant described Webster Powell and his wife as "extreme left wingers" but was unable to state whether Webster Powell or his wife were members of the Communist Party. The Greenwood Farm School, according to T-9, was operated by the Powells as a school for children where they were disciplined in a manner different from that used in the home.

Whittaker Chambers advised that Harold Ware, who headed an underground group engaged in Soviet espionage, introduced him to Webster Powell, the husband of Alice Coe Menham and thereafter he saw Powell and Ware together on frequent occasions. Chambers said and believed Powell a Communist sympathizer because of the close association between Powell and Ware. Chambers advised that Harold Ware was killed in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the middle 1930's.

According to an article appearing in Harpers magazine, issue of April, 1935, Webster Powell and Harold M. Ware were authors of "Planning for Permanent Poverty." A photostatic copy of this article is maintained in the Bureau, and copies were disseminated with the loyalty reports.



The records of the Department of Welfare, State of Pennsylvania, reflect that Webster Powell received an appointment as Director of Research and Statistics effective as of January 4, 1952. This appointment was brought about by Mrs. Alice F. Liveright, Secretary of Welfare.

Philadelphia Confidential Informant T-4 [redacted], formerly a member of Local #2, United Office and Professional Workers of America - (CIO) advised in September of 1944 that Alice F. Liveright normally follows the Communist Party line. b7D

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect Webster Powell was arrested during an anti injunction demonstration held in Philadelphia in December, 1930. This arrest is not confirmed by the records of the Philadelphia Police Department or the Bureau.

Mr. Clinton B. Lockwood, a half brother of Webster Powell, residence 39 West 12th Street, New York, New York stated that in 1928 or 1929 Powell spent nearly a year in Russia setting up a travel facility of some kind. Lockwood endorsed Powell as being loyal although he recalled that his brother had been interested in Russia and Communism but did not believe he had any other than a sociology student's interest.

The records of the Passport Division of the State Department reflect that a passport, number 136419, had been issued to Webster Powell on May 25, 1927 for the purpose of enabling him to travel in England, France, Holland, Belgium, and Germany for purposes of study.

The records of Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, which were seized by Arkansas State authorities, reflect that Webster Powell had contacted a number of individuals in behalf of Commonwealth College and submitted their names as friends of the college.

Under date of April 20, 1949 the American Embassy, Canberra, Australia, submitted an investigative report covering Webster Clay Powell's period of residence in Australia from June, 1946 to December, 1948. Investigation was favorable to Powell's loyalty.

The American League for Peace and Democracy, Washington Committee for Democratic Action, Washington Bookshop Association, Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, were cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Fama Research Incorporated, United American Spanish Aid Committee, National Lawyers Guild, and the League of Women Shoppers were cited as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Of the above-mentioned informants only Whittaker Chambers is willing to testify.

Reports to CSC - March 17, 1949; to Department March 17, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" December 5, 1949. No prosecution by Department March 18, 1949.

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Classified by *S27AP/lee*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*9-19-85*

RITA RONICK  
Clerk Typist, Bilingual, Russian  
International Broadcasting Division  
Radio Program Division  
State Department  
New York City

Background

Born March 14, 1900, Ekaterinoslav, Russia. Naturalized May 17, 1928,  
Federal District Court, Eastern District, New York. Records of the United States  
State Department, New York City, reflected that Rita Ronick was employed January  
22, 1947, as temporary appointee for the above captioned position.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under the provisions of Voice of America Program,  
Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

New York T-3 [redacted] paid, reliable, active) made  
available the personnel file of Rita Ronick which reflected that she was employed  
by Amtorg Trading Corporation from August 20, 1929 until December 30, 1931.  
New York T-2 (Vincent Astor, reliable, active, not paid) verified the employment  
of Rita Ronick with Amtorg Trading Corporation until January, 1947. It should be  
noted that Rita Ronick claimed employment with Amtorg Trading Corporation from  
1929 until 1932, from 1935 until 1937, 1939 until 1940 and 1945 until 1946.  
Benjamin Gitlow, former member of Central Executive Committee, Communist Party,  
advised in 1939 that Amtorg Trading Corporation is official Russian government  
agency in the United States and is staffed chiefly by Communist Party members. b7D

New York T-6 [redacted] (S)  
reliable) Secretary of Amtorg Trading Corporation for many years advised that  
Ronick's long-term employment with Amtorg Trading Corporation was indication that  
she had never given offense to the Communist Party or the Russian government.  
New York T-6 also indicated that due to long period of employment Ronick must be  
member of Communist Party, a sympathizer of the Communist Party or so politically  
colorless that the Communist Party did not object to her. (S)

Representative number of neighbors and associates contacted and furnished  
no disloyal data.

Reports to Civil Service Commission January 11, 1949; to State Department  
July 23, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" July 15, 1949. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

123-985  
C. DOYLE:mjt  
Class #3

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WALTER ARTHUR RUDLIN  
Foreign Affairs Specialist  
Office of Assistant Secretary of State  
for Occupied Areas  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Classified by *SP2/af/bca*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*9-19-85*

### Background

Rudlin born March 12, 1909, London, England; entered United States in September, 1934, and became naturalized U. S. citizen December 5, 1944 in District of Columbia. From April, 1937 to March, 1942, resided at 23 Desmond Avenue, Bronxville, New York. For approximately same period was employed at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York.

### Basis for Investigation

Washington T-2 (State Department, Washington, D. C.) reported that Rudlin had written a review of a book entitled "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism" which review appeared in "Science and Society" Volume II, No. 1, winter 1937.

Washington T-2 further reported that Rudlin's sister Christina Elizabeth Rudlin was reported in 1944 to possess membership card number 1130 in the Communist Party, London, England. ~~(S)~~

### Results of Investigation

Washington T-2 possesses a photostatic copy of the above-mentioned book review. ~~(S)~~

Information in possession of Washington T-2 regarding membership of Rudlin's sister in Communist Party, London, England, was obtained from Washington T-3 (Scotland Yard, London). ~~(S)~~

New York T-1 (highly confidential source, New York Office) advised that Walter A. Rudlin, 23 Desmond Avenue, Bronxville, New York, in 1941, was member of League of American Writers.

New York T-2 (highly confidential source, New York Office) in early 1942, advised that the name of Walter A. Rudlin, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, appeared on mailing list of New York Conference for Inalienable Rights.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

121-752

Class 3

G. E. Gotschall:mhb *11/23*

According to Washington T-8 (technical surveillance on Philip and Mary Keeney, Gregory subjects) Radlin was a social acquaintance of Mary Jane and Philip (Lin Keeney between July, 1946 and April, 1947.

Washington T-9 [redacted] Communist Party member, active, reliable, non-paid) has stated that the Keeneys were Communist Party members and active in the Communist underground in Washington, D. C. during the late 1930s and early 1940s.

b7D

A representative number of Radlin's acquaintances stated that they considered him loyal to the United States or indicated they possessed no information in this regard.

The publication "Science and Society" was cited as a Communist publication by the House Committee on Un-American Activities March 29, 1944. The New York Conference for Inalienable Rights was cited as a Communist front by this Committee in the same report. The Communist Party and the League of American Writers have been declared by the Attorney General to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Washington T-2, T-3, T-8 and T-9, and New York T-1 and T-2 unavailable to testify before Loyalty hearing board.

Reports to JSC February 28, 1948; to Department November 22, 1948.

Disposition

"Retained" September 20, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department November 30, 1948. Department informed Bureau February 14, 1949, that this case had been called to attention of Loyalty Review Board for such additional review as might be appropriate.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-19-85 BY SP2 taj/bca

N. OWEN SAPPINGTON  
aka Newton Owen Sappington  
Research Analyst  
Foreign Relations Board  
European Section  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

#### Background

Sappington born November 19, 1898, Barnesville, Florida. In 1932 he was employed as instructor of history at University of Akron, Akron, Ohio, and from 1937 to 1943 was head of History Department at that institution. Served as Commissioned Officer in U. S. Army Air Corps from February, 1943 to October, 1946.

#### Basis for Investigation

Gilbert Wilson, Butler, Pennsylvania, some time previous to January, 1949, informed a Pennsylvania State Police officer that Sappington, while in the U. S. Army, had expressed a strong feeling that the United States Government would be a lot better off with Communism.

#### Results of Investigation

Gilbert Wilson in a signed statement related that he and Sappington, who was then a Captain, became acquainted while both were assigned to Barksdale Field, Shreveport, Louisiana, in November, 1943. Captain Sappington told Wilson that the Russian Government was run better than that of the United States and that some day things would be run in the United States as they were in Russia.

Herbert J. Devantery, Lakeville, Connecticut, a former Air Corps Sergeant who was acquainted with Captain Sappington at Barksdale Field for approximately two years beginning in late 1943, stated Sappington felt that the Russian system was superior in many ways to that of the U. S. Sappington allegedly told Devantery that he had formerly been a teacher at the University of Akron, Akron, Ohio, and had taught Communism in such a clever way as to escape detection. He said he believed the people of the United States would eventually see the advantages of Communism and follow this line of reasoning.

b7D

Washington T-1 ( [redacted] of two years' acquaintance, unknown reliability) stated she questioned Sappington's loyalty because of his "compromising attitude" toward Russia which conveyed to her the inference that he believed the U. S. could get along peaceably with Russia if attempts to do so were made by the U. S. Government.

A total of 28 other acquaintances of Sappington considered Sappington loyal to the United States or stated they possessed no information in this regard.

Wilson and Devantery, mentioned above, are willing to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board. Washington T-1 declined to testify.

121-16538 "Class #3 G. E. Gotschall:tg;ms

Reports to CSC May 11, 1949; to Department May 11, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file from CSC February 13, 1950.

No final advice regarding prosecution received in file February 13, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-7-85 BY SP2tjg/bca

PATRICIA JOAN SCHANCHE, nee Torson,  
aka Pat Joan Schanche, Mrs. Norman Dean Schanche  
Foreign Affairs Analyst - Appointee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

#### Background

Appointee born February 29, 1924, Independence, Wisconsin. From May 1947 to February 1948, she was employed by Southern Educational Film Productions Service, Athens, Georgia.

#### Basis for Investigation

Carl P. Savage, Washington, D. C., and Marion Lanier Bridges, Sumner, Georgia, who had been acquainted with appointee through meetings of the International Relations Club at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia, during the school year 1947-48, alleged that appointee was a Communist or a Communist Party sympathizer.

#### Results of Investigation

Carl P. Savage, Jr., 820 22nd Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., in a signed statement, related that appointee had become interested in the International Relations Club at the University of Georgia, during the 1947-48 school year and attended meetings of this club. Savage stated appointee repeatedly expressed views to the effect that the United States was an Imperialistic power and that the United States policy of steadfastness in the face of Russian aggression, threats and propaganda was one of capitalistic, bourgeois reaction and provocative of war. She believed the Soviet Union to be democratic, non-Imperialistic, peaceful and generally ideally progressive.

On one occasion, according to Savage, appointee succeeded in persuading a discussion group of the International Relations Club that the Chinese Communists are innocuous agrarian reformers and should receive United States support instead of the Nationalists.

Marion Lanier Bridges, 247 Pulaski Street, Athens, Georgia, in a signed statement, indicated that in discussions with appointee comparing the capitalistic system with the Soviet system, the appointee seemed to entertain convictions which fall within the pattern of ideologies advocated by the Communist Party, for example, according to Bridges, appointee opposed the Marshall Plan and declared it was a scheme which furthered the restriction and encirclement of the Soviet Union. She contended Russia was doing nothing but good in her Satellite countries.

121-19452

Class #3

G. E. Gotschall:dhr



Bridges stated appointee spoke very favorably of Russia's treatment of the working class of people and indicated she would like to visit Russia to see first-hand how the Soviet system worked.

Appointee expressed contempt for money and insisted that the whole American social structure was based on the dollar.

Appointee was further alleged to have stated that the Chinese Guerrillas might be no more than poor peasants seeking a better way of life under the Soviet system. Appointee added that the Communist system would be a better system of government for the Chinese.

Bridges stated that appointee was extremely critical of the United States decision to withhold further support from the UNRRA and stated the United States was not interested in relief to war stricken countries, but merely interested in furthering political aims of the United States. Mrs. Schanche spoke of the valiant war effort of the Russian soldiers and indicated in her discussions that she gave Russia more credit for winning the war than the United States.

Kirk McAlpin, 15 Drayton Street, Savannah, Georgia, who was similarly acquainted with appointee at the University of Georgia, stated that appointee was permitted to exhibit films at International Relations Club meetings and presented films which left the impression that United States foreign policy was defective. The films suggested that the United States was not living up to the obligations imposed by the United Nations and that United States foreign policy toward Russia was too forceful. Appointee took part in discussions in connection with the films and expressed the opinion that Russia was "underdog" nation whereas United States foreign policy was Imperialistic.

McAlpin also mentioned appointee's feeling that the war in China was not connected with Russia but rather was a revolt of Chinese peasants. Appointee indicated a belief that the Chinese situation was one of a local nature.

Other acquaintances of appointee considered her loyal or stated they possessed no information in this regard.

All three persons above mentioned are willing to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Reports to CSC November 2, 1949; to Department November 2, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty", December 15, 1949.

No criminal prosecution by Department, November 10, 1949.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-19-85 BY *SP/BJC*

JOHN T. SERVICE  
Foreign Service Officer  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

John T. Service was born in Langtu, China on August 9, 1909. His parents were American citizens on temporary duty in China at the time of his birth and both parents were native born American citizens. His birth had been registered with the American Consulate at Chungking, China.

On June 23, 1933, Service was employed as a clerk in the United States Consulate at Yunnanfu, China; on July 7, 1934, he was appointed Foreign Service Officer at Yunnanfu; on October 1, 1935, he was appointed Vice Consul and Diplomatic Officer at Yunnanfu, and on October 5, 1935, he was detailed to Peiping, China, as Language Officer. On January 6, 1938, he was appointed Vice Consul at Shanghai, China, and on April 15, 1938, he was promoted to Third Secretary at Shanghai, and detailed temporarily as Third Secretary to the Embassy at Chungking, China, on December 30, 1938. Service was temporarily detailed to the Department of State in Washington, D. C. on February 5, 1943, he was designated as Second Secretary at the United States Embassy at Chungking, China, and then returned to the United States in Kunming, China. On October 10, 1943, he was attached to the staff in the China-India Theater. In this capacity, during the summer of 1944, he accompanied an Army Intelligence unit to Yenan Province in China, which was occupied by the Chinese Communist forces. Service returned to the United States in November, 1944, went back to China from January to April, 1945, and then returned to the United States, where he was assigned to special duty on the staff of the Acting Political Advisor to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Pacific Forces, and, on July 30, 1946, he was appointed First Secretary and Consul of the United States Division at Wellington, New Zealand.

It was learned in January, 1949, that Service was recalled from New Zealand and given a position on the Selection Board of the Foreign Service where he was to pass upon the employment and promotion of Junior Foreign Service employees.

Basis for Investigation

On June 6, 1945, Service was apprehended, together with Phillip Jacob Jaffe and Kate Mitchell, co-editors of "Anaraxis," a magazine published in New York City; Mark Julius Ray, a free lance writer, Lieutenant Andrew Roth, of the

121-13347

Class 3

E. E. Riley:mhb,lg

Office of Naval Intelligence, and Emanuel Sigurd Larsen, an employee of the Department of State. On August 10, 1945, the Grand Jury in Washington, D. C., returned an indictment against Phillip Jacob Jaffe, Lieutenant Andrew Roth, and Emanuel Sigurd Larsen, charging them with conspiracy to remove government documents and furnish them to unauthorized individuals in violation of Section 88, Title 18, United States Code. The Grand Jury did not indict John Stewart Service, Kate Mitchell, or Mark Gayn.

### Results of Investigation

A surveillance by FBI agents revealed that between April 18, 1945 and May 20, 1945, Service met with Jaffe, Roth, Kate Mitchell and Mark Gayn in Washington, D. C. and New York City, New York, on at least ten occasions. Following Service's apprehension on June 6, 1945, by FBI agents, he admitted meetings with Jaffe, having agreed to allow Jaffe to see certain reports which in his opinion were repertorial, reporting facts and statements and not reflecting or involving American policy or military security. He further advised that he was aware that federal laws prohibited the disclosing to unauthorized persons of any official classified information or statement but he at no time considered any of the reports either oral or written which he furnished to Jaffe to be secret documents that would affect the security of the United States. He added that the reports or the information which he gave to Jaffe consisted of nothing more than written records of the information which he had secured as an individual in China and did not contain any notations, comments, opinions of any official character or pertaining to American policy. According to Service, he at no time had given Jaffe or any other persons reports or material taken from the files of the State Department.

Following the return of the indictments against Jaffe, Larsen and Roth, Jaffe pleaded guilty and was fined \$2500. Larsen pleaded guilty and was fined \$500. The indictment against Lieutenant Roth was nol-prossed.

On October 10, 1945, Representative George A. Dondero of the House of Representatives, speaking from the floor of the House in defense of General MacArthur, spoke of the "Anerasia" case during which he intimated "white wash" of certain principles of the case and regarding Service, he remarked "shepherded to Yenan the American military mission which brought back a favorable report about the Chinese Communists - a report which placed an estimate on the Communist military potential which General Harkney later found to be exaggerated ... Service spoke before the Institute of Pacific Relations after his return to America."

Photostatic copies of this excerpt of Representative Dondero's remarks appearing in the Congressional Record of October 10, 1945, were disseminated with copies of the loyalty reports.

On December 5, and 6, 1945, at a hearing of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations which was investigating the U. S. Far Eastern Policy, General Patrick Hurley testified with respect to John Stewart Service's activities in China. The New York Times of December 6, 1945, reported that former Ambassador Hurley "named American Career Diplomats as saboteurs of United States policy in China. Two of them - George A. Johnson, Jr. and John Stewart Service, now State Department Advisors to General MacArthur in Tokyo - sought the downfall of the Chinese National Government ..." Photostatic copies of this article together with a transcript of the above-mentioned Senate Committee hearing were disseminated with copies of the loyalty reports.

Washington Confidential Informant T-2 (Max Bishop, Chief of the Division of Northeast Asian Affairs, Department of State) stated that while serving on the staff of the Policy Advisor to General MacArthur at Tokyo, Japan in 1945, Service appeared to have become enamored of the Communist theory. This informant will not testify.

Most fellow employees, associates and neighbors consider Service to be loyal.

Richard Montgomery Service: A full field loyalty investigation was instituted on this individual on the basis of his relationship with John Stewart Service, brother, who, as indicated above, was arrested as a principal in the "Anerasia" case. An allegation appears in the files of another Government agency (IDA) that Richard Service was instrumental in aiding one Dr. Chen Heng-fan to leave China under the name of Geoffrey Chen. Chen reputedly wished to leave China because of his "liberal writings and activities." It developed that there was no indication that Richard Service assisted Dr. Chen in his departure from China but rather Dr. Chen had obtained his passport from the British Embassy in Chungking, China and Service merely reported the incident to his Ambassador. A former acquaintance of Richard Service had stated that based upon a conversation with a "mutual acquaintance," he considered Service to be at least a Communist "fellow traveler." Interview with the "mutual acquaintance" developed that he considered Richard Service to be entirely loyal and trustworthy and there was no basis whatever for such an allegation being made against him. The reports of this investigation went to DSO August 2, 1949; to the Department August 2, 1949. No disposition received on the Richard Montgomery Service case as of February 15, 1950.

Reports of John Stewart Service to CSC December 23, 1948; reports of foreign investigation to CSC December 23, 1948; to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

None received February 15, 1950. Department advised by memorandum April 21, 1949, no criminal prosecution.

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Classified by *SP2/Apple*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*9-19-85*

KRISTIAN CHARLES SHELDON, aka Dr. Karel Kristian  
Schoenbaum, Karel Schoenbaum  
Chief, Czechoslovak Unit, I.B.D. - O.I.C.  
Department of State  
New York City

Background

Kristian Charles Sheldon, born Prague, Czechoslovakia, April 22, 1906,  
as Karel Schoenbaum. Entered U.S.A. at New York City from Ecuador, S. A., June 22,  
1941. Naturalized SDNY, September 5, 1946. Legally changed name to Sheldon,  
Supreme Court, New York County, New York, April 8, 1942.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress,  
(VOA).

Results of Investigation

Andrew J. Valuchek, "New Yorksk Listy" newspaper office, New York City,  
advised that Sheldon was editor of the "New Yorksk Listy", a Czechoslovakian news-  
paper, from November 1945 to March 1947. He described Sheldon as an intelligent,  
capable newspaperman.

Confidential Informants T-2 [redacted], active, reliable informant  
on Czech, and related matters), T-3 [redacted], active Liaison Officer, Czech.  
Government), and T-5 [redacted] reliable, translator, Slavic languages,  
discontinued) have reported that the "New Yorksk Listy," prior to February 1948,  
supported the Czechoslovakian postwar government policies in all respects even when  
the Czechoslovak government's policy was in accord with the Communist Party line  
and opposed to the policies of the United States Government. ~~(S)~~

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Confidential Informant T-3 reported that Sheldon succeeded Stanislav Budin  
as editor of the "New Yorksk Listy." This informant advised that Budin now holds  
an important position in Czechoslovakia as a Czech government official in either  
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Interior, and is known in that  
country as a powerful Communist. The same information regarding Budin was re-ported  
by Confidential Informant T-5, who also reported that Sheldon was, during his tenure  
at the "New Yorksk Listy" friendly with Desiderius Benau, who is editor of the  
"New Yorksky Dennik," Slavic language newspaper also owned in part by Richard Vogel,  
which shares the same offices with the "New Yorksk Listy." ~~(S)~~

*HKM*

121-5922  
Class #3  
H. K. Mudd: dhr *[initials]*

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Confidential Informants T-2, T-5 and T-7 [redacted] (active paid informant on Czech matters) have reported that Benau, known to them as a Czechoslovakian Communist, returned to Czechoslovakia from the United States in 1946, to become editor of the Czechoslovakian Communist newspaper "Prace."

b7D

Confidential Informant T-2 has recently reported that Benau now holds a high Czechoslovakian Government position in Slovakia, where he is reported training Czechoslovakian propagandists. This informant described Benau as an important and powerful Czechoslovakian Communist. (S)

Confidential Informant T-5 advised that he has known the employee since November 1941, when Sheldon regularly visited the Czechoslovakian Information Service in New York. Employee is particularly friendly with Jan Papanek, former Czechoslovakian delegate to the United Nations, then Chief of the Czechoslovakian Information Service, and also with Jan Fierlinger, a brother of Zdenek Fierlinger, and now an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Prague, Czechoslovakia. (S)

Informant pointed out that Zdenek Fierlinger, former pro-Communist Social Democratic leader in Czechoslovakia, is Deputy Prime Minister of that country today and is generally held responsible for facilitating the Czech-Communist Cope of February 1948. (S)

Confidential Informant T-5 advised Sheldon is a nephew of Professor Emil Schoenbaum, Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia, and who during the war was employed by the Benes-Czechoslovakian Government in London, England. T-5 advised that recent information from reliable Czechoslovakians in the New York area indicates that Professor Schoenbaum is now affiliated with the Communist-Czechoslovakian Government of Premier Gottwald. This informant did not know what degree of friendship existed between Sheldon and his uncle, but advised that Sheldon, during World War II, spoke in terms that would indicate at that time he was very proud of his uncle. T-5 characterized Sheldon as a typical Czechoslovakian intellectual who is continually striving, under all circumstances, to act as opportunist for his own personal gain. (S)

Confidential Informant T-1 (State Department, New York) advised that employee, when interviewed for a position in 1947, gave as a reference one Anthony Fried, Industrial Construction Company, New York City. He described Fried as a friend who has known him for over twenty years.

Confidential Informant T-2 [redacted] advised that Anthony Fried became a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia soon after his return to liberated Czechoslovakia in the Autumn of 1945. (S)

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Immigration and Naturalization Service records reflect that Fried filed a petition for naturalization on February 20, 1948, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. His petition has not as yet been acted upon.

Confidential Informants T-9 [redacted] reliable, active paid, CP matters), T-10 [redacted] discontinued), T-11 [redacted] active paid, reliable member CP) and T-15 [redacted] reliable active paid Communist Party member), who were acquainted with Communist activities in the New York area, were contacted with negative results, to determine if Sheldon was a member of the Communist Party in the New York City area. (S) (X)

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Confidential Informant T-12 (confidential source of information known to the agents of the New York Office) reported that on September 11, 1946, Lubomir Linhart, representative of the Czechoslovakian Film Industry, who was then visiting the United States, contacted the employee at the office of the "New Yorkske Listy" publishing company. The nature of this contact was not known by the informant, however, confidential informant T-5 has identified Linhart as a well known Czechoslovakian Communist. (S) (X)

Neighbors, references consider Sheldon to be anti-Communist and a loyal American citizen.

Reports to CSC August 5, 1948; reports to State Department August 5, 1948; reports to Department March 29, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" February 4, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department May 31, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by SP2 TML/bce  
Declassify on: OSAM  
9-19-85

HOWIE LEVIT SMITH  
Country Specialist  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Employee was born June 26, 1916 at Kostov, Armenia. He was formerly employed as a clerk in the American Embassy, Moscow, Russia.

Info for Investigation

Washington T-1 (technical surveillance on Mrs. Lewis) advised that on March 20, 1947 employee was a dinner guest at the home of James and Mrs. Lewis. (X)

Mrs. Lewis is the wife of a former code clerk, in the American Embassy in Moscow, Russia, James William Lewis. Reliable informants have advised that she met her husband in Moscow and she has admitted being closely associated with the NKVD in Moscow. Since arriving in the United States informants have advised that she has been a frequent visitor at the Russian Embassy and at the homes of members of the embassy staff. She has reportedly been a close friend of several individuals in Washington, D. C. who were involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy and she received considerable notoriety in Washington as a result of a speech she made to the students of Western High School, Washington, D. C. on May 6, 1947. Newspaper accounts of this speech reflect that several of the students walked out of the assembly hall in protest against "the Russian propaganda." (X)

Results of Investigation

Washington T-1 upon recontact had no additional information.

Washington S-2 (technical surveillance on Mr. and Mrs. William J. Johnson) and Washington T-2 (technical surveillance on Ellsworth Raymond) advised that employee was a close friend and associate of Ellsworth L. Raymond and his wife Anna in 1946. (X)

Anna Raymond, wife of Ellsworth Raymond, was a Russian national and married Raymond while Raymond was employed in the American Embassy in Moscow, Russia. Her maiden name is Anna Yrigorenna Polanova. Reliable informants have advised that they believe her to have been an agent of the Russian Police and Raymond has described his wife as an "NKVD agent of the street-walking type." Her father, mother, two brothers and a sister, all Russian citizens, still reside in Russia. (X)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Clegg \_\_\_\_\_ 121-2290
- Glavin \_\_\_\_\_ Class # 3
- Nichols \_\_\_\_\_ D. F. Young, VAB
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tracy \_\_\_\_\_
- Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Nease \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*Ray*

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Reliable informants have advised that Raymond was permitted to resign from the State Department as he had violated a foreign service regulation by marrying a foreign national while on a foreign post. The Raymonds have been reported as being close friends of Clara Lewis. (S)

Washington T-3 and T-5 advised that on August 3, 1946 the Raymonds had a party at their home. Among the guests were Clara Lewis; Henry H. Ware and his wife; Dr. Arthur Isaac Paul; William Herman Robert Johnson and his wife Annette; and Kevin Leroy Smith. (S)

Henry H. Ware has been reported to have attended a university in Moscow, Russia from 1932 to 1937. He was reportedly a frequent contact of officers of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C., a frequent contact of individuals involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York City during the early 1940s, and was also an associate of active members of the Communist Party and a close associate of Clara Lewis. (S)

Arthur Isaac Paul was born in Russia and is a naturalized American citizen. He has also been reported as a frequent associate of officials of the Soviet Embassy in Washington and of known members of the Communist Party. Informants have advised that his brother Joseph is a member of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and that he, Arthur Paul, is a close friend of Clara Lewis. William Herman Robert Johnson has been reported to have been a teacher for the Russian Government in Russia from 1934 to 1937 and his wife was reportedly a teacher for the Russian Government in Russia from 1932 to 1939. They were married in Russia in 1938. (S)

Informants have advised that in 1946 the War Department was planning to discharge Ellsworth Raymond from his War Department post due to his having married a Russian national. Kevin Smith contacted the Raymonds and kept them advised of the plans of the War Department in this connection. He advised Raymond that the Army wanted to get rid of him as they thought his wife Anna was an NKVD agent. Smith reported to the Raymonds that he had obtained this information from a security officer in the State Department. (S)

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Seattle T-1 ( [redacted] discontinued and reliable was used as a double agent in case entitled "Alley, Espionage - R" ) advised that she met the employee in 1941 in Russia and knew him until she left Russia in June 1944. (S)

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She advised that he dated one Yara [redacted] who worked for the USSR and that it was [redacted]'s job to obtain information from United States employees at the United States Embassy. However, Yara and [redacted] [redacted] who also knew [redacted] in Russia, advised that he was "one hundred percent loyal" to the United States and that he went out with numerous Russian girls for social purposes only. (S)

b7D

Employers, associates and neighbors advised that they believed Smith to be loyal.

None of the above informants will testify before a Loyalty Board.

Reports to SAC November 18, 1948; to Department December 3, 1948.

Disposition

Retained March 23, 1949. No criminal prosecution by the Department, June 18, 1949.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-19-85 BY SPJ/bee

ALIS DE SOLA  
aka Alis de Sola Skelly,  
Alice de Sola, Mrs. Milton Skelly  
Radio Script Writer - Appointee  
International Broadcasting Division  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Mrs. Skelly was born September 26, 1902 at Stendal, Germany. She holds derivative citizenship through her father who was naturalized on August 19, 1889, Court of Common Pleas, New York, New York. She is reported to be friendly and to have collaborated in writing endeavors with Helen Gahagan Douglas, present Congresswoman from California.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Guy Hickok advised that he had known Alis De Sola as a fellow employee at OIAA from about 1942 to 1945. He stated that he received the idea she was very interested at that time in glorifying Russia and she seemed to follow the Russian "line of propaganda." He added that at that time everyone was more or less in favor of Russia as an ally. Hickok stated his opinion that she was a Russian sympathizer based on the fact that she was bitter at all times against the Franco government in Spain and that she was always inserting praise of Russia in her South American programs. He stated that if the employee is as enthusiastic about Russians now as she was when he knew her, he did not feel she should be employed by the State Department. He added that he has no present information as to her current feelings and was unwilling to testify before a Loyalty Board.

Ralph De Sola advised that he is a very distant relative of Alis De Sola and that he had been a member of the Communist Party but had broken with the Party prior to 1937. De Sola advised that he had a conversation about 1937 or 1938 with the employee at a time when she was not cognizant of the fact that he had broken with the Party. She advised him she had just returned from Europe and during the return voyage had met a United States Army General returning from a tour of duty in Germany. She said she had been "straightening him out." De Sola understood the employee to mean that she had sought to influence the General toward the Communist viewpoint. The informant reported that the employee's brother, Frank De Sola, told him that she was "just one neurotic all out for the cause." The informant understood this to mean the Communist cause. He further advised that about 1940 he was contacted by a Civil Service investigator by the name of Hendricks (ph.) who was investigating

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Class 3

S. Blair:JHK:MBF

Alis De Sola. Hendricks exhibited photostatic copies of a Communist Party petition for Peter V. Cacchione (deceased Communist Party functionary), who was running for Councilman in Brooklyn. He believed the petition was dated in 1939 or 1940. The address listed for Alis De Sola on the petition turned out to be that of a cigar or candy store on Fulton Street, Brooklyn, New York. He added that during World War II he had lunch with Stephen Naft, who he advised was responsible for him breaking with the Communist Party. Naft advised him that he was working for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and that Alis De Sola was likewise employed there. He alleged that every piece of radio material furnished by him to her was changed to give it a pro-Communist slant.

Ralph De Sola advised that he did not know whether or not the employee was a Communist Party member but believed that she was not a member; however, she talked as an active sympathizer with the Communist Party. He was unwilling to testify before a Loyalty Board.

Stephen Naft furnished a signed statement in which he advised that he had met the employee approximately 1941 while they were working for the OIAA. He advised that since he left the employ of Tass (Soviet News Agency) in 1933 he had openly opposed the Communist and present Russian Government. He alleged that he found the employee to be hostile to him and subsequently attributed this attitude to the fact that she was bitter when he said anything unfavorable concerning Russia. He alleged that she was insistent that he make only favorable remarks concerning Russia. He cited as a specific instance that she had objected to his defense of the Polish Government in exile in a report he had submitted. She based her objection on the ground that Russia was a major ally. He stated, "From discussions I had with her, there was no doubt in my mind that she was at least a follower of the Communist Party Line at that time." Naft indicated he would consider testifying before a Loyalty Board when requested and only if expenses were paid.

A check of the Civil Service Commission files in New York failed to reflect said agency had investigated Alis De Sola. Milton T. Hendrix, Assistant Chief, Investigations Division, U. S. Civil Service Commission, Denver, Colorado, advised that he had no present recollection of ever investigating Alis De Sola. He stated that he had contacted Ralph De Sola and vaguely recalled once having seen on a document relating to Communist Party activities the name of a woman whose last name was De Sola and had jokingly asked Ralph De Sola if she was his wife.

The files of the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., reflect that a Rose De Sola, 2164A Fulton Street, Brooklyn, signed a Communist Party nominating petition on September 29, 1940 in Kings County, New York, for candidates Cacchione, Campbell, and for Pelonsky and Osheroff. Records of the Board of Elections, Kings County, reflect that on June 23, 1940, Rose De Sola, 2164A Fulton Street, Brooklyn,

registered, at which time she stated she was 43 years old, married, had lived in the city and state for 43 years. The employee was 38 years of age in 1940 and has not spent her entire life in the United States.

Harry W. Pascoe advised that he was a fellow employee of Alis De Sola at the OIAA. He stated that the employee had expressed pro-Soviet views during the time he was associated with her and added that such views were in line with those held by many people in the office during the war period. He stated that such views did not in any way indicate to him sympathy with Russian ideology and that to his knowledge Alis De Sola was not connected with the Communist Party in any way. He added that he considered the employee to be a "liberal" in that "she was an ardent supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt." He informed that he has had no contact with Alis De Sola since 1945.

In an application dated January 7, 1942 submitted by Alis De Sola for a position with the Office for Emergency Management she listed various organizations she had been connected with, including the Committee to Defend America.

The Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War was described as a Communist led organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, and in 1948 was described by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as an organization which had been "inspired and dominated by the Communist Party."

Most employers and fellow employees, as well as neighbors, recalling Alis De Sola commented favorably as to her loyalty. Her associates, acquaintances and references, except as indicated, commented favorably on her loyalty.

Reports to Civil Service Commission March 28, 1949; to State Department December 13, 1948 and March 18, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" - June 14, 1949.



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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by *SP2TMB/6*  
Declassify on: OADR  
9-17-85

CHARLES WHEELER THAYER  
Chief  
International Broadcasting Division  
Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Thayer was born February 9, 1910 at Villa Nova, Pennsylvania. He was head of Voice of America (VOA); however, State Department failed to request an investigation of him under this program on the technicality he was exempt as a Presidential appointee. Discreet inquiry developed the fact that Thayer succeeded in getting State Department investigation of him suppressed through intervention of his brother-in-law, Charles "Chip" Bohlen, State Department Counselor, with Undersecretary of State Robert Lovett.

Basis for Investigation

A loyalty investigation was instituted on the basis of information from Washington T-1 (Security Division, State Department) who had been advised by Washington T-2 (John Kasunich, former Assistant Naval Attache at Belgrade and presently employed by CIA) that while Thayer was stationed at Belgrade, Yugoslavia as Chief of the OSS Military Mission, he was very friendly with the Russians. Further, he exhibited pro-Titoism and opposition to General Mihailovich. Washington T-2 further reported that Thayer had on his staff two individuals, Alexander Vucinich and Michael Boro Petrovich, who the informant described as Communists and who, while at Bari, Italy during World War II, exhibited evidence of being Communists.

Results of Investigation

Re-contact with Washington T-1, supra, revealed that Alexander Vucinich and his brother, Wayne, both of whom served with OSS at Bari, Italy and Belgrade, Yugoslavia during World War II, have been described by individuals familiar with them as being pro-Tito, pro-Russian, pro-Communists. Reliable informants acquainted with the Vucinich brothers prior to World War II also reported that they followed the Communist Party line. Michael Petrovich was considered by fellow OSS employees to be pro-Tito and associated with the Tito Partisans and the Communist element.

Upon re-interview, Washington T-2 refused to furnish any information, stating that his views were a matter of record.

b7D

Washington T-14 ( [redacted] ) advised that he was in Belgrade in 1944 as an employee of the United States Government during the time that Thayer was stationed there. He became well acquainted with Thayer and stated that Thayer was guilty of reporting false information regarding Tito to Washington. He played up Tito and suppressed the facts regarding Tito's desire of forming a Balkan Confederacy, which would one day become but another Soviet state. He pointed out that American policy was decided in favor of Tito and that Thayer gave his full support to

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this program. The informant stated that it was well known in OSS and elsewhere that Thayer had several Communists on his staff but he was unable to recall their names. Thayer explained the presence of the Communists on his staff on the basis that they were necessary for successful dealings with Tito. The informant concluded that while he doubted Thayer's judgment in favoring Tito, he does consider him loyal to this country and one who would not knowingly betray any secrets or confidences to any foreign power. Washington T-14 is unwilling to testify before a Loyalty Board.

Albert E. Evans, Ossining, New York, formerly Senior Economic Officer at the American Embassy in Belgrade during February, 1945 - August, 1946, advised that the employee, as head of OSS in Belgrade, publicly showered too much of his attention at various receptions in Belgrade on Tito. Evans said that, in his opinion, if the employee were faced with placing the welfare of Russia over the welfare of America, the employee would choose the welfare of America.

Eric L. Pridonoff, San Marino, California, in a signed statement advised he arrived in Belgrade in March, 1945 to work for the American Embassy as an Economic Analyst. He stated that Lt. Col. Charles Thayer, as Chief of the OSS Military Mission to Yugoslavia, met him upon his arrival and informed him that it would be necessary to establish a friendly relationship between the governments of the United States and Yugoslavia. Thayer also indicated that if any questions arose or instructions were desired, he would be the man to supply them. Pridonoff stated that Thayer was without authority to make these statements to him and his party since they were employees of the State Department and not members of the Military Mission; that shortly after he commenced work at the Embassy, he received a report from an American citizen residing in Yugoslavia who had approached Colonel Thayer for economic help and had received a "brush off" when he indicated he was critical of the Communists and the intervention of the Soviet government in Yugoslavia. Pridonoff investigated the plight of stranded Americans who had been refused help and learned that these individuals were ones who had been critical of the Communist regime in Yugoslavia. He questioned Colonel Thayer concerning the refusal of the OSS Mission to help these Americans and Thayer dismissed the matter with a statement to the effect, "Oh, they were nothing but Nazi collaborators." Pridonoff claimed that there was no basis in fact for Thayer's statement to this effect.

In addition, Colonel Thayer expressed pro-Tito sentiments in political economic discussions which Pridonoff had with him. He alleged that in some dozen talks with Colonel Thayer he never once criticized the methods used by the Communists, either Russian or Yugoslav.

Pridonoff concluded that Thayer was not a good security risk because of his collaboration with the Communists and Soviet officials and because, according to an investigation which he conducted, Colonel Thayer engaged in black market operations while in Yugoslavia. He reportedly bought diamonds and cameras which were sent for resale into Italy and, through confederates, purchased American securities, paying ten

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cents on a dollar. Pridonoff arrived at the conclusion that a minimum of one-half million dollars was made by Colonel Thayer and members of his Mission by engaging in black market operations. Pridonoff is willing to testify before a Loyalty Board.

New York T-9 [redacted]

[redacted] stated that on one occasion the employee had been instructed not to employ an individual by the name of Vaso Trivanovich because the State Department Security Office had requested he not be employed. However, Thayer employed Trivanovich on a free lance basis in connection with the VOA program. The informant advised, however, that he does not question the employee's loyalty. The informant advised that if the employee were faced with the issue as to choosing between the security of the United States and the advancement of his own interests, he would be loyal; however, he feared that because of the employee's lack of maturity he might fail to recognize the issue and, consequently, would harm the United States. New York T-9 was unwilling to testify.

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Washington T-5 [redacted] (reliable, discontinued, never paid) advised that Trivanovich was the Press Officer for the Communist Yugoslav Embassy in the United States and had written a pamphlet in 1946 critical of General Marshall. The pamphlet stated that Marshall ruled a powerful officers group in the Pentagon which had tried to stop the spread of Communism in the Balkans by supporting General Mihailovich.

A New York Informant [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he had been invited to the VOA radio station in New York City for consultation and became friendly with Thayer, then the head of VOA. The informant stated he made a number of suggestions to make the program more effective for the Soviet people but found his suggestions had been perverted and colored with Communist Party line propoganda. He protested to Thayer, pointing out that the broadcast sounded pro-Soviet. Thayer became quite upset although he denied that the broadcast could be construed as pro-Soviet. The informant advised Thayer denied being pro-Soviet; however, he (the informant) considered Thayer in that light.

Subsequent to this meeting with Thayer, the informant was approached by a woman who he believed was a representative of the "Daily Worker." She inquired about his visits to the VOA radio station. This individual again visited the informant's residence and questioned his wife about this matter. Subsequently, two men representing themselves as correspondents of the Federated Press requested an interview and they conducted the same line of inquiry as the woman from the "Daily Worker." After these visits, the informant complained to Thayer, who, he said, became embarrassed and excited. This informant was not available to testify before a Loyalty Board.

The "Daily Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper. On March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Federated Press as a Communist controlled organization.

Except as noted above, the employee's superiors, associates and acquaintances have commented favorably on his loyalty. They have explained his support of Tito on

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the basis that he was carrying out his assigned duty of establishing friendly relations with Tito in accord with established policy of the American Government. He has been described as an admirer of the Russian people but opposed to the Communist system. A few of those who have commented as above on the question of the employee's loyalty relative to his association with pro-Communists and his attitude on Tito have been: Frank C. Wisner, Assistant Director, CIA; Constantine A. Fotitch, former royal Yugoslav Ambassador to U. S.; General William Donovan, former head of OSS; Ambassador Walter Thurston, Mexico City; and, Ambassador Cavendish W. Cannon, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Reports to CSC on June 21, 1949; reports to Department June 21, 1949. Foreign investigation pending.

Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950. No final advice re any possible prosecution by Department February 14, 1949.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by SP2TAR/ble  
Declassify on: OADR  
9-19-85

GEORGE EDWARD TRAGER  
Language Instructor - Appointee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

George Edward Trager was born on March 22, 1906 at Newark, New Jersey. He was employed as an Instructor at Adams State Normal School, Alamosa, Colorado, from 1934 until 1936 and at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, from September, 1946 until June 1, 1949. Trager has previously resided at 122 San Luis Avenue, Alamosa, Colorado, 1703 Harvard Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., 133 Osborne Terrace, Newark, New Jersey, and 410 Whitney, New Haven, Connecticut. He married Sadie Brabella.

Basis for Investigation

On November 21, 1947, Oklahoma City T-1 [redacted] of known reliability) advised that George Edward Trager was friendly with Maurice Billy Ogan, a reported Communist Party member, while on the campus of the University of Oklahoma.

b7D

Results of Investigation

Oklahoma City T-1, when re-contacted, stated he had not personally observed Trager in the company of Maurice Billy Ogan and could not recall the source of his information that the employee was friendly with Ogan. He could furnish no additional data regarding the employee. A reliable informant has advised that Maurice Billy Ogan, a student at the University of Oklahoma, is a member of the Campus Branch of the Communist Party, and a member of the State Secretariat, Communist Party of Oklahoma.

On October 19, 1940, Denver T-1 [redacted] (formerly of the Alamosa, Colorado Police Department, and of known reliability) advised that in a letter dated May 7, 1935 to the Editor of the Alamosa Daily Courier, Alamosa, Colorado, George L. Trager, 122 San Luis Avenue, Alamosa, Colorado, criticized an editorial published on May 6, 1935. This editorial concerned the kidnaping and holding of two alleged Communists at Gallup, New Mexico, and opposed giving them Government protection. A number of acquaintances at Alamosa, Colorado advised that they would be reluctant to vouch for Trager's loyalty although they have no specific information to offer other than the fact he wrote the above-criticized letter to the Alamosa Daily Courier in 1935.

In July, 1947, Honolulu T-1 (highly confidential source known to the Honolulu Office) informed that the names "Dr. George L. Trager and Sadie, 1703 Harvard Street, N.W., Washington 9, D.C.," "Sadie and George Trager, University of Oklahoma, Norman,

121-14576

Class 3

O.J. Auerswald:EHC

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Clemons," and "G. S. Tregar, 133 Osborne Terrace, Newark, New Jersey" (appeared in address books maintained by Dr. and Mrs. John E. Feincke.) Honolulu T-2 (U.S. Censorship Office, Honolulu, T.H.) advised that in 1944 Dr. George L. Tregar, 410 Whitney Street, New Haven, Connecticut, was among over one hundred recipients of a circular letter sent out by Dr. John Ernest Feincke. Reliable informants have identified Feincke and his wife as members of the Communist Party.

A representative number of fellow employees, neighbors, and acquaintances who were interviewed described Tregar as a loyal American.

The informants previously mentioned are not willing to testify at a loyalty hearing concerning information furnished by them.

Reports to CCG, June 21, 1949; to Department June 21, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty" - September 2, 1949. No criminal prosecution by Department - June 27, 1949.

~~(CONFIDENTIAL)~~

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FLORENCE ELEANOR THOMASON  
Nee Smith  
Clerk - Stenographer  
Division of the United Nations  
Economic and Social Affairs  
Department of State

Classified by *SPZ/Alca*  
Declassify on: OADR  
10-10-75

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Background

Florence Thomason was born June 5, 1909 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation initiated under provisions of the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Pittsburgh Confidential Informant T-1 (of known reliability, anonymous source known only to the Pittsburgh Division) states that the name and address of Mrs. Florence Thomason appeared on the mailing list of the Contemporary Bookshop of Pittsburgh in 1942. Pittsburgh Confidential Informant T-2 [redacted] paid Party member, discontinued) states Contemporary Bookshop now defunct, was an outlet for Communist literature in Pittsburgh.

b7D

Pittsburgh Confidential Informant T-3 [an anonymous source known only to the Pittsburgh Division) stated that the name of Mrs. Florence Thomason was on the mailing list in 1941 of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been designated by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order No. 9835. Pittsburgh Confidential Informant T-4 (an anonymous source known only to the Pittsburgh Division) advised that the 1944 mailing list for the "Daily Worker," maintained by the Communist Party, Pittsburgh, District, contained the name of Mrs. Florence S. Thomason. The "Daily Worker" is the east coast daily newspaper of the Communist Party, which Party has been designated by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835. ~~EX~~

Pittsburgh Confidential Informant I-6 of known reliability [redacted] paid Party member active) stated that he recalled a woman named Thomason whom he believed to be identical with Florence S. Thomason was associated with Marion Schultz, a known Communist Party member of the Pittsburgh District. This informant did not know the extent of the association and had no knowledge that Thomason was a Communist Party member. The informant was not willing to testify.

Business associates, references and neighbors all advised that Thomason is reliable, loyal and enjoys a good reputation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*[Handwritten signature]*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reports to CSO January 9, 1950; to Department of State, December 28, 1949.

Disposition

None in file - February 15, 1950.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-19-85 BY SP2 TAP/lee

**SIDNEY WEINTRAUB**  
aka Sydney Weintraub  
Foreign Service Appointee  
United States Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Weintraub was born on May 18, 1922, at Brooklyn, New York. Employed as Reporter with the Beckley Post-Herald Newspaper, Beckley, West Virginia until his appointment as Foreign Service Officer with the Foreign Service of the State Department.

Basis for Investigation

Mrs. Charlotte Fleishman, Pontiac, Illinois, advised that Sidney Weintraub was "definitely Communistic in thought, admittedly so, but not a Communist Party member because joining the Communist Party would be political suicide when he wants into the diplomatic service of the State Department."

Results of Investigation

Mrs. Charlotte Fleishman, 119 South Mill Street, Pontiac, Illinois, formerly City Editor of the Beckley Post-Herald Newspaper, Beckley, West Virginia, reliability unknown, advised that Weintraub believed that the Communistic form of Government in power in Russia is preferable over the form of Government in the United States and stated that he did not join the Communist Party because it would be political suicide as he would not be able to get a job with the State Department.

Charles Edward Jones, Telegraph Editor of the Beckley Post-Herald Newspaper, Beckley, West Virginia, reliability not known, advised that Weintraub has no business with the State Department because he does "lip service for the Communists and follows the Communist Party line."

Nancy Jane Herricks, Society Editor of the Beckley Post-Herald Newspaper, Beckley, West Virginia, reliability not known, stated that she was surprised to learn that Weintraub had been hired by the State Department because he is definitely sympathetic to Communism.

Many fellow employess, neighbors and associates consider Weintraub as loyal.

Mrs. Charlotte Fleishman, Charles Edward Jones, and Nancy Jane Herricks were willing to testify before a Loyalty Review Board.

Reports to CSC, April 26, 1949; to Department, April 26, 1949.

121-16555

Class #3

John T. Harrington;ehc;zg

229



Disposition

None received in file, February 13, 1950.

No criminal prosecution by the Department by letter dated June 15, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 2812/100/100  
Declassify on: OADR  
# 248073  
100-27-85

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

STANLEY WILCOX  
Research Analyst - Employee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Stanley Wilcox was born February 20, 1913, in New York City, New York, to American born parents.

Basis for Investigation

The records of Washington T-1 (Security Division, State Department) reflect that employee had been an associate of Ellsworth Raymond, William H. E. Johnson and his wife, Anette Fox Johnson, and Jessie Rubin. Wilcox was said to have taken Russian lessons from Miss Rubin and had recommended her for a position in the Military Intelligence Service. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and Ellsworth Raymond were discharged by the War Department for security reasons. Miss Rubin was notified June 30, 1947, that she "was found unsuitable for continued government employment."

Results of Investigation

On recontact, Washington T-1 stated that Rubin's employment with the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service was terminated because of questionable loyalty.

Jessie Rubin, also known as Chasia Ruba and Assi Rubina, was observed by Bureau agents contacting Gaik Ovakimian on January 23, 1941, and February 20, 1941, in New York City. Ovakimian was deported from the United States because of alleged Soviet espionage activity.

The records of Washington T-3 (Military Intelligence Division) reflect that Jessie Rubin furnished Stanley Wilcox's name as a reference. Wilcox in reply stated "I highly recommend Miss Rubin whose discretion, intelligence and knowledge had been intimately tested during a year and one-half of frequent meetings." T-3's records further reflected that William Herman Eckhart Johnson, his wife Anette and Ellsworth Lester Raymond were suspected of being responsible for a leak of information concerning the activities of the Military Intelligence Service in Russia. Mrs. Johnson's brother, one David Fox, was believed to have been an NKVD Agent or closely associated with the NKVD. Johnson was suspected of passing information to Fox. Raymond is married to Anna Grigorievna Palsova, a Soviet national and reliably reported to have been an NKVD Agent. [Washington T-4 stated that in 1944 and early 1946, Wilcox stated that he was acquainted with a Russian girl who was

b7D

121-937

Class # 3  
R. MILARD:mjt:20y/

231

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Handwritten initials and marks, including a large 'X' and '100'.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[well versed in the Party-line and from a description furnished T-4 by T-1 it was believed that the girl was Jessie Rubin. T-4 declined to testify since he intended being out of the United States.] ~~(S)~~

A large number of fellow employees and acquaintances in Washington, D. C., stated that they were aware of Wilcox's interest in the Russian language and of his friendliness toward one or more of the persons mentioned above but that they considered him entirely loyal to this country. Mr. Michael Ginsburg, Bloomington, Indiana, advised that he is the former supervisor of Wilcox having been Chief of the Political Section of the USSR Branch, Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State. Ginsburg stated Wilcox had constantly tried to convince him that Soviet Russia had a sound democratic system and that he did not consider Wilcox an objective or critical analyst of Soviet Russian policy. He further stated that he was told by Wilcox that Wilcox was friendly with William H. E. Johnson, his wife, Anatte, Ellsworth Raymond and a close friend of Jessie Rubin. Wilcox stated that Rubin was an employee of the Soviet Government; that she had gone to Russia where she was a contributor to many Soviet newspapers. Wilcox requested Ginsburg's assistance in obtaining a position for Jessie Rubin in the State Department. Ginsburg stated that he definitely considered Rubin to be of Soviet affiliation. Other persons interviewed who were acquainted with Wilcox advised that they consider him loyal.

Reports to the CSC March 1, 1948; to Department October 5, 1948.

Disposition

"Retained" September 20, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department November 24, 1948.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPLICANTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-24-85 BY SP2 TAP/ke

Membership in Cited  
Organizations

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-24-85 BY SP2-TAP/ka

GLADYS ARCHER  
nee Rowe  
Voice of America  
State Department  
Applicant

Background

Applicant was born May 23, 1909, at Burgaw, Pender County, North Carolina. Her brother, Roy Rowe, has served one term as a Representative and two terms as a Senator in the North Carolina Legislature. In 1948 she was employed as a stenographer by the Joint Committee on Labor Management Relations, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Basis of Investigation

Instituted under the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant T-2 (a highly reliable confidential source known to the Washington Field Office) reported that on May 31, 1942, applicant was on the membership list of the Washington Bookshop Association. The Washington Bookshop Association has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

A number of neighbors and acquaintances were interviewed and furnished favorable information concerning applicant's character and loyalty.

Reports to State Department - July 22, 1948, and November 22, 1948.  
Reports to CSC - August 11, 1948.

Disposition

None received - February 13, 1950

123-474

Class 3

W. E. Leishear:jen

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-24-85 BY SP2TAP/bcc

11/93

CORINNE RUTH GINSBERG  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Corinne Ruth Ginsberg was born July 11, 1921, at New York City.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation conducted under Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-2 (records of Bureau of Special Services and Investigation, New York PD) advised that Corinne Ginsberg was a member of the Winter Summer Chapter of the American Student Union at Hunter College and attended a District Executive meeting of the American Student Union at the College of the City of New York on July 12, 1940. T-2 further advised that the name of Corinne Ginsberg appeared on a list of delegates to the American Peace Mobilization held at Chicago, Illinois, in September, 1940. T-2 will not testify.

The American Student Union has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the American Peace Mobilization has been cited by the Attorney General as being a Communist organization.

The confidential investigative files of CSC at Washington, D. C. reflect that Corinne Ginsberg was afforded a hearing by the Civil Service Commission at New York City on August 9, 1943, and at that time she admitted that she had been a member of the American Peace Mobilization and the American Student Union.

Fellow employees, neighbors, social acquaintances and references interviewed during the course of investigation were unable to furnish any pertinent information concerning Ginsberg's activity in the American Student Union or the American Peace Mobilization. These individuals stated that they considered her of good reputation and loyal.

Reports to State Department October 14, 1948, and January 18, 1949.  
Reports to CSC February 1, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950.

123-1915  
Class #3  
C. M. Noone:eb;zg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-24-85 BY SP2 Tap/lee

C. M. Noone

**ARNOLD ROBERT HARMAN**  
**Voice of America Program - Applicant**

**Background**

Arnold Robert Harman was born June 27, 1918, at Seattle, Washington.

**Basis for Investigation**

Investigation instituted under Voice of America Program.

**Results of Investigation**

Seattle T-2

b7D

advised Harman was member of the University Branch of the Young Communist League in 1942, but discontinued attending meetings in April 1942. He did not personally see Harman at any meetings but advised he understood Harman was a member in 1942.

Investigation disclosed Elmer Harman and Emma Taylor Harman are Harman's brother and sister-in-law.

Reliable confidential informants have advised that Elmer Harman was a member of the Communist Party Branch 34, Seattle, in 1943, also that Elmer Harman attended Communist Party meetings in 1947. Reliable confidential informants have also advised that Emma Taylor Harman has been very active in the Communist Party and Communist front organizations as a member of the party.

Investigation through former associates, acquaintances, teachers, employers and references revealed Harman is considered a loyal citizen. One acquaintance termed Harman a "liberal" but not a Communist and is loyal. Another stated he expressed opposition to high profits of the capitalistic system.

The Young Communist League, and the Communist Party have been named by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC November 15, 1949; to State Department June 11, 1948.

**Disposition**

None received in file February 13, 1950.

123-10

ROBERT E. RASMUSSEN (cg)  
123-10  
Class 3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-24-85 BY SP2TAP/bce

1248



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by *SP2/BJC*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*10-10-85*

FRED CHARLES HOLLING, JR.  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Holling was born November 18, 1923 at San Francisco. Recently married Harriet Gilbert of Dorset, Vermont.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

San Francisco Confidential Informant T-1, an individual of unknown reliability [redacted] stated that the mail addressed to Holling included the East Coast Communist newspaper "The Daily Worker," an occasional copy of the "Daily Peoples World" and various information bulletins mailed from the Soviet Embassy at Washington, D. C. Various confidential informants, all of whom are members of the Communist Party and highly reliable, revealed that the local Communist Party Clubs conduct annual drives for the support of the "Daily Peoples World" and that these drives are coordinated by Communist Party Headquarters in San Francisco. The Communist Party has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

San Francisco Confidential Informant T-3, [of known reliability (a highly confidential source known only to the San Francisco Division), stated that Fred Holling of 1027 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California, was a member of the American-Russian Institute of San Francisco in 1945. Confidential Informant SF-1341, of known reliability (technical surveillance of George Eltenton, alleged Communist espionage agent), stated that Fred Holling contacted Dorothy Eltenton, who is known by the informant to be a paid employee of the American-Russian Institute, to request that Eltenton speak before the Slavic Society on June 7, 1944. Eltenton agreed to make the requested speech, the topic of which was to be "Women in the Soviet Union." The American-Russian Institute of San Francisco is an organization which the Attorney General has declared to be within the purview of Executive Order 9835. None of the informants referred to above gave a signed statement and all decline to appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

Mr. Joseph E. Latears, former supervisor of Holling at the University of California, states that Holling was not required to enter the Service during the recent war because he was a conscientious objector. (This information has been confirmed through the Selective Service files.) He added that Holling always made statements implying that if his fellow employees were smart they also would not be required to enter the Service.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reverend Ellis Cowling, Peasey, New York, and Mr. Jacob Baker of New York City, advised that Harriet Gilbert, who is now the wife of Holling, stated that she had attended the Thomas Jefferson School of Social Sciences in New York City for one year. Both individuals stated that she was not aware that this was a Communist-operated school. The Attorney General has ruled that the Thomas Jefferson School of Social Sciences, New York City, falls within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The character and reputation of Holling and his wife are generally considered good by co-workers, references and neighbors.

Reports to CSC December 9, 1948; to Department of State December 6, 1948.

Disposition

None in file on February 14, 1950.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/8/85 BY SP/ta/pha

EARL CARD KENNEDY  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background  
Kennedy was born December 25, 1921, at Hackensack, New Jersey. He has engaged in publicity work since 1939.

Basis for Investigation  
Investigation of Kennedy was instituted as a result of a request received from Voice of America, Department of State, under Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation  
Election records, Borough of Manhattan, reflected that Kennedy registered with the American Labor Party in 1946, 1947 and 1948. His wife, Lucille Kennedy nee Sloane, registered with the American Labor Party from 1945 through 1948. The ALP has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front.

Mrs. Rodney Erickson, Kennedy's supervisor at the Young and Rubicam Company, advised that Kennedy had become acquainted with Barney Josephson, owner of the Cafe Society night club as a result of his assignment in search of entertainment for new talent. He advised that Josephson was known to be an associate of persons considered to be subversive. He believed, however, that this association was not a close friendship but rather of a business nature. On March 10, 1947, the "New York World Telegram" carried an article by Frederick Woltman in which it is alleged that the Cafe Society night club is a gathering place for Communist intellectuals. In this article Josephson allegedly announced he was a Communist and sent congratulations to Earl Browder in 1942, congratulating him on his release from the Atlanta Prison.

Mr. E. W. B. Chmili, superintendent-in-charge, of the apartment house where Kennedy resides noted that although he could furnish no specific information concerning Communist sympathies on the part of Kennedy and his wife, it is his belief that they are Communistically inclined. He stated this belief is based on discussions which he had with them in which it seemed to him that they would always favor Communism. He also stated that he had seen bills in the trash can from Kennedy's apartment from the Cafe Society night club for drinks bought at that place, addressed to the Kennedys. He stated he had heard that this was a favorite hangout of Communists.

New York T-3 [redacted] superintendent-in-charge of apartment house where a membership director resided, not paid, discontinued as confidential informant and now utilized as a source of information) who is of known reliability furnished a photographic copy of a 1945 Macco-Vanzetti Club Communist Political Association

123-3287  
Class # 3  
P. A. TURNER:cg

file card which reflected that Lucille Sloane No. 21244, was a member of the club. The Communist Political Association has been declared as an organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Former business associates and references contacted advised they believed Kennedy is loyal and of good character and reputation.

Reports to CSC August 25, 1949; reports to Department of State August 17, 1949.

Disposition

"Investigated under P. L. 402. Applicant failed to obtain security clearance." October 14, 1949.

Sadi Ibrahim Koylan  
Turkish Translator-Announcer (Applicant)  
International Broadcasting Division  
State Department  
New York, New York

Background

Sadi Ibrahim Koylan was born February 4, 1919, at Istanbul, Turkey, and is not a U. S. citizen. He is a nephew of the late M. Munir Ertegun, Turkish ambassador to the United States until 1944.

Basis for Investigation

Koylan was investigated as an applicant under the Voice of America program, during April and May, 1949.

Results of Investigation

Washington Confidential Informant T-1 (Highly Confidential Source, having access to records of the Washington Bookshop Association) advised in February, 1944, that Sadi Koylan, 1606 23rd Street, Northwest, was listed as an active member in the Washington Bookshop, having last paid dues on July 23, 1943. The address 1606 23rd Street, Northwest, was reported by Washington Field to be the address of the Turkish Embassy. Investigation reflected that Koylan had resided there with his uncle, the former ambassador. Washington T-1 will not be available to testify.

The Washington Bookshop Association is an organization that has been declared by the Attorney General to be a Communist organization.

A representative number of persons acquainted with the applicant in New York City and at Washington, D. C., including references, neighbors, fellow employees and social acquaintances commented favorably on Koylan's character and furnished no derogatory information regarding his character, reputation, or loyalty.

Reports to CSC May 19, 1949; to State Department May 11, 1949.

Disposition

None in file, February 14, 1950.

123-2835

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

C.M. NOONE/h

DATE 11-10-85 BY SP2/BJ/6ca

Class 3

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-10-85 BY SP/STG/lee

FRANKLIN HAMLIN LITTELL  
aka Frank Littell,  
Franklin C. Littell, Frank Littell  
Voice of America - Applicant

Background  
Franklin Hamlin Littell was born at Syracuse, New York, on June 20, 1917,  
and has been affiliated with the Methodist Church as a minister since 1940.

Basis for Investigation  
Investigation was instituted under the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation  
Applicant appeared before the House of Representatives Naval Affairs  
Committee Hearing February 14, 1938, at which time he stated that he represented  
the National Council of Methodist Youth and hold the office of Social-Action  
Chairman. Among other things he advised the committee that he personally served  
on the National Board of the American Youth Congress and as a delegate to the  
Christian Youth Movement in New York. When the applicant was asked by a com-  
mittee member what he would do in case an army was invading his home and was  
about to harm his mother and sister he answered by stating that he would not  
bear arms in defense of the United States and that his mother and sister would  
not have him do it. He advised that his church, the Methodist Episcopal North,  
Society of Friends has long maintained. Applicant stated that he believed the  
President wanted to expand the military for purposes of backing an aggressive  
foreign war and protecting big business abroad.

Mr. Herman Will, Jr., Administrative Assistant, Commission on World Peace  
of the Methodist Church, Chicago, Illinois, advised that he had known the applicant  
for approximately twelve years. He advised that Littell as a representative of  
the National Conference of Methodist Youth, was on the National Board of the American  
Youth Congress, with which organization the National Council of Methodist Youth  
was affiliated in 1937 to 1939. He went on to advise that this organization became  
so Communist dominated during these years that, based upon the recommendations of  
Littell, the National Council of Methodist Youth withdrew from the American Youth  
Congress in 1939. According to Mr. Will, Littell because of his experience with  
the American Youth Congress while on its Board as a representative of the National  
Council of Methodist Youth, has offered no cooperation with any Communist Youth  
Group since that date.

Mr. Will advised that Littell like himself is a member of the Methodist  
Federation for Social Service and that Littell until a short time ago had been

123-3895

Class 3

J. J. Bresnahan/js

a member of the Executive Committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. According to Mr. Hill, the Methodist Federation for Social Action was practically defunct during World War II but was taken over in 1945 or 1946 by one Dr. Wade C. Barclay, who is its present director. Mr. Hill stated that the leadership at present of the Methodist Federation for Social Action consists of those who are very influential in the formation of the Federation for Social Action policy and that some of these persons follow the Communist Party line. He went on to say that one Jack R. Weikhsel, who is Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, was formerly National Chairman of the American Youth Congress and that Mr. Weikhsel definitely follows the Communist Party line. Littell, according to Mr. Hill, along with others who are definitely in the minority, have been trying for some time to get Weikhsel ousted from the Methodist Federation for Social Action and that Littell has on all occasions taken a stand against the Communist Party.

Numerous associates, former professors and fellow ministers interviewed vouched for applicant's loyalty, the majority stating that Littell is vigorously opposed to the Communist Party policy and that he is a sincere pacifist.

The American Youth Congress was cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The Methodist Federation for Social Service was cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of 1948 as being among the more conspicuous fronts for Communist activity in the field of relief.

Reports to Department of State January 13, 1950, to CSC January 20, 1950.

Dispositions

None received in file February 14, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-16-85 BY SP2TAP/ka

ALEXANDER POLETT  
Aka Alex Poletisky  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Alexander Polett was born July 16, 1918, at New York City, New York. Polett's father, Albert Poletisky, born in Russia, November 28, 1884, arrived in United States of America in 1905, and was naturalized June 23, 1925. Mother, Quasie Poletisky, born in Poland, naturalized August 6, 1929. Polett employed as associate editor by Tide Publishing Company, New York City, since 1945.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

On a form dated June 20, 1949, signed by Polett, entitled "Department of State, Request for Investigation Data," which served as a basis for the investigation, he set out that he had been a member of the American Student Union in 1937 and 1938. The American Student Union has been cited as a Communist front group by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Investigation at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York, which was attended by Polett in 1937 and 1938, failed to confirm his affiliation with the American Student Union at Students, Frederick W. Warnevy, advised that the American Student Union at Brooklyn College during 1937 and 1938, was recognized by the college authorities as "Communist dominated."

Records of the Board of Elections for New York for the year 1948, reflected that Alexander Polett registered American Labor Party. Records of the Board of Elections for Kings County, Brooklyn, New York, reflect that in 1945, Polett registered American Labor Party. Polett's wife, Louise Rishin registered with the American Labor Party in 1941. Her father, Solomon Rishin, and her mother, Bessie Rishin, so registered from 1941 to 1945. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has cited the American Labor Party as a Communist front.

Business associates and neighbors were favorable as to Polett's loyalty. References endorsed. One described him as a "liberal thinker," but could not further define this meaning.

Reports to CSC, August 23, 1949 and September 21, 1949; To Department of State, August 5, 1949 and September 9, 1949.

Disposition

"P.L. 402 Investigation. Voice of America case. Not processed under R. O. 9835" October 31, 1949.  
121-3272 P. A. Turner:dhr:zg

Class 43



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-10-85 BY SP2Taj/bca

AMY LYON SCHAEFFER, aka Amy Martha Schaeffer  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Amy Lyon Schaeffer was born on February 25, 1917, at New York City. Her father was born in Russia. In application, Miss Schaeffer noted as residence from 1917 to 1942, 748 Prospect Avenue, Bronx, New York.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation conducted under Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

The files of the Civil Service Commission reflect that Amy Lyon Schaeffer, while attending Bernard College, 1936-37, was an American Youth Congress delegate. The Civil Service files indicate that an investigation was conducted but nothing further reflecting adversely on Schaeffer's loyalty was found.

Frances Ann Henderson, an employee of the Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C., advised that she attended Bernard College with the applicant, and that while at college Miss Schaeffer was a member of the American Students Union and attended an American Youth Congress meeting as a delegate from Bernard College.

Records of Bernard College, New York City, reflect that the applicant had been a delegate to the American Youth Congress during 1936 and 1937.

The records of the Board of Elections, Bronx County, New York, reflect that Amy Schaeffer of 748 Prospect Avenue, Bronx, on March 28, 1938, registered as a member of the American Labor Party. She again registered as a member of the American Labor Party in 1941, and in 1943 and 1944 registered at the Board of Elections, Manhattan County, with the American Labor Party.

The American Students Union and the American Labor Party have both been cited as Communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The American Youth Congress has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

123-1842

Class #3

E. F. Minoux:dhrdlw

Numerous persons including fellow employees, neighbors and associates were interviewed and furnished favorable information concerning Schaeffer's loyalty.

Reports to CSC October 7, 1948; to State Department October 1, 1948.

Disposition

None received in file, February 14, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-10-85 BY SP2TAP/ka

ARVO OLAVI WIRTA  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Wirta was born February 17, 1916, at Newberry, Michigan. William Wirta, brother of applicant, is married to Irene Kotola, daughter of Isaac Kotola, Newberry, Michigan.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under the provisions of the Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

Detroit T-4 (Harry M. Curran of known reliability, Curran Heating Company, 308 Truman Avenue, Newberry, Michigan) made available material which had legally come into his possession. Among this material was Membership Card I-169 of the Young Communist League, Newberry, Michigan, issued to Arvo Wirta on January 14, 1935, and signed by organizer Leo Tuuri. The card reflects payment of dues for 1935.

The material also contained Membership Card X-53 issued to the applicant for the year of 1936 and signed by R. Hagen, Secretary of the Young Communist League. Bill Wirta, Newberry, Michigan, were also obtained. b7D

Detroit T-2 [redacted] a reputable businessman of known reliability, 406 East Harrie Street, Newberry, Michigan) advised that he knew Arvo Wirta and his parents Emil and Olga Wirta for a period of about fifteen years while they resided at 402 East Harrie Street, Newberry. He stated that the applicant's parents were born in Finland and have never attempted to obtain citizenship. T-2 disclosed that the applicant or Labor Hall which was owned by the Communist element in Newberry until it was destroyed in 1937 at which time the Communist movement in Newberry went underground. He said that he is positive that the Communist views of the applicant's parents has never changed and stated that Arvo Wirta openly advocated Communism and admitted that he was a Communist on several occasions. T-2 disclosed that he does not know whether the applicant was actually a member of the Communist Party, but indicated that he is positive that all his sympathies and views were with the Communists at the time of his residence at Newberry.

123-3042  
Class #3

218

JAN

Detroit T-5 [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] advised that several meetings of the Communist Party groups had been held at the home of Isaac Ketola, Newberry, Michigan.

The Young Communist League and the Communist Party have been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of E. O. 9835.

A number of employers, fellow employees, references and neighbors regard the Applicant as a loyal American.

Reports to CSC July 22, 1949; to State Department July 13, 1949.

Disposition

"Investigated under P. L. 402", October 14, 1949.

DATE 10/10/88 BY *spz/6ca*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-10-85 BY SP2TAP/bca

RALPH ALTMAN

Voice of America - Applicant

Background

Ralph Altman was born December 13, 1908, at New York City. He resided at 215 West 105 Street, New York City, with mother, Yetta, and brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel D. Dobrin, from 1942 to 1948.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under the provisions of Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflected that Ralph and Yetta Altman, 215 West 105 Street, New York City, signed the 1942 Communist Party nominating petition.

The Communist Party has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

The FBI Laboratory compared the signature "Ralph Altman" on this petition with the known handwriting of the applicant and concluded that they were identical.

New York T-1 (highly confidential source known to the New York Office) advised that Pearl Dobrin and Lionel D. Dobrin, 215 West 105 Street, New York City, were both signers of the Communist Party election campaign petition for Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., in 1943, who was the Communist Party candidate for New York City Councilman.

New York T-6 [redacted] former Communist Party member of (norman reliability) advised in 1944 he was positive that the applicant's brother, Bernard Altman, was a member of the Communist Party as evidenced by his consistent following of the Party line and his general attitude.

Neighbors, references, employers and business associates considered Ralph Altman loyal.

Reports to CSC December 20, 1948; to State Department December 14, 1948.

Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950.

123-2122

Class 3

A. Kayne/js/jks

at

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-7-80 BY SP2/TJF/bce

JAMES DANIEL FREELAIN  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Mr. Freelain claims he was born at Orangeburg, South Carolina, on July 15, 1914. The records of the South Carolina Bureau of Vital Statistics fail to reflect any information regarding his birth data. Information in government files substantiates this claim. The captioned individual has been employed from 1942 until August, 1949 by the Municipal Government of New York City, New York. This employment was with the New York City Fire Department and Municipal Radio Station "WNYC."

Basis for Investigation

Investigation was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress, Voice of America.

Results of Investigation

New York Confidential Informant T-1 (the Bureau of Special Service and Investigations, New York City Police Department, reliable) reported that James Freelain, 419 West 128th Street, New York City, signed a Communist Party nominating petition in behalf of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., candidate for Councilman, City of New York, petition page number 475, in election district number nine, assembly district number 13, New York County, New York, on August 10, 1945.

Mr. Freelain's "Request for Investigation Data" form lists residence on his part at 419 West 128th Street, New York, New York, from August, 1944 until July, 1949.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect information similar to that attributed to New York Confidential Informant T-1.

The FBI laboratory conducted a handwriting examination wherein the specimens of the known handwriting prepared by James Daniel Freelain were compared with the above described signature appearing on said petition. The FBI laboratory concluded that these signatures were identical and were made by Freelain.

A representative number of individuals interviewed regarding this person did not furnish any information reflecting adversely on his loyalty.

The Communist Party is an organization declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General.

125-3493

Class 3

JAREILLY:hsb

Reports to CSC November 28, 1949; to State Department November 17, 1949.

Disposition

None in file February 14, 1950.



THEODORE KAGHAN  
aka Theodore Kane Cohen  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Applicant was born as Theodore Cohen on July 24, 1912, in Boston, Massachusetts. His name was changed legally to Theodore Kaghan by court order on October 14, 1942.

Basis for Investigation

This investigation was instituted under the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant Washington T-1 (CSC, Washington, D. C.) advised that their files reflect that Theodore Kaghan, 310 West 47th Street, New York City, New York, signed a Communist Party nominating petition, number 2004, on September 16, 1939, in behalf of Isreal Amter, Communist Party candidate for Councilman, City of New York. Kaghan admitted to Washington T-1 that he signed this petition, knew it was a Communist Party petition, but denied intending to support the candidate thereon or the Communist Party.

A representative number of neighbors, fellow employees and associates considered the applicant to be loyal to the United States.

Photostatic copies of the above-mentioned Communist Party petition were made exhibits in this case and were furnished to CSC.

Reports to CSC August 19, 1949; to State Department October 5, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file - February 14, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-10-8 BY SP2TAP/bce

123-3106

Class #3

C. E. Sandall/eal;ms

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-10-88 BY SP2TJ/bce

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-10-85 BY SP2 TAP/bca

ALEX SARON  
Voice of America Program

Background

Alex Saron born August 30, 1909, at New York, New York.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities show one Alex Saron, 356 West 20th Street, New York City, signed a 1940 Communist Party Nominating Petition for Browder and Ford. FBI Laboratory concluded Saron's signature on petition was written by the employee. Election registration records disclose Saron registered for the American Labor Party in 1938, 1939, 1940 and 1942.

Investigation disclosed Saron married Leona Feinstein in 1933, separated from her in 1937, and was divorced July 14, 1941. Investigation also disclosed Leona Saron was an ardent Communist, was branch organizer in the Chelsea District of the Communist Party in 1942, and at that time had been affiliated with the party for more than eight years. Miss Emily Thomas, 26 West 18th Street, a former neighbor advised the Saron's had been in complete agreement on "political questions;" that Leona Saron was a Communist and that Saron had been in complete agreement with her interests in the Communist Party.

Military Service Records reflect Saron was a member of the Army from May 7, 1942, to September 18, 1946, when he was honorably discharged. He received the World War II Victory Medal, American Theater Service Ribbon, Bronze Star Medal, EAME Theater Medal, Army of Occupation Medal and Croix de Guerre avec Palmes (Belgium). School and employment records reflect no adverse loyalty information and former neighbors, acquaintances and associates consider Saron to be a loyal and patriotic citizen.

The American Labor Party was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Communist Party was named by the Attorney General as an organization within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC January 12, 1950; to State Department January 9, 1950.

Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950.

123-3884  
Class 3  
ROBERT E. RASMUSSEN:cg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-10-85 BY SP2TJ/KIA

BARBARA ELEANOR BORDEN  
Aka Mrs. Richard Valente  
Voice of America - Applicant

Background  
Barbara Eleanor Borden was born on July 6, 1916, at Honolulu, T. H.

Basis for Investigation  
Investigation instituted under the provisions of the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation  
Mrs. S. Johnson, neighbor of the applicant in 1944, advised that Borden had boasted on several occasions that she was doing volunteer librarian work with the California Labor School in San Francisco, which organization has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835. However, Borden never expressed any derogatory remarks about the United States Government and never made any favorable remarks concerning Communism or other subversive groups to Mrs. Johnson.

Mrs. Margaret Uridge, Librarian at the University of California, stated that she knew that Borden did volunteer work in 1944 with the California Labor School in San Francisco as a librarian, but she believed that the applicant was definitely not of the subversive type inasmuch as Borden had never expressed any disloyal sympathies in the presence of Mrs. Uridge. However, Mrs. Uridge advised that Borden was very friendly with Mrs. Clara Hanchett, former Librarian of the California Labor School, who was reported by SF-1471 (mail cover on Communist Political Association Headquarters) on March 20, 1946, as a member of the Eureka Club of the Communist Party in San Francisco. The Communist Party has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Upon interview during the course of the investigation Miss Borden admitted employment as librarian with the California Labor School on a one day per week basis, but stated she saw no evidence whatever of Communism and no one attempted to indoctrinate her in any fashion.

Other neighbors, references, acquaintances, employers and fellow employees furnished no derogatory information concerning her loyalty.

Reports to CSC February 4, 1949 to State Department January 26, 1949.

Disposition  
None received in file February 13, 1950.

123-2515  
Class 3  
A. Kayne:mer  
ah

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-10-85 BY SP2 [Signature]

EMERY DERTI  
aka Dave Dertl, Earl Dertl,  
David Tere, Impra Dertl  
Applicant  
Veloc of American Program

Background  
Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service reflect that Dertl was born March 5, 1889 at Budapest, Hungary. These also disclosed that he entered the United States on October 24, 1921 and was naturalized under Petition No. 53214 and Certificate No. 3162476 in New York Superior Court, Bronx County, New York, on September 12, 1929. His naturalization was cancelled on September 7, 1935. It is noted he has been employed as a Clerk in the United States Legation, Budapest, Hungary, from June 1, 1945 until April 2, 1948. Information is available reflecting that on or about July 1, 1948, he was appointed an Editor, United States Information Service, Athens, Greece, where he reportedly was serving as 1-6 as May, 1949.

Basis for Investigation  
Investigation was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 70th Congress, Voice of America.

Results of Investigation  
Investigation and Naturalization records contain an undated letter dated 6/10/32 alleging that Emery Dertl, 33-11 79th Street, Jackson Heights, New York, was a co-leader under the Bolshevik dictatorship of Bela Kun in Hungary. Further, that Hungarian sympathies were very anxious to try their hands upon him for various reasons. It is also alleged that Dertl had obtained U. S. Citizenship fraudulently.

As that this investigation of Field's interviewed Zoltan Feg, 67 Riverside Drive, New York, New York, then a correspondent for a newspaper in Hungary. This individual stated he knew Emery Dertl once published a paper in New York known as the "Hels." He also stated that he knew Dertl in Hungary and that they were political enemies in that Dertl was a member of the "Bolshevik" whereas he, Feg, was sympathetic toward the "Nationalist Party." Feg stated Dertl left the United States in 1932 because of an alleged investigation concerning the legality of his naturalization.

Oscar Wilcox, 3276 32nd Street, Long Island, New York, on interview in September, 1932 by Immigration officials described Dertl as holding "radical views." He also alleged that Dertl was under criminal investigation in Hungary because of his "radical activities" while in Europe.

129-2863  
Class 3  
J.A. Reilly:EMC

[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten initials]

On re-interview by Bureau Agents, the latter person advised that he was associated with the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava" in New York, New York. He advised that Deri did not believe in the Democratic form of Government, was definitely "radical" in his beliefs but never expressed any Communistic views or expressions. Miklos at this time advised that it was his belief that Mr. Deri was not a Communist. He again alleged that Deri was naturalized fraudulently and fled the United States in 1932 because of an investigation into said naturalization. He stated that he has had no contact with Deri since 1932.

Ladars Szekely, General Manager of the "Amerikai Magyar Nepszava," stated Deri is a "talented opportunist" and added that he considers such a person more dangerous to the United States than an outspoken Communist. He described Deri as a good friend of Count Michael Karolyi, First President of the Hungarian Republic, who offered little or no resistance during the "Communist" revolution in Hungary. He stated Karolyi surrendered Hungary to Bela Kuhn, "the Communist leader." Szekely contends that Karolyi has since favored the Communists and identified him as the person in exile in Paris who was named Ambassador to Paris by the present pro-Communist Government in Hungary.

A reliable Confidential Informant (the Intelligence Division of the Army) in a report dated 9/25/45, captioned "The Rolandstells," advised that in 1934, a special section of the Economic Abwehr (Abwehr I. No. 1) was instituted in Bremen under the leadership of Captain and Regierungsoberspektor Walter Frischmuth. This organization was charged with the collection of economic intelligence on countries of the Western Hemisphere and reported directly to the RKV in Berlin. In July, 1944, following the unsuccessful attempt of Hitler and the subsequent reorganization of the Abwehr, the office was placed under the command of the Abwehr, headquarters in Hamburg, and took the name "Kommando Des Haldegebietes Hamburg - Referat Roland." The countries in which the Rolandstells was primarily interested were France, Spain, Portugal, and North Africa. The information garnered, though valid, dealt principally with the exchange between these countries and the Western Allies of such commodities as minerals, foodstuffs, and other raw materials ..... Under the heading "Personalities" the following information appears:

"Deri, Emory, Journalist, Hungary, worked as Frischmuth's agent in Hungary since 1941, contacted by Frischmuth personally. Received about \$200 per month in American currency. Sent reports on liberty ship data, construction of liberty ships, and places of construction, etc. Information was considered as accurate. Last report came around December to January, 1945. Reported regularly every two weeks. Age 30, thought to be non-Iryan.

This informant also furnished a report of information secured during the interrogation of one Theodor Wilhelm Karl Ludwig Pink, a member of Frischmuth's staff. Under

the heading of "Abwehr Personnel" the following information appears: "Name, Carl Emery Dert, probably Hungarian nationality, Hungarian occupation, journalist, Abwehr Service, Foreign Agent, 1939-1945."

Other individuals interviewed during the course of this investigation have described Dert as an opportunist but as anti-Communist. Nothing on Confidential Informant T-1 (State Department) has reported that Dert was used by the American Legation in Hungary as a "Political Investigator." Nothing on Confidential Informant T-2 (New York, Division of Foreign Service Personnel, Department of State) who is considered of normal reliability, stated that while serving as a Political Investigator in Budapest, was arrested by the Hungarian Police in November, 1947 and cramped up charges in an attempt to intimidate other Hungarians employed by the Legation there. This informant stated that after having been under arrest for several days, Dert's arrest was attributed to economic charges in connection with alleged black market activities. He was sentenced to serve ten months in prison by the Hungarian Court. He was released due to ill health and moved to Vienna, Austria and in turn moved to Athens, Greece. He was given employment by the American Embassy in Athens in May, 1948. This source concluded with the statement that Dert had the full support of United States representatives in the Legation at Budapest at the time of his arrest. Mr. Frederick Merrill, Mellon War College, Fort Meade, stated that he met Dert in 1945 at the American Legation in Budapest. Dert reported to him on political affairs in Hungary. Merrill advised that Dert gave valuable information and carried out dangerous assignments for the Legation prior to his arrest.

Referral/Consult

Person REPT, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, now residing at Herndon, Virginia, an interviewer stated he knew of no reason to question Dert's loyalty to the United States. He has known of him for several years but is not familiar with his activities prior to 1945.

Reports to CSO - 8/21/49 to State Department - 5/23/49.

Disposition  
None received in file 2/11/50.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SP2TRP/ble  
10-10-85  
CONFIDENTIAL

AKS Annette Feldman  
Voice of America - Applicant

Background

Annette Patricia Feldman was born in New York City on January 7, 1919.

Lead for Investigation

Investigation Institute under the provisions of the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

New York 7-5 (George Starr, security officer, Department of State, New York City) advised that Daniel Labin, uncle of the applicant, was employed by OWI from 1943 to 1947 and was discharged because of unfavorable findings in an investigation into his loyalty. According to this source, Labin corresponded with persons in Europe who were considered suspects, and Labin himself was suspected of disseminating confidential material to unauthorized persons.

New York 7-7 [redacted] (discouraged, unpaid, reliable) who was in a position to observe Communist activities in the United States, stated that Labin was definitely a Communist. (S)

b7D

Mrs. Miriam Bronovici and Mrs. Leone Lesser, friends of Daniel Labin, advised that Miss Feldman was close to the Labins and had dinner with them at least once a week.

Mr. Louis Berklin, a former employer of Miss Feldman, intimated that Daniel Labin had aided Miss Feldman to secure her position with OWI.

References, neighbors, acquaintances, former fellow employees and employers advised that the applicant was loyal.

Reports to SAC on August 9, 1949; to State Department February 17, 1949; and July 28, 1949.

Disposition

Cons received in file February 13, 1950.

123-2572

Class 3  
A. Kaymer, lgh  
ak

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IRMA HAVRANEK  
nee Kaufman  
aka Irma Havrankova  
Mary Havranek  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Classified by SP2TJ/bce  
Declassify on: OADR  
10-16-85

Background

Irma Havranek was born September 27, 1901, at Sedlcany, Bohemia, Czechoslovakia. She entered the United States in 1927 and was naturalized January 18, 1937.

Basis for Investigation

Irma Havranek was investigated under the provisions of the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Havranek was employed by the American Czechoslovak Trading Corporation at New York City from September, 1945, to October, 1946, and was thereafter employed as secretary to the Vice President of the Overseas Mercantile Company, New York City, until March, 1949, according to information furnished on her application for employment with the State Department and information furnished by associates. According to New York informant T-1 (Dan A. Bradstreet, credit agency) the American Czechoslovak Trading Corporation was owned by Richard Vogel, publisher of the "New Yorks Listy" and the "New Yorksky Denik", two Czech language newspapers. New York informant T-2 [redacted] (not paid, reliable) [stated in March, 1948, that the American Czechoslovak Trading Corporation received special concessions from the Czech Government with regard to their export business.] New York informant T-3 [redacted] (reliable, paid) stated that the editorial policy of the Richard Vogel papers was pro-Communist prior to the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948, but changed to an anti-Communist policy subsequent to that time. T-3 characterized Vogel as an opportunist who would consider personal gain of paramount importance to any other cause. ]

b7D

Anthony Fried, 280 Madison Avenue, New York City, a reference listed by Havranek, was being considered in February, 1945, as possible head of the Czechoslovakian Purchasing Commission in Washington, D. C., according to New York informant T-7 (highly confidential source of WFO). According to T-7, Karel Brunlick, Czechoslovakian representative to UNRRA, opposed Fried for this position observing that Fried had become very much of a Communist lately.

It was reported that Anthony Fried attended a dinner of the Russian Economic Institute at the Mens Faculty Club, Columbia University, on December 20, 1944, and left the dinner with a suspected Russian espionage agent. Fried subsequently spent several hours with the agent at Fried's home. On January 1, 1945, this same suspect visited Fried at his home.

123-2918  
Class #3  
C. M. Noone:lhs:ees

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
258

CONF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Newark informant T-1 (highly confidential source known to Newark office) disclosed that in 1943 Frank Kaufman of Trenton, New Jersey, was a subscriber to the "Daily Worker". According to Havranek's application for employment she is a sister of this Frank Kaufman.

Mr. Rudolph Typlt, 514 Bert Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey, pastor of the Czechoslovak Presbyterian Church in Trenton, stated that he has known Frank Kaufman since 1941. Mr. Typlt stated that Frank Kaufman took him into his confidence in 1948 and revealed that he had been associated with a Communist Czechoslovak group in New York City prior to coming to Trenton. According to Mr. Typlt, Kaufman joined the Czechoslovak Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia in June, 1948.

New York informant [redacted] discontinued informant, not paid, formerly employed at Czechoslovak Consulate, New York City) stated in the summer of 1949 that Irma Havranek had been known to visit the Workers House, 347 East 72nd Street, New York City. According to the informant, the Workers House serves as headquarters for Czechoslovak Communists. The informant also stated she had heard from other sources that Havranek had been expressing herself "radically". The informant could not expand on this comment or be more specific concerning it. ~~X~~

b7D

Other sources interviewed during the investigation, including neighbors, former employers, social and business acquaintances and references were unable to add any substantive information concerning Havranek's loyalty. Their comments concerning her loyalty ranged from "no information" to "unquestionably loyal".

Reports to CSC June 20, 1949; to State Department June 13, 1949. Supplemental letter to State Department July 13, 1949.

Disposition

None in file 2-14-50.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

IVAN KATUSICH  
Applicant  
Editor in Chief  
International Broadcasting Division  
State Department  
New York, New York

Background

Born December 13, 1893, Val. Nabrđe, Yugoslavia, Naturalized U. S. District Court, Newark, New Jersey, May 24, 1944.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

Katusich wrote article in Narodni Glasnik (National Herald) December 19, 1944, issue, published Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, entitled "The Situation in Greece." Article supported Greek guerrillas, stated that Communism is a democracy and attacked British policies in Greece.

Ned J. Marich, 4116 47th Avenue, Long Island City, New York, on March 6, 1947, advised that Katusich was a Tito supporter.

New York T-4 [redacted] acquaintance, not paid, (unknown reliability) advised that he had seen Katusich in the Yugoslav-American Home talking to known Yugoslavian Communists and that it is generally rumored around the Yugoslav-American Home that Katusich is Communist. (S)

b7D

New York T-5 [redacted] discontinued, paid, reliable) advised that the Yugoslav-American Home, 405 West 41st Street, New York City, is meeting place for known Yugoslavian Communists as well as other foreign language Communists.

Representative number of neighbors and associates contacted New York City and New Jersey and furnished no disloyal data.

Reports to CSC August 12, 1948; to State Department July 23, 1948.

Disposition

"Eligible on Loyalty" June 15, 1949.

Classified by SPJ/afk  
Declassify on: OADR  
10/10-85

123-861

Class 3  
C. Doyle:tg

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by *SP2/af/ble*  
Declassify on: OADR  
10-10-85

VIVIANNE LOVELL KERR  
aka Mrs. Walter Kerr, Vivianne Lovell Mirkins,  
Vivian Mirkins, Mrs. Peter Mirkins, Mrs. Pierre  
Gruetsowitch Mirkins, Vivianne Lovell, Vivian  
Lovell, Helene Loudmila Viviane Lovell  
Applicant  
Voice of America

#### Background

Mrs. Kerr was born October 27, 1918, at Lunueil, France. She claims American citizenship by birth. Persons interviewed advised her father was a native born American citizen. Immigration and Naturalization records, Boston, Massachusetts, disclose Mrs. Kerr's mother was a native born citizen.

It is noted that the captioned individual has listed as references in her application for employment under instant program Charles G. Ross, Presidential Press Officer, Charles Bohlen and Michael McDermott of the State Department, James F. Byrnes, former Secretary of State, and Benjamin V. Cohen, former State Department Counsellor.

#### Basis for Investigation

Investigation was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress, Voice of America.

#### Results of Investigation

Messrs. Ross, Bohlen, McDermott and Cohen, as well as Mr. Byrnes' Secretary in his absence, recommended the captioned individual for federal employment.

Information has been developed that the captioned person married Walter Boardman Kerr, Jr., her second husband, in 1947. Walter Kerr in April, 1939, was reported as the Foreign Editor of the New York "Herald Tribune." Investigation has developed the fact that the captioned individual's mother is Helen Lovell, aka Mrs. Walter Lovell, and her sister, an employee of the Economic Cooperation Administration, is Odia Laine Lovell.

Records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that Walter Kerr, described as the former Moscow correspondent for the New York "Herald Tribune," wrote an article entitled "A Night in Stalingrad," which appeared in the publication "New Masses" on June 22, 1943, page five. These records reflect that this article praised the Red Army's defense of Moscow.

123-2854

Class 3

J. A. Reilly/js

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

261

The "New Masses" was cited as "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party..." by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944. It was described as "a Communist periodical" by former Attorney General Francis Biddle in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, page 7608.

Said records also disclose that Walter Lorr, "World Tribune" foreign correspondent, was a speaker at the annual dinner of the American-Russian Institute. Said records note that this allegation was taken from the "Daily Worker," an East Coast Communist newspaper of May 20, 1947, page two.

The Reference Room of the Library of Congress reflects that Walter Lorr is the author of the book "The Russian Army, Its Men, Its Leaders and Its Battles" published by Alfred A. Knopf in New York 1944.

[Redacted]

C

Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

C

[Redacted]

C

Washington Confidential Informant T-1

[Redacted] who is reliable, advised in January, 1947, that Vivian Lovell of the Foreign News Agency contacted the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C., regarding the fact that she had been requested to attend the March, 1947, conference in Moscow. This confidential source could not furnish any additional data concerning this item. ~~Q~~

b7D

Boston Confidential Informant T-2 (the same informant as that referred to in the previous paragraph) who is reliable, stated that the captioned individual's mother, Mrs. Walter Lovell, identified herself as the Chairman of the Book Committee for the Soviet Union, a committee member of Russian War Relief and the ~~Q~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, all in Boston. This source also stated that he learned Mrs. Lovell attempted to make an appointment with Mrs. Gromyko, the wife of the then Russian Ambassador, to discuss cultural matters. She claimed to have visited the USSR in 1933 and again in 1936. Mrs. Lovell described herself as a lecturer on Russian matters in the Boston area. She claimed to have been instrumental in raising funds for the Hugh Cabot Memorial Hospital in Moscow. This same informant advised that at a later date Mrs. Lovell requested the Soviet Embassy to furnish her material for her lectures on Russia. ~~C~~

Boston Confidential Informant T-3 (technical surveillance on the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Boston, Massachusetts, discontinued) who is reliable, reported that Helen DyBouchet, a cousin of the captioned individual, requested the assistance of Mrs. Walter Lovell on December 2, 1947, in obtaining permission of Dr. Serge Koussevitzky to be a sponsor in behalf of a Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee function. Confidential Informant T-3 stated that Helen DyBouchet was an employee of the Boston Chapter of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Boston Confidential Informant T-4  a member of the Communist Party, paid, inactive) who is reliable, has advised that Helen DyBouchet, 53 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and formerly 36 Sumner Street, Brookline, Massachusetts, was a member of the "Pro-4 Club" of the Communist Party, District #1. Boston Confidential Informant T-4 related that said Helen DyBouchet was an office worker for the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, whose full name is Helen Gallantine DyBouchet. b7D

Boston Confidential Informant T-5 (a highly confidential source, on February 2, 1947, made available certain information regarding the International Workers Order - known to Boston Office) who is reliable, reported that the name of Mrs. Walter Lovell, 36 Sumner Street, Brookline, Massachusetts, appeared in files of the International Workers Order at Boston, Massachusetts, as an individual who had been to Russia and was a good speaker on the Hook Campaign.

A number of other individuals contacted advised they had no reason to question the loyalty of the above-captioned person. The Communist Party, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the International Workers Order have been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General.

Reports to CSC June 7, 1949; to State Department May 31, 1949.

Disposition

"Eligible on loyalty," December 19, 1949.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2TJF/bee

**MOLLY LEVIN,**  
nee Apple, aka Jacky Apple,  
Mrs. Joseph H. Levin  
Voice of America Program

Background

Molly Levin was born June 3, 1924, at St. Paul, Minnesota.

Basis for Investigation

Molly Levin was investigated under the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

Miss Bertha I. Hart, Computer, Ballistics Research Laboratory, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland, advised that Joseph Levin, husband of Molly Levin, was an associate of Franklin Victor Reno. Reno, in an interview with Special Agents of the FBI on December 15, 1948, advised that he, Reno, had been an active member of the Communist Party from approximately 1935 to 1938 and had associated with Communist Party leaders in Maryland and Washington, D. C.

T-1 (Military Intelligence Division) advised that Joseph H. Levin, husband of Molly Levin, was a signer of a petition which was circulated among the employees of the Ballistics Research Laboratory which protested the discharge by Army authorities of five employees because they were members of the Communist Party. Levin was one of sixty-two signers of the petition which was directed to the Secretary of War. Oscar B. Brockmeyer, Ordnance Engineer, Ballistics Research Laboratory, Aberdeen Proving Ground, advised that Levin signed this petition in the interest of Air play and with the expectation that justice might be done to those being discharged.

The December 15, 1947, issue of the "St. Paul Pioneer Press" in the column entitled "Mail Bag" reflects that Alvin Apple wrote a letter to the Editor denouncing the American Youth for Democracy on the ground that it was a Communist organization. Alvin Apple is the brother of Molly Levin.

Confidential Informant Detroit T-2 [redacted] former member of the Communist Party of Detroit and a reliable informant) advised that Professor Samuel M. Levin of Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, was included among the financial contributors of the American Youth for Democracy. Professor Samuel M. Levin is the father of Joseph H. Levin, husband of Molly Levin.

b7D

Miss Rose Theodore, Economist, Bureau of Labor Statistics, was acquainted with Molly Levin during the period of her employment from March 7, 1946, to May 30, 1947, with this agency. Miss Theodore stated that during any discussions regarding economics Molly Levin appeared to uphold the Russian economic structure over the American system. Miss Theodore could not recall any specific statements made by Molly Levin.

123-4067

CLASS 3

ABEdg:jhw

264

0115 42

References, neighbors and other fellow employees stated they would recommend Molly Levin as loyal. She was employed by Senator Humphrey of Minnesota by whom she was well regarded.

The American Youth for Democracy was cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Reports to CSC January 13, 1950; to State Department January 9, 1950.

Disposition

No disposition reflected in file February 13, 1950.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2TAP/bce

ANDREW A. MARCHBIN  
aka Andrew A. Marchbein  
Andor Arjeh Marchbein  
Andrew Arjeh Marchbein  
Andrew Arjeh Marchbin  
Andrew Aryeh Marchbin  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

The files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, disclose that Andrew Arjeh Marchbin was granted United States citizenship on December 6, 1943 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, under petition number 138662. In said petition Marchbin claimed that he was born September 29, 1904, at Nagybanya, Rumania.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation in this matter was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress, Voice of America.

Results of Investigation

In undated anonymous letter received in the Foreign Activities Correlation Division, United States Department of State, on September 5, 1941 alleged in substance that one Andrew Marchbein, said to be an Hungarian history expert connected with the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, participated in and acted as a speaker at Communist meetings in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, and other places. (It is noted that the applicant on his application for instant position listed employment with the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh during 1931 - 1932. He further noted that he was engaged in historical and sociological research on a private basis from December, 1947 until June, 1949).

Officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service interviewed Marchbin on January 29, 1945, at which time he stated he had attended a meeting at McKeesport, Pennsylvania, in approximately 1938. He stated that he attended said meeting to hear an Hungarian Minister speak on "Hungarian Fascistic Activities." He related that said Minister, prior to delivering his address, was arrested and that he, Marchbin, became incensed and spoke himself. He stated he later learned that the local Hungarian Minister had protested this speech on the grounds that the visiting Minister had no right to come and speak in McKeesport without the resident Minister's permission. Marchbin at this time denied being a Communist or being interested in the Communist movement.

121-3508

Class 3

JA Reilly:hsp

266

10/11/85

John J. Whalen, former Chief of Police, McKeesport, Pennsylvania, related that the Reverend Charles Bogar was the complainant in the above matter and that one Reverend Kovacs was the visiting Minister.

The Reverend Charles Bogar, Elizabeth, New Jersey, furnished a signed statement to Bureau agents on September 29, 1949, concerning (The Reverend) Imre Kovacs, and Andrew A. Marchbin. Therein he described Kovacs and Marchbin as Communists on the strength of an alleged admission by Kovacs that he was a Communist and the fact that he had heard from several sources, whose identity he could not recall, that Marchbin was a Communist.

The Reverend Charles Bogar stated that he would be willing to testify before a Loyalty Hearing Board concerning his statements.

Reports to CSC October 20, 1949; to State Department October 13, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file February 15, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-81 BY SP2/Alce

HAROLD J. MCGEE  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

McGee was born April 16, 1889 at Schoensted, New York and has been employed as an actor and radio program director since 1920. Wife, Berdella K. McGee.

Case for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of Voice of America Program, Public Law No. 402, 80th Congress.

Results of Investigation

Professional associates of McGee in the field of drama and radio production including Cecil Cleavelly, actor and Charles Ellis, actor, both at New York City state that a very strong and intimate friendship has existed between McGee and Paul Robeson, Negro actor and singer from 1920 to the present. McGee was instrumental in introducing Paul Robeson to the theatrical world in launching his singing career. References Henry Frick Carlton, Carl Faite and Julius S. Teaback of New York City also confirmed close association of McGee with Paul Robeson. Neighbors of McGee in the vicinity of 33 East 89th St., New York City, including Dr. Irving Sussberg, Mr. Malcolm Roberts, and Dr. Herman Goodson, advise that Robeson frequently resides with McGee and has maintained an intimate relationship with him for a number of years. Business associates, references and neighbors have no indication that McGee is in agreement with the political beliefs of Robeson although one reference hesitated to recommend McGee due to the emotional involvements and associations with Robeson. "The Worker" in March 1944 reflected that McGee was in charge of arrangements for a birthday party to be held for Robeson during April 1944. New York Informant Anna Addison, (Adriane Dury - discontinued paid informant then a member of the Communist Party) who is a reliable informant, advised that Paul Robeson was a Communist Party member under the name of John Thomas. This informant will not furnish a signed statement or appear before a Loyalty Hearing Board.

New York T-1 (technical surveillance on residence of Louise Branston, Communist Party contact) advised that Waldo Miller Salt, an officer of the Communist Party in Los Angeles since 1943 and one of the leading Communist leaders in the motion picture industry, contacted Harold McGee at his residence on January 1, 1947. The reason for the contact or nature of the association is not known.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

New York Confidential Informant T-2 (technical surveillance on Louise Branston Communist Party contact) advised that during a visit by Louise Branston to New York City, on January 2, 1944, she contacted McGee at 70 Park Street, New York City. New York Confidential Informant T-3 (anonymous source known only to the

131-3283

Glass # 3

P. A. Turner:zg

New York City Division) advised that Louise Cranston had listed in her address book in January of 1944 the name of Harold McGee with his address and phone number. The nature of the association between McGee and Cranston was not known by the informant. New York Confidential Informant T-4 (Trash coverage on Communist Party Headquarters at San Francisco) advised that Louise Cranston was a wealthy socialite who was an active member of the Communist Party and an important financial contributor to the Party.

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities reflect that one Mariella W. McGee is a member of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship Incorporated and cites as a source of this information the letterhead of the organization dated March 1, 1948. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship Incorporated has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 9835. Not definitely identified to wife.

Except as above-noted, McGee and his wife are generally regarded by associates, neighbors and references as sober, conscientious people who enjoy a good reputation.

Reports to CSC September 28, 1949; to Department of State, September 21, 1949.

Disposition

Investigated under P.L. 402. Not processed under E. O. 9835.

Declassify on: **SP2**  
10-11-85

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DAVID WESLEY NUSSBAUM  
Voice of America - Applicant

Background

Nussbaum was born April 26, 1917, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Employed Life Magazine, Time and Life, Incorporated, New York City and Washington, D. C., February 6, 1941-June 21, 1946.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (VOA).

Results of Investigation

T-1 (technical surveillance on Harry Magdoff) advised Nussbaum and wife were socially acquainted with Harry Magdoff, Harry Dexter White and George Perazich. Informant knew Nussbaum from April, 1946 to November, 1946. Nussbaum and Magdoff exchanged visits to each other's home and on some occasions White and Perazich were present at the Magdoff residence when Nussbaum visited there. ~~(S)~~

T-2 (informant  reliable) advised that Harry Magdoff was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York in the early 1940s; that he was a close associate of Communist and pro-Soviet sympathizers and for a period was a dues paying member of the Communist Party; and further, that Magdoff was a contact of an admitted espionage agent. b7D

T-2 stated Harry Dexter White was also involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York in the early 1940s, and that he was an associate of Communist and pro-Soviet sympathizers.

T-2 stated George Perazich was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C. and New York in the early 1940s; that he was a close associate of Communist and pro-Soviet sympathizers and was a member of the Communist Party.

Bureau files reflect that a confidential source of information of normal reliability in the Government advised that during April, 1941, there had been referred to the Pardon Attorney a communication from a David W. Nussbaum, Time, Incorporated, Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York City, suggesting a pardon or executive clemency for Earl Browder

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

123-1809

Class 3

J. J. Fannagan:mhb

270

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Supervisors, references, fellow employees, neighbors and Harvard professors recommend Nussbaum as a loyal American citizen.

Reports to State Department October 11, 1948. Reports to CSC October 15, 1948.

Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by *SP2TAR/bee*  
Declassify on: OADR  
10-11-85

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

MICHAEL BORN PETROVICH  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Petrovich was born October 16, 1922, at Cleveland, Ohio. From 1941 until 1949, he resided at 2310 Cedar Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under provisions of the Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

New York Confidential Informant T-3

[redacted] of known reliability, in signed statement advised that Petrovich associated with a group of individuals in OSS and this group was considered sympathetic to Communist ideas. T-3 advised that he did not believe that Petrovich could have gone to Czechoslovakia unless he was known to be "politically reliable" to the Communists of a Soviet controlled nation. T-3 said he believed Petrovich to be a Communist on the basis of his association with the aforementioned Communist group in OSS and also on T-3's personal observation of Petrovich.

Mr. Chedorir Mistic, New York, New York, in a signed statement advised that he knew Petrovich in Bari, Italy. Mr. Mistic recalled that Petrovich spent nearly all of his time with the Communist forces at Bari and Petrovich would come to the headquarters of the Yugoslav Army only when he was seeking information for the Partisan group. The informant said that in view of Petrovich's associations with the Communist elements while he was in Bari, Italy, he was of the opinion that Petrovich could not be a loyal citizen.

b7D

Albert Evans, broker, 522 - 5th Avenue, New York, New York, former Commercial Attache, U. S. Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, knew Petrovich in Yugoslavia during 1945 and 1946. Evans said he believed Petrovich was a Communist mainly because of his continual affiliation and espousal of the Embassy group who espoused Tito and the Partisan group. Evans recalled one incident when Petrovich made an open admission of his feelings for the Communist group in Yugoslavia which took place soon after the Communist group seized power in Yugoslavia. Petrovich made a public address to some Yugoslavian Government group in Belgrade and after his return to the Embassy told Evans, "I really left them hanging on the ropes."

New York Confidential Informant T-5 [redacted] (New York, New York) of known reliability, in a signed statement advised that Petrovich continually favored Communism and ridiculed Democracy. T-5 advised that Petrovich received literature

123-3625

Class 3  
C.T. BROWN:cg:iwt

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from a Russian religious sect connected with Russia and which violently attacked all Soviet opposition. He added that all of Petrovich's explanations about Yugoslavia were in favor of Communism and he told T-5 that he was writing a book in favor of Tito and his policies, which according to T-5 was nothing but a book in favor of Communism. T-5 said that Petrovich showed him photographs of himself taken in Yugoslavia which portrayed Petrovich talking over a microphone to a Youth assembly named the "EKOJ" which T-5 described as a Communist Youth Department or Association.

New York T-6 ( [redacted] New York, New York) of known reliability, knew the applicant from November, 1947, to the Spring of 1949. T-5 and T-6 are not related to the applicant. T-6 in a signed statement advised that he was impressed by the fact that all of Petrovich's arguments about the Yugoslavian question and his defense of Tito were Communist and that all of Petrovich's explanations for Tito and his regime "excused" his Communist policies or actions. T-6 stated that Petrovich has a weakness for Communism which was continually shown in his talks with T-6. b7D

New York T-7 (a highly confidential source known to Agents of WFO) of known reliability, advised that on January 19, 1947, the applicant addressed a communication to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Information Bulletin, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Washington, D. C. Petrovich told the informant that he had written a letter of thanks to the Russian Embassy for the English translations of important speeches delivered by Soviet representatives in the United Nations assembly. T-7 said that two or three months prior to this, Petrovich had asked the Embassy to send him the Information Bulletin of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (c)

New York T-8 [redacted] who has known Petrovich for about three years, advised that Petrovich had a complete library on the Soviet Union in his apartment during his residence in New York.

New York T-10 [redacted] active, not paid) of known reliability, stated that Petrovich has ridiculed the respect that Serbs in the United States have for Serbian Institutions and the Serbian church, both of which are opposed to Communism both in the United States and Europe. b7D

New York T-11 [redacted] of unknown reliability, has been a close acquaintance of Petrovich for many years. She stated that in view of Petrovich's high regard for the Communist regime in Yugoslavia, it was clear that he could not be trusted with a position of responsibility in the Government of the United States.

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New York T-12 [redacted] (not paid, active) of known reliability, advised that Petrovich is known among Yugoslavian circles in New York City as a pro-Communist because of his political attitude on international affairs. T-12 added that Petrovich wrote a scientific study of the life and ideas of Juraj Krizanic who has been praised by the Communists as a pioneer of international socialism and one of Yugoslavia's first Communists. T-12 pointed out that Krizanic's biography was one of the first books sent as recommended literature by Russian Communists to Yugoslavia during the early days of the Tito regime. (S)

New York T-13 (technical surveillance on the Czechoslovakian Consulate) of known reliability, advised that on September 27, 1949, Petrovich was in contact with one Lida Stoyanova, Secretary to the Cultural Attache of the Czech Consulate in New York City at which time Petrovich inquired about nine boxes of books which Petrovich said the Czech Ministry sent to Verba, the Cultural Attache of the Czech Consulate in New York City, for him. According to T-13, Stoyanova has been in contact with various known Communists in the New York area and Verba has been in contact with Communists and pro-Communists in New York City. (S) b7D

New York T-15 [redacted] (active, paid informant) of known reliability, advised that Petrovich is active in the Communist group at St. Sava's Cathedral, New York, New York, who espoused the Tito regime and its Communist policies.

Joseph Veselinovich, St. Louis, Missouri, who has known Petrovich since about 1935, furnished signed statement in which he advised that while in Italy, Petrovich on many occasions stated to the informant that he, Petrovich, sincerely believed that Communism was the best and only type of Government for the Balkan States. The informant said in his conversations Petrovich appeared to be highly enthusiastic about the cause and spread of Communism and the informant in conversing with Petrovich was definitely convinced that Petrovich was a Communist. The informant said that the applicant was constantly in the company of known Communists in Bari, Italy, and endorses their principles. The informant added that Petrovich along with George and Alexander Vucinich frequented the Communist headquarters in Bari almost constantly during their leisure hours.

Cleveland Informant T-9 [redacted] who has given reliable information previously and who attended grade and high school with the applicant, was in Bari, Italy with the applicant. T-9 stated that while in Bari, Italy, Petrovich's mannerisms, ideas and friends were all Communistic in nature.

B. N. Pekich, Secretary, Serb National Federation, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has known Petrovich over a period of twenty years. Pekich stated that it was common knowledge among the members of the Serb National Federation that Petrovich was a Communist sympathizer.

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Mr. Erickl Fridonoff, Chief Engineer, Ajax Boiler and Heater Company, Los Angeles, California, met Petrovich in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1943. Fridonoff stated that Petrovich was also employed by the OSS in Belgrade as a translator and political analyst and that he wrote an economic report dealing with the destruction of an American Power Plant in Novigrad, Yugoslavia. This plant had been bombed by United States bombers and Petrovich's report was entirely false stating that the plant was completely destroyed whereas Fridonoff stated he knew from personal knowledge that this plant was only approximately 50 per cent destroyed. Fridonoff stated that Petrovich submitted this false report in order to assist the Tito Government. Fridonoff said he had many discussions with Petrovich and that Petrovich openly and vociferously criticized the United States Government and the United States policies and loudly praised the policies of the Soviet Union and the Tito Government. Fridonoff also stated that Petrovich was in company with official members of the Yugoslavian Communist Government and the informant suspected that Petrovich was engaged in espionage activities although the informant had no true evidence of this fact. Fridonoff added that in his opinion, if it served Petrovich's purposes, he would willingly "sell the United States down the river."

Washington T-1 [redacted] (not paid) of known reliability, advised that he and Petrovich were in the same unit in Bari, Italy, from May, 1944, to November, 1944. T-1 stated that he observed the applicant closely during their association and that he and everyone attached to the Office of Strategic Services in Bari, as well as personnel attached to the Secret Intelligence and the Secret Operations assigned to the Yugoslav desk believed the applicant to be pro-Tito, pro-Partisan and pro-Communist. T-1 further stated that Petrovich had made unauthorized speeches which had a Communistic slant while in Yugoslavia on the political question and had been reprimanded by his superiors. T-1 said that on many occasions he heard the applicant express the opinion that the best thing that could happen to the Balkans was for Communism to predominate and in many instances argued forcibly in favor of Tito and Communism.

b7D

Referral/Consult

[redacted] (C)  
Files of the Security Division, Department of State, contained the following information regarding the applicant:

Mr. John Edward Kasunich, who was stationed at Bari, Italy, with the Office

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of Naval Intelligence during the time the applicant was stationed there. Mr. Kasunich said he on several occasions traveled with Petrovich on official business and on one such trip Mr. Kasunich became so weary of Petrovich's appraisal of Tito and his Communist followers and in contrast his damning of capitalism that he told Petrovich to "shut up." He said he had never heard Petrovich say anything good or favorable about Democracy, capitalism or our form of Government but had heard Petrovich many times rave about what Tito was doing and could do. The informant said that at Cairo and Bari, Petrovich's reports were definitely pro-Communist and he was inextricably tied in with the Communist movement at Bari. Mr. Kasunich said that at a dinner in Belgrade, Petrovich talked to a group of officers in such a pro-Communist manner saying among other things that "the Communist movement is on the march," "the people want Communism" and "it is gaining everywhere;" that he (Kasunich) threatened Petrovich with capital punishment.

Mr. Joe Veselinovich, St. Louis, has known Petrovich for several years and stated that when he met Petrovich in the Office of Strategic Services camp at Bari, Italy, he noted that Petrovich had acquired Communist ideas, a love for the partisans, the Communist viewpoint on the Yugoslavian political question and was in general sympathy for the Tito movement. He added that he could not state definitely that Petrovich was a member of the Communist Party but said that he was sure Petrovich had sympathy for that organization when he was in Bari. The informant said that if Petrovich were connected with the State Department there would be a steady flow of information from that Department to the Yugoslavian Embassy.

Major George Yajnovich, AUS, was stationed at Bari, Italy, with Petrovich. He described Petrovich as the "weak sister type" who could easily be led and who was easily led by the Communist group at Bari, Italy. He said that although Petrovich is intelligent, he is inexperienced, ambitious and dangerous.

Mr. Michael Pajacich, Washington, D. C., was stationed at Bari, Italy, at the same time as the applicant and advised that while Petrovich was employed in a civilian capacity with OSS, he wrote with a slant toward the Communist line. The informant saw a few of Petrovich's reports and stated all of them were one sided building up the Communists and Tito.

In the above information from New York, Informants T-3, T-5, T-6, T-7, T-8, T-10, T-11, T-12, T-13, T-15 will not testify. Chedour Histic and Albert Evans

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will not testify.

Joseph Vesalinovich of St. Louis, Missouri, will testify.

VOA reports to NSC November 17, 1949; to State Department November 7, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file February 14, 1950.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VINCENZO PETRULLO  
aka Vincent Petruzzo, Jim  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Classified by *SP2TAP/bce*  
Declassify on: OADR  
*14-11-85*

### Background

Mr. Petruzzo was born January 1, 1906 at Randosso, Province of Catania, Italy, according to the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice. He was naturalized in the United States District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on July 16, 1930, under Certificate No. 3272753.

### Basis for Investigation

Investigation was initiated under the provisions of Public Law 402, 80th Congress, Voice of America.

### Results of Investigation

The records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington Confidential Informant T-12 (Central Intelligence Agency), and Washington Confidential Informant T-13 [redacted] whose reliability is not known) advised that John Petruzzo, a brother of the captioned individual, fought in the Spanish Civil War during 1937 and 1938 on the side of the Loyalist Forces. (S)

b7D

Washington Confidential Informant T-8 (Civil Service Commission) interviewed Vincenzo Petruzzo in 1943 regarding his knowledge of and association with Isbarado Toledano, Central and South American labor leader. Petruzzo advised that he knew Toledano well and that the latter dined at Petruzzo's home on a number of occasions. He further stated that his acquaintanceship with Toledano was "encouraged" by the Embassy. He denied ever being a member of the Communist Party but added that he had known two Communists, both in Mexico whom he sought out in connection with an assignment from the Office of Strategic Services during the recent war.

Mrs. B. L. Williams and Mrs. Fred Woodruff, 700 E. Woodbine, Chevy Chase, Maryland advised on interview that Petruzzo was very friendly with one Merle Colby. These sources stated that the captioned individual and Colby resided at said address for a period of time. Neither had any knowledge of the extent of their friendship.

The Security Division of the Department of State maintains investigative reports concerning Merle Colby dated June 1, 1944 prepared by the Federal Works Agency in regard to Colby's employment with the Office of War Information. These reflect that Colby was residing at 700 Woodbine Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland. In an administrative hearing given Colby on February 19, 1943, while he was employed with the Federal Works Agency, Colby allegedly admitted being a member of the John Reed Club, the League of American Writers, the Author's League of America, and the Washington Bookshop.

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The Washington Bookshop as well as the League of American Writers have been declared within the purview of Executive Order 9835 by the Attorney General. The John Reed Clubs of the United States were "named after the founder of the American Communist Party," according to a citation prepared by the House Committee on Un-American Activities under date of March 29, 1944.

The above-mentioned investigative reports reflect that in May, 1943, Colby was advised that "his record had been cleared of allegations against him."

Professor Preston James, Syracuse University, and formerly attached to the Office of Strategic Services, reported that Petrullo had served in his section during the war. James stated that he considered Petrullo thoroughly indoctrinated with Communist tendencies. He stated that he does not believe Petrullo is a Communist but added "he followed the Communist line."

Dr. Frank O. Sprock, former Chairman of the Anthropology Department at the University of Pennsylvania, advised that he was closely associated with Petrullo from approximately 1925 until 1937. Sprock described him as "a fascist." He noted that during the early 1930s Petrullo spoke candidly in support of Benito Mussolini's foreign and domestic policies. Sprock continued that Petrullo was a strong supporter of the Italian Abyssinian campaign and held both Mussolini and Ciano in high regard. He further characterized Petrullo as "superficially American" and could not recommend him for a position of trust because he believes that "Petrullo would sell himself to the winner."

Reports to CSC, Jan 1, 1949; to State Department, 5/23/49.

Disposition

\*Investigation under P.L. 402; not processed under E.O. 9835, 8/12/49.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2TAF/ble

EUGENE DOUGLAS SAWYER  
Voice of America - Applicant

Background

Eugene Douglas Sawyer was born in Topeka, Kansas, October 1, 1911.

Basis for Investigation

Investigation instituted under Voice of America Program.

Results of Investigation

The records of the Manhattan Board of Elections, New York City, reflect that Eugene Douglas Sawyer and his wife, Eva L. Sawyer, registered with the American Labor Party from 1943 through 1948.

Concerning the American Labor Party, the Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 79th Congress, reported on May 26, 1946, at Washington, D.C., the following information:

1. Support of the Communist Party to the above has been recognized by the appointment of a Communist to an official position in the City Government. (Massachusetts House Committee on un-American Activities report 1938, Page 356).
2. Cited as a Communist Party front by the Special Committee on un-American Activities, March 29, 1944. (Page 49, 77 F. 153, 189.)

New York T-2 ( [redacted] )

b7D

[redacted] advised that Alta Douglas, listed as a member of the Board of Directors of the George Washington Carver School, was a sister of the applicant. The George Washington Carver School has been cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835. The informant stated that both Alta Douglas and her husband, Aaron Douglas, a prominent artist and former instructor at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, were good friends of Gwendolyn Bennett, a well-known New York Communist and former director of the "Carver School," and that they associated closely with other New York Communists socially and belonged to several Communist infiltrated organizations.

New York T-1 [redacted] discontinued, paid, member of Communist Party, considered reliable) on October 13, 1943, advised that Aaron Douglas, the artist, and his wife, a public school teacher, were Communist Party members and active in the Harlem area for several years.

The Communist Party has been cited by the Attorney General as being within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

A. KAYNE: hmn

123-2544

Class #3

References, acquaintances, fellow workers, employers and neighbors advised Sawyer loyal.

Reports to CSC, February 24, 1949, and June 2, 1949; to State Department, February 10, 1949 and June 2, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file, February 14, 1950.



EMMANUEL SCHACHMAN-ESSEZE  
aka Emmanuel Schachman  
Voice of America - Applicant  
U. S. Department of State  
New York, New York

Background

Schachman-Esseze was born November 23, 1889, at Bucharest, Rumania. He is a citizen of France. Applicant arrived in United States in 1942 and filed his first United States naturalization papers in May, 1946. In 1947 he was a Member of the Secretariat, United Nations, and in September, 1949, he was employed as an Announcer on a "Purchase Order Basis."

Basis for Investigation

Schachman-Esseze was investigated under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America).

Results of Investigation

New York City T-2 [redacted] discontinued paid informant, no longer in the United States, believed reliable) advised in 1942 that he had been told by Edouard Pfeiffer, that applicant was a Soviet agent in France from 1935 to 1939. Pfeiffer in 1933 was Director of Foreign Affairs For France under the government of Prime Minister Daladier. b7D

Many associates and fellow employees considered applicant loyal.

Reports to Civil Service Commission November 15, 1949; to Department of State November 3, 1949.

Disposition

None received in file February 13, 1950.

123-3624

W.D. Carson:hw:jjs  
123-3624  
Class 3

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2Tuf/bce

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY SP2 [signature]

IDA SCHOSS - Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Records of the Department of Health, New York City fail to reflect any birth record for Ida Schoss on December 4, 1913, as shown on the State Department request for investigative data. The records do reflect a birth certificate referring to Annie Schoss, born December 4, 1911. The State Department request for investigative data reflects Ida Schoss was born December 4, 1913 in New York City. Since 1944 she has resided at 338 East 15th Street, New York City.

Basis for Investigation

Schoss was investigated under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Voice of America).

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant New York 7-4 [redacted]

[redacted] of unknown reliability, neighbor of Miss Schoss advised that he has known Miss Schoss and her aunt, Mrs. Kate Hirsch for the past three years and has advised that he visited their apartment during that period. He stated that in his visits to the apartment occupied by the applicant and her aunt, he observed copies of the daily "Morning Freiheit." The Morning Freiheit has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as an organ of Communist Propaganda.

New York 1-5 [redacted]

[redacted] of unknown reliability, advised that he has also known Miss Schoss and her aunt, Mrs. Hirsch for the past three years. He advised that Mrs. Hirsch appears to be sympathetic to Communism and the Russian form of democracy. He stated that Mrs. Hirsch is always emphasizing how much improved are the conditions of the Russian people over the Capitalistic American system of democracy.

b7D

New York 1-6 [redacted]

[redacted] of unknown reliability, a neighbor of the applicant, advised that she has known Miss Schoss and her aunt, Mrs. Hirsch for about two years and that the newspaper, the "Daily Worker" is delivered to the apartment where Miss Schoss and her aunt reside. She advised that Mrs. Hirsch is very sympathetic to Communism and Russia as evidenced by her constant praising of Russia and criticism of the American system of democracy. The "Daily Worker" is a Communist Party newspaper.

Confidential Informant New York 7-9 (Bureau of Special Services and Investigation New York Police Department) advised that the name and address of Harry Schoss, 338 East 15th Street, New York City, appeared on the 1941 Communist Party nominating petition for municipal offices in New York City. Information obtained in the investigation of Miss Schoss revealed that on an application for a Government position she listed the members of her family which included Harry Schoss, her father, 338 East 15th Street, New York City. 7-9 also advised that the name and address of Harry Schoss, 338 East 15th Street,

123-9770

C.T. Brown; hmm: iwt  
Class #3

[signature]

New York City, appeared on the 1941 Communist Party nominating petition for Carl Brodsky, Communist Party candidate for New York City councilman. T-9 further said that the name and address of Kate Hirsch of the same address appeared on the 1941 Communist Party nominating petition for Brodsky.

Confidential Informant T-10 (ONI) advised that the name and address of Harry Schoss, 340 East 15th Street, New York City, appeared on the 1942 Communist Party nominating petition for State offices in New York State.

Confidential Informant New York T-11, (who is [redacted] discontinued, paid, Party member, reliable) furnished on July 25, 1945, a photographic copy of a membership card for Kate Hirsch, 338 East 115th Street, New York, in the Henry Forbes Community Club, Communist Political Association for 1945. The informant also made available the notebook containing the names, addresses and 1945 Communist Political Association book numbers of members of the Henry Forbes Community Club, Communist Political Association. The name of Kate Hirsch appears in this book. b7D

Confidential Informant New York T-12 (New York Administrative Office, U. S. Department of State) advised that Eda Schoss is a dues paying member of the Federal Workers Union, Local 20 of the United Public Workers, CIO, as reflected by the dues list for March - April, 1949.

New York T-13 [redacted] of known reliability, advised that the Federal Workers Union, Local 20, United Public Workers consistently follows the Communist Party line and its officers are under the control of the Communist dominated United Public Workers.

The records of the Board of Elections reflect that Fanny Schoss, mother of Eda Schoss, registered as a member of the Communist Party in 1933 and 1934 elections.

A representative number of neighbors and fellow employees who were acquainted with the applicant were interviewed and these individuals either considered her a good worker, honest and loyal to the United States or they could offer no comment concerning her loyalty to the United States. New York T-5, T-11 and T-13 will not testify.

VOA reports to CSC, January 17, 1950; to State Department January 9, 1950.

Disposition

None received in files, February 14, 1950.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

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Classified by SP7MB/buc  
Declassify on: OADR  
10-11-85

MYLES STANDISH  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background

Myles Standish was born May 21, 1909, at New York City.

Basis for Investigation

He was investigated as an applicant under the Voice of America program during September and October, 1949.

Results of Investigation

Standish was employed with the Free World Association during late 1944, and early 1945, according to New York Informant T-2 (technical surveillance on Louis Dolivet, discontinued June 27, 1945). ~~ex~~

On February 15, 1945, a person identifying himself as Myles Standish of the Free World Association contacted Eugeni Petrovich Perfillief, clerk at the USSR Consulate, New York City, and stated he had received word from Eugene Kisselov, Consul General at New York, that Kisselov would be unable to attend a luncheon for Archibald McLeish, Assistant Secretary of State. Standish wished to extend an invitation to some other representative of the USSR Consulate to attend in place of Kisselov. The foregoing information was furnished by New York T-3 (technical surveillance on Carlos Vejarano y Cassina). ~~ex~~

~~ex~~ According to New York T-1 (technical surveillance on John Cavallo, 58 Kenmar Street, New York City), Louis Dolivet was a prominent force in the organization known as Free World, Incorporated. Records of the Personnel Division, United Nations, Lake Success, New York, reflect that Myles Standish furnished the name of Louis Dolivet as a personal reference in his application for employment with the United Nations. [New York Informant T-7

[redacted] stated that Dolivet, a denaturalized citizen of France, was prominent in revolutionary groups while in Europe, was a member of the Swiss Communist Party, active in Communist front organizations and was of doubtful morality. [redacted] (reliable)

New York Informant T-10

[redacted] advised that she was introduced to Myles Standish in 1928 by Rice Estes, a mutual friend. T-10 stated that she was instrumental in obtaining a position for Standish with the State Department. She said that she last saw Standish in 1930 when he visited her in New York City, but added that Rice Estes has kept her advised as to Standish and his activities. According to T-10,

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Estes and Standish were in very close contact up until the start of World War II. Estes told T-10 that Standish, while attached to the Foreign Service section of the State Department, during the Spanish Civil War, was instrumental in arranging for the passports of persons described by Estes as being prominent "anti-Fascists" who were being persecuted. Estes also told T-10 that Standish had gotten a number of the most prominent and important "anti-Fascists" out of France after the invasion of Germany during World War II.

T-10 was of the opinion that Estes was a member of the Communist Party because he followed the Communist Party line and associated with known Communists. She did not know whether Standish was a member of the Communist Party but stated that Estes had told her that Standish was also an exponent of the doctrines believed in by Estes and that Standish was regarded as a hero in Communist Party circles because of his help in arranging for passports for political refugees. T-10 could furnish no specific facts concerning Communist Party associations by Standish but stated she was skeptical of his political sympathies because of his close association with Rice Estes. The report does not indicate whether T-10 will testify.

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 70 Columbus Avenue, New York City, concerning one Gerhardt Eisler, reflect that Eisler and his wife, Mrs. Brunhilda Rothstein Eisler, were interviewed by representatives of INS in June, 1941. At that time Eisler produced a visa to pass through the United States, which visa had been issued by Myles Standish, American Vice-Consul, Marseille, France.

Other individuals interviewed in New York City and Washington, D. C., including references, neighbors and social acquaintances and fellow employees, were unable to furnish any other pertinent information concerning Standish's loyalty and character. Comments by these individuals concerning his character and loyalty ranged from unknown to excellent.

Reports to CSC, November 3, 1949; to State Department, October 26, 1949.

Disposition

"Investigated under P. L. 402. Not processed under E. O. 9835." - Letter from Loyalty Review Board February 3, 1950.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-11-85 BY SP/STP/bce

IRVING ROBERT WECHSLER  
AKA "Wex"  
Applicant  
Voice of America Program

Background  
Wechsler was born on July 28, 1912, at Newark, New Jersey.

Basis for Investigation

Irving Robert Wechsler was investigated under the Voice of America Program. [redacted] b7D

Results of Investigation

Confidential Informant T-1 [redacted] advised that Donna Phillips, aka Donna Victory Phillips, Mildred Wechsler Phillips, Deanna Wechsler Phillips, a sister of Irving Robert Wechsler, was Secretary of the Workers Alliance Party at Tuttle, Oklahoma. T-1 advised another Government agency that Donna and her husband, George Alfred Phillips, attended Commonwealth College, Meigs, Arkansas, and both attended the National Communist Convention held in New York City in 1940 as delegates from Tuttle, Oklahoma.

Confidential Informant T-3 (Oklahoma City Police Department Subversive Files) advised that Donna and George Alfred Phillips were members of the Red Dust Players, which informant described as a local Communist theater group.

On December 8, 1948, the Pittsburgh Office of the FBI received an anonymous letter dated December 8, 1948, alleging that Irving Wechsler is totally disqualified for Government service but that Wechsler is not a Communist Party member but "held strong left wing views." The writer of this anonymous communication has not been identified.

In his application filed with the State Department on November 27, 1943, Wechsler listed as references, Lanchlin B. Currie and Just Lunning. Confidential Informant T-2 (anonymous, a reliable informant known only to the Washington Field) advised that a party was given by Allan Rosenberg on May 25, 1945, in honor of Just Lunning. Mary Jane Keeney and her husband, Philip Olin Keeney, attended this party. Mary Jane Keeney T-1 (Elizabeth Bentley, reliable) advised that Allan Rosenberg was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C., and New York City in the early 1940s. Confidential Informant T-3 (Mary Van Casteel, reliable) identified Mary Jane Keeney and her husband, Philip Olin Keeney, as Communists in the late 1930s and early 1940s. On June 9, 1949, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities Philip Olin Keeney refused to answer whether or not he is or has been a member of the Communist Party. At the same hearing Mary Jane Keeney denied being a member of the Communist Party but admitted entertaining Gerhart Eisler, an admitted Communist. Confidential Informant T-1 advised that Lanchlin Currie orally furnished Abraham George Silverman with information on various matters vital to the security of the United States. T-1 stated that Silverman was a member of the Communist Party in the early

123-4161

Class #3

A. B. Eddy:hw:ees

1930s and was involved in a Soviet espionage conspiracy in Washington, D. C., and New York City in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

The Communist Party and Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, have been cited by the Attorney General as within the purview of Executive Order 9835.

Neighbors, references and associates regard Wechsler as loyal.

Reports furnished State Department January 23, 1950.

Disposition

No disposition received in file.

IV. CASES IN WHICH MEMBERSHIP  
IS REPORTED IN ORGANIZATIONS  
CITED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WHICH ARE NOT RELATED TO  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-25-81 BY sp2ep/ka



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-25-85 BY SP2/af/bce

GEORGE ALFRED TESORO  
aka Giorgio Luciana, Giorgio Luciani,  
Giorgio A. Tesoro, Giorgio A. Tesoro,  
Giorgio Luciani, Giorgio Luciana  
Economist, Employee  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Background

Tesoro was born February 6, 1904, at Rome, Italy. Tesoro first came to the United States in 1940 and was naturalized April 8, 1946, at Baltimore, Maryland, Certificate No. 6508992.

Basis for Investigation

Washington T-1 (CSC) advised that George Alfred Tesoro had been a member of the Fascist Party when he resided in Italy.

Results of Investigation

Eleven persons advised that Tesoro had to belong to the Fascist Party while in Italy in order to hold his position at the University of Rome. For this reason they believed that he belonged to the Fascist Party. Each of these persons stated that they do not consider Tesoro pro-Fascist or pro-Communist at the present time and that they believe him to be entirely loyal to this country. Eight of these persons stated that they would testify. Seven additional acquaintances of Tesoro advised that they know that Tesoro belonged to the Fascist Party while in Italy or that Tesoro told them that he was a member of the Fascist Party at that time. Each of these persons stated that he considers employee loyal. Six of these individuals stated that they will testify. A representative number of other persons interviewed stated that they consider employee loyal.

Reports to CSC May 6, 1948; to Department March 24, 1949.

Disposition

"Retained" September 20, 1948. No criminal prosecution by Department June 13, 1949.

121-2667

Class # 3  
R.L.MILLARD:hw:mjt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-25-85 BY 921/llc

APPLICANTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9-25-81 BY SP2/BJ/6ca

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
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STATEMENT  
of  
206  
60

March 24, 1950

M E M O R A N D U M

RE: Documents of the Bureau of Corporations

President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909 forcibly and successfully resisted the acquisition by the United States Senate of records of the Executive Departments of the Government and thereby established an unequivocal policy in relation thereto.

On January 4, 1909 the Attorney General was directed by a Senate resolution to advise whether legal proceedings had been instituted against the United States Steel Corporation on account of the absorption by it of another corporation and to advise his reasons for non-action if in fact there was none.

Thereafter, on January 6, 1909, President Roosevelt in a special message to the Senate stated the Attorney General had advised him there was insufficient grounds for legal action against the Steel Corporation.

The Senate thereafter being unable to secure documents from the Attorney General in regard to this matter summoned Herbert Knox Smith, Head of the Bureau of Corporations before it and ordered him to produce certain papers and documents under penalty of imprisonment if he refused. Mr. Smith reported this to President Roosevelt who ordered him in writing to turn

~~62-91923-45~~  
121-23278-97

the papers over to him.

President Roosevelt then declared he had the papers and that the Senate should not have them; that his impeachment would be necessary in order to get the papers and that he had so informed Senator Clark. He said the Senator had told him that the Senate wished to exercise its prerogatives but if the papers were of such a nature they should not be made public then the committee was ready to endorse the President's views. President Roosevelt stated "Some of these facts which they want, for what purpose I hardly know, were given to the Government under the seal of secrecy and cannot be divulged, and I will see to it that the word of this Government to the individual is kept sacred." (The Letters of Archie Butt, Personal Aide to President Roosevelt, by Abbott, pages 305-306.) See also *The President--Office and Powers*, by Corwin, pages 281 and 428.

is rather a time for stern rebuke of such antics and outspoken support of the distinguished public servants against whom they are directed.

"Henry L. Stimson

"Huntington, L. I., March 24, 1950"

Senator Tydings. Thank you, General.

Have you any questions, Senator Green?

Senator Green. No questions.

Senator Tydings. Senator Hickenlooper, have you any questions?

Senator Hickenlooper. Yes, I would like to ask a few questions.

General McGrath, you have made it clear that you in your authority over your Department will not give this subcommittee access to the loyalty and investigative files in the specific list of names that have already been requested.

Attorney General McGrath. I am prevented from doing so by the President's executive order. I speak in this regard for myself. The President has not directed me to turn over the files, and only on a presidential direction would I do so.

Senator Hickenlooper. I am referring to your statement. I do not want to labor this point, but I am merely stating my conclusions. On page 5, near the bottom, and it is all through there, through several pages, you refer to these precedents on which refusal has been made, and I take it

now that that is your position.

Attorney General McGrath. Yes, sir.

Senator Hickenlooper. Do you take the position, General McGrath, that the turning over of these files to a subcommittee of the Senate which has made no suggestion that under any circumstances it would attempt to make any part of these files public, is considered a substantial risk, that the integrity involved is such that the risk would be great of surreptitious disclosure of the contents of those files?

Attorney General McGrath. The risk can be one of degree, depending on the type of committee, of course. The thing that is important is to not break the principle, because when the principle is broken for one committee there is no way that you can refuse other committees of the Congress. The executive offices of the Government are not in a position to judge between the integrities of members of varying committees that may be appointed by the Congress from time to time.

Senator Hickenlooper. Do you know how many clerks and other minor officials have access to these confidential files in the Department of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or agents or others who are employees?

Attorney General McGrath. I will say this. Mr. Hoover is here and he can answer that question, but I will say this to the Senators, that even the top officers of the Department



Washington, D. C.  
Kass Building  
Franklin A. Steinko

have very rarely, if at all, ever seen the files, the raw files, of the Bureau of Investigation. When we want information from those files we request it of the Bureau and it is given to us in memorandum file, and we never go near the raw files because we hold them in such sacred trust.

Senator Hickenlooper. There are, nevertheless, people in your Department who can have, if occasion demands it in your judgment, access to those files.

Attorney General McGrath. Anyone can have access to the files that Mr. Hoover will permit to see the files or the Attorney General may direct that they be seen.

Senator Hickenlooper. Mr. Hoover is subordinate to you in the Department of Justice, is he not?

Attorney General McGrath. Yes, he is.

Senator Hickenlooper. Therefore your orders to him would be controlling in his official actions, would they not?

Attorney General McGrath. I don't think I would give Mr. Hoover any orders. I think we would counsel together and I am sure we would come to the same conclusions.

Senator Hickenlooper. I understand your relationships are very cordial. I am asking a question with regard to the technical flow, the chain of command. If you issue an order in your official capacity to him in his, it would be his duty as a subordinate department within your department to obey that order, would it not?

Attorney General McGrath. I believe it would be, and I believe Mr. Hoover would obey it.

Senator Hickenlooper. I have no doubt he would.

Now then, may I ask you this: Do you consider the turning over of certain specific files for confidential information, without any proposition of making those files public, to a subcommittee of, for instance, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, to be a hazard and a risk of publicity of those files that exceeds the hazard and risk of publicity of subordinate employees in the Federal Bureau of Investigation or in other departments of your Department which might have access to them?

Attorney General McGrath. I am not going to pass judgment on the integrity of this committee or any other committee of Congress. I say that there is great risk involved in breaking the principle that these files should not be made available.

Senator Hickenlooper. General McGrath, let me ask you this question: Do you know whether or not confidential investigative files have ever been turned over for access to congressional committees and for examination by congressional committees?

Attorney General McGrath. I think I may say with certainty that the raw files have never been turned over. There have from time to time been submitted to committees

reports prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicating the information that may be contained in the files.

Senator Hickenlooper. Are you aware whether or not the Judiciary Committee of the Senate has for a number of years requested and received investigative reports, especially in the case of Federal judges, from the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Attorney General McGrath. It does with the authorization of the President and the approval of the Attorney General. That is quite a different situation. When a man presents himself for the favor of a presidential appointment to the judiciary of the United States, we feel that he should be willing that that be done, and that no damage can come to him. He should be willing to have the committee which passes on his qualifications for this lifetime job see his file. In that instance an exception is made and the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee is permitted to see a summary of the file as prepared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, not the raw file. Never the raw file.

Senator Tydings. Do I understand you to say that in the case of these judges the raw file is not turned over, only a summary of what is in the file?

Attorney General McGrath. That is correct.

Senator Hickenlooper. In pursuing that just a step

further, by the "raw file" I take it you mean the file containing the actual names and identification, for instance, of all informants; in other words, the complete background of all information.

Attorney General McGrath. I mean by the raw file everything that the Department has on the subject of an investigation goes into the file--the notes of the interviews, statements that are made by those that are interviewed, exhibits, all such material as that goes into what we call the raw file. These raw files in some instances run into many volumes and into many filing cabinets.

Senator Hickenlooper. But in the summary of these files, which may or may not contain actual names of informants, for instance, all of the information in the raw file is presumably digested for the information of those who examine the digest and the report.

Attorney General McGrath. It is evaluated, yes, and put into a narrative form.

Senator Hickenlooper. And do you know whether Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate have on occasion been given access to the investigative files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Attorney General McGrath. Not to my knowledge. I have no knowledge that that is so.

Senator Hickenlooper. General McGrath, I notice in

your statement that there runs through it consistently in the precedents "resisting the turning over of investigative files or summaries of these files". By the way, I take it that your objection would go just the same to turning over the summarization of the files, as is customarily done, for instance, for the Judiciary Committee. Your objection would go just the same to turning over a summarization of the files by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to this subcommittee?

Attorney General McGrath. I think the situation is different here than it is in the case of the Judiciary Committee considering the life appointment of a Federal judge. My objection runs to turning over a summary of the file.

Senator Hickenlooper. I say this without any declaration one way or the other, but it is entirely possible that there are occasions when the very lifeblood of this country depends upon certain information which may be acquired in proper places, as well as the lifetime appointment of a judge.

Attorney General McGrath. Such a situation could arise and the President has the power to make an exception if he sees fit to do it.

I was going to suggest that we are probably covering some ground that may be the subject of the Director's testimony, and while I am merely suggesting to you that Mr. Hoover be permitted to make his statement and I shall be glad to answer any questions after that, I only make that suggestion in the

interest of probably saving some time, as he in discussing the procedures of his Department may have the answers to some of these questions.

Senator Hickenlooper. I have just a few other questions, but then other members of the committee may want to question the General, and I do not want to take an undue amount of time at this time.

Senator Tydings. Proceed in any way you wish, but I would like to say Mr. Hoover will testify immediately following General McGrath, and many of the technical things Mr. Hoover could perhaps answer in more detailed fashion than General McGrath. Whatever way you wish to proceed will be proper.

Senator Hickenlooper. Especially with reference to the matter I was mentioning a moment ago, about the confidential nature of the receipt of information in these files, at the bottom of page 8 you again emphasize as follows: "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."

Attorney General McGrath. That is correct.

Senator Hickenlooper. I merely emphasize that because so much of the objection to this has been bottomed on the fact that this subcommittee is going to take the files and disclose what is in the files.

Washington, D. C.  
Attorney General McGrath. This committee has requested access to the raw files and it has requested the right of its staff members to go into its files, and that we very strongly object to.

Senator Hickenlooper. May I ask you this: If the subcommittee modified its request and said "We want to have delivered to us for our examination the customary and standard summarization of the raw files, such as is ordinarily made up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for these various groups", would that change the picture any?

Kass Building  
Attorney General McGrath. It doesn't to my mind. I would like you to direct that question to Mr. Hoover after he finishes his statement.

Senator Hickenlooper. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not a constitutional department, isn't that true? It was, that is, created by an Act of Congress? It has a longer history than that, but it is now operating as a result of legislative recognition?

Attorney General McGrath. It is part of the Executive Branch of the Government.

Franklin A. Steinko  
Senator Hickenlooper. And it gets its authority as a result of statute at the present time?

Attorney General McGrath. The same way that the Department of Justice gets its authority. It was created by an Act of Congress.

Senator Hickenlooper. Could the Congress abolish the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its activities, do you believe?

Attorney General McGrath. Yes, it could, and it could abolish the Department of Justice if it wishes to.

Senator Hickenlooper. Could it abolish the Civil Service Commission by an Act of Congress?

Attorney General McGrath. Yes, it could.

Senator Hickenlooper. Do you hold that the Congress can direct the duties and the activities of departments and agencies which it has the authority to set up?

Attorney General McGrath. Congress can make the laws that govern the executive agencies. The President administers those laws.

Senator Hickenlooper. And, for instance, I take it that you agree that Congress in setting up an agency, or a department, even though Congress may elect to put that department under the Executive Branch of government for convenience of administration or for other purposes, has the right, in the law that sets up that department, to prescribe the duties of that department which it creates?

Attorney General McGrath. It can prescribe them within the limits of the Constitution. If it creates an executive agency it must leave it to the President to administer that agency. It can not keep it within the Legislative Branch. If

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko



Washington, D. C.  
the Congress wished to create a Bureau of Investigation that was part of the Legislative Branch of Government, I suppose it could do that, if it would justify its need as an aid to the functions of the Legislative Branch. It has not seen fit to do that, however. It has created an independent agency in the Executive Branch, and therefore, under the Constitution the power of administration passes on to the President.

Senator Hickenlooper. Do you consider that Congress in setting up an agency of government can require that agency to make reports to Congress periodically?

Kess Building  
Attorney General McGrath. It can go to some extent. It can not go to the extent which is indicated here by your request for files of this kind. I think that would be decided by the courts to be an encroachment upon the executive function. I think such an attempt would be struck down.

Franklin A. Steinko  
Senator Hickenlooper. Do you believe that Congress could create an investigative agency and in the Act creating it say that it shall investigate and inquire into certain activities of individuals and businesses and make periodic reports to the Congress, meanwhile putting that agency in the Executive Department for administrative purposes?

Attorney General McGrath. No. If it puts it in the Executive Branch, then it can not require it to give its reports to the Congress unless the President sees fit to permit it. If the Congress wishes an agency of that kind, it can

establish it as part of the Legislative Branch of Government, and then the Executive has no control over it whatsoever.

Senator Hickenlooper. Then I take it that the reports of the Immigration Service and of the Federal Communications Commission and all of the rest of the agencies of government that are required by law to make periodic reports to the Congress are being made only at the sufferance of the President, according to your view?

Attorney General McGrath. The President could make a finding that it was not in the public interest in a particular instance to make those reports available and prevent them from being made. He would have to make that finding, however. It is not reasonable to suppose that a President is going to make a finding in matters of that kind. He has to reach the conclusion that the making of a particular report is or is not in the public interest.

I may remind the members of the committee that the Congress itself is pretty jealous of its prerogatives. Only two weeks ago one of the Federal courts issued a subpoena to the House of Representatives to produce the minutes of a meeting of a committee of the House of Representatives, and the committee politely refused to submit to the subpoena, and sent word to the court that the Judicial Branch of the Government had no control over the Legislative Branch, and indeed I am sure the committee of the House of Representatives was correct.

Senator Hickenlooper. Well, I don't care to argue that point, particularly. I call your attention to the fact that these federal agencies that we have been referring to have been created by the Congress and their duties have been prescribed by the Congress. The Congress was not created by this Federal court, and it does not get its authority nor its power from the Federal Court.

Attorney General McGrath. Once Congress conceives them and brings them into being, they take on a different character. Once Congress is through with the law creating them, they then pass to the control of the Executive, and they are from thence forth part of the Executive Branch of the Government, which is quite independent of the Legislative Branch.

Senator Hickenlooper. I suppose that the legal interpretation of that would have to rest with the courts anyway, and I do not care to burden you with further discussion on this matter.

Attorney General McGrath. I think the courts have been passing on that for 150 years, and there isn't a dissent that I know of.

Senator Hickenlooper. I think that there is very excellent argument that does not quite sustain your position, but then there is argument that can be used to sustain it also.

It is a close question, and I think this particular question has never been squarely passed on by the courts. But

I merely wanted to get the position of your Department firmly fixed as to your Department's rejection of the request of this subcommittee for a delivery of either the raw files or, wanting that, the summarized files, which are not so-called raw files of the Department.

I believe that that is all the questions I have.

Senator Tydings. Senator McMahon, have you any questions?

Senator McMahon. I have a question or two for the Attorney General, but I would prefer to ask him after Mr. Hoover finishes his testimony.

Senator Tydings. Will you remain with us until Mr. Hoover finishes his testimony, Mr. McGrath?

Attorney General McGrath. I certainly will.

Senator Tydings. Senator Lodge, have you any questions?

Senator Lodge. Yes, I have one.

Senator Tydings. Go ahead.

Senator Lodge. Have the raw files ever been made available to a court?

Attorney General McGrath. In the Coplon case. I think perhaps Mr. Hoover can answer that. No request has ever come to me since I have been Attorney General for a raw file, but Mr. Hoover has had twenty-five years' or more experience in these matters, and he probably would be able to answer your question.

Senator Lodge. I wondered if there was any inconsistency

between their making the raw file available to the court and not making it available to the Congress.

Washington, D. C.  
Attorney General McGrath. If it was made available in the Coplon trial, and I am not sure that it was, it would have been done with the consent of the President via the Attorney General. I happen to know there were considerable differences of opinion as to whether the Government should have made as many files available in that case as it did. Whether it was the complete raw file or not, I don't know.

Kess Building  
Senator Lodge. Your statement applies only, does it not, to FBI files, and not to State Department files or Civil Service files?

Franklin A. Steinhilber  
Attorney General McGrath. Oh, yes, Senator. I have nothing to do with the files of the other departments, except that we would object to your securing those files if they contained our FBI reports, which I think they do, because the FBI is the agency that does all of the investigating for the loyalty program. We would have no objection, of course, to your obtaining the personnel files of any department. We have no objection to your obtaining the Civil Service Commission files on employees, so long as those files contain no part of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's work.

Senator Lodge. Thank you. That is all.

Senator Tydings. Mr. Hoover, will you rise and hold up your right hand?

Do you solemnly promise that the evidence you shall give in this case as outlined in Senate Resolution 231 shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Hoover. I do.

Senator Tydings. Take a seat, sir.

Before you begin testifying, Mr. Hoover, I want to take this occasion to thank both Attorney General McGrath and you, sir, for accepting my invitation to come up here today and give your personal viewpoints on the matter that is pending before this committee.

Senator Hickenlooper. Mr. Chairman, just before Mr. Hoover testifies, I was handed a memorandum at the door as I came in from Senator McCarthy's office. It is as follows, on his stationery:

"MEMORANDUM

"TO: Senator Bourke Hickenlooper

"FROM: Senator Joe McCarthy

"I would appreciate it very much if you would inform J. Edgar Hoover that I deeply regret that I shall be unable to hear his testimony this afternoon because of the fact that I am completely and inescapably tied up with the preparation of material which I expect to present on the Senate floor tomorrow.

"I am sure that Mr. Hoover will understand that my absence under the circumstances does not even remotely indicate any

lack of interest in his testimony. I shall obtain his testimony at the earliest possible moment for careful study.

"Will you also inform Mr. Hoover that I shall greatly appreciate it if he will have one of his agents available when I address the Senate tomorrow so that I may turn over to him documents in the Lattimore case which I consider of some importance. Thank you.

(Signed) "Joe McCarthy"

Mr. Hoover. That request will be complied with.

Senator Tydings. Mr. Hoover, will you proceed in your own way? We will not interrupt you.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE J. EDGAR HOOVER,

DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. Hoover. In the twenty-six years 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 confidence. 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 Federal Bureau of Investigation, because it does maintain confidences, has been able to develop valuable sources of information which have a direct bearing on the internal security of the nation. I need refer only to the government witnesses who testified in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders in New York last summer. Seven of these witnesses risked their lives as undercover employees of the FBI.

The question of opening the files of the FBI involves a grave matter of principle. In taking the position that the files of the FBI should remain inviolate I would not, of course, presume to discuss files other than those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

These files contain complaints, allegations, facts, and statements of all persons interviewed. Depending upon the purpose of the investigation, 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.



Washington, D. C.  
Kass Building

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 and to 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.

Franklin A. Steinhilber

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 in 1909, the late President Theodore Roosevelt said:

"Some of these facts. . . . were given to the Government under the seal of secrecy and can not 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 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.

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko

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 be 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 through 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

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinfink

Washington, D. C.  
opportunity to later give their explanation, the fact remains that truth seldom, if ever, catches up with charges. I would not want to be a party to any action which would "smear" innocent individuals for the rest of their lives. We cannot disregard the fundamental principles of common decency and the application of basic American rights of fair play in the administration of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Kass Building  
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.

Franklin A. Steinko  
FBI reports set forth all details secured from a witness. If those details were disclosed, they could become subject to misinterpretation, they could be quoted out of context, or they could be used to thwart truth, distort half truths, and misrepresent facts. The raw material, the allegations, the details of associations and compilation of information in FBI files must be considered as a whole. They are of value to an investigator in the discharge of his duty. These files were never intended to be used in any other manner and the public interest would not be served by the disclosure of their contents.

In taking this stand, I want to reiterate that 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

Washington, D. C.  
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, however, be derelict to my duty, untrue to my conscience, and unworthy of my trust if I took any other position.

Senator Tydings. Thank you, Mr. Hoover.

Senator Green?

Kase Building  
Senator Green. Mr. Hoover, there has been a good deal of evidence, although no direct statement, to the effect that the process of screening these respective individuals is entirely inadequate. Will you give the committee a description of what screening is done from the bottom up?

Mr. Hoover. Do you mean in these loyalty cases? Are you referring to those?

Senator Green. Yes.

Franklin A. Steinko  
Mr. Hoover. In the loyalty cases the procedure which is followed is for the Civil Service Commission to send to us various loyalty forms of the employees of the Government. Those forms are first searched in the files of the FBI against the names, what we call the name file, and if under <sup>IN the</sup> ~~the~~ name <sup>check</sup> index there is found any reference to subversive activities, or activities of a disloyal character, that loyalty form is

returned to the Civil Service Commission with the notation that an investigation has been opened. If there has been no disloyalty information developed from that check, the notation is made "No disloyal <sup>DATA - FBI FILES</sup> ~~information ascertained.~~"

In the first group of cases, those upon which we find subversive activities, we initiate a full field investigation. A case is sent out to <sup>our appropriate</sup> ~~the respective~~ offices ~~where the man lives or the employee lives~~, and ~~various~~ information is developed as to his background, <sup>etc.</sup> ~~predicated upon these~~ allegations which are or may already be in the files of the FBI. Those reports are sent in to the Bureau and are there reviewed.

The report as you see it in the Bureau, the working file or the raw file, will contain the identity of all informants, the source of the information it has been received from, the method by which it has been received. That report is then digested ~~and reduced to a so-called summary or an analysis of the file,~~ and ~~in turn~~ transmitted to the Civil Service Commission <sup>with Administrative details AND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES REMAINING IN OUR FILES</sup>

In the cases where informants are willing to appear and testify, their identities are set forth. In cases where they do not wish to have their identities disclosed, <sup>they are</sup> ~~it is~~ designated by a <sup>Symboh.</sup> number.

I may say for your benefit, Senator Green, that that procedure of not disclosing the informant was not my decision, it was the decision of the Presidential Loyalty Review Board, and they decided that the identities would be kept confidential

Washington, D.C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko

in those cases in which the informant desired that there was anything to be kept in such confidence.

These reports upon a particular case go to the Civil Service Commission. They in turn, I understand, refer them to the agency of the Government in which the employee is at the time assigned, and that agency will review those reports and the Loyalty Board will in due time have a hearing and accord the employee the opportunity to be present with counsel and to answer such questions and charges as the Board may prefer. If they desire any agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to appear at those hearings to testify as to matters of which the agent may have first <sup>hand</sup> knowledge, and not hearsay, <sup>informative</sup> agents have appeared and so testified.

Then the employee, if he is found to be disloyal under the Presidential directive, has a right of appeal to the Presidential Loyalty Board. That is a very general statement. There are a lot of minor steps I skipped for brevity purposes.

Senator Green. That is a rather elaborate course of screening.

Mr. Hoover. Yes, I would say it is a rather elaborate course of screening.

Senator Green. Is it a course which you would say was easily adopted?

Mr. Hoover. I think it was the most practical program that could be adopted at the time it was adopted. Maybe there

Washington, D. C.  
Kass Building  
Franklin A. Steinko

are a few kinks in the program that could be ironed out. The President has at all times been studying that. I know very recently he requested the Attorney General and myself to offer any suggestions or views that would be of assistance toward improving or tightening that program. We have given earnest consideration to that. I think all in all it was a very fair procedure.

In the early stages of the loyalty program, Senator Green, there was a great hue and cry on the part of some of these pseudo liberals that it was a so-called "thought control" or "thought policing". It has been found after checking over 2,000,000 loyalty forms that there have been very few abuses, if any, that have actually taken place, either in the investigating or the hearings that have been reported, and in the investigations where there was some minor slip, corrective measures have been, of course, taken.

I think it has worked very well and I think that is the consensus of the better thinking members of the press who have had an opportunity to view it and observe it first hand.

Senator Green. I thank you very much for that statement, because I think it will restore confidence on the part of a great many people where it has been somewhat shaken.

Senator Tydings. Senator Hickenlooper?

Senator Hickenlooper. I notice again in your statement, as I noticed in the Attorney General's statement, a repeated and



continued emphasis upon the opening of files for public disclosure. It has never been my thought as a member of this committee, and I have heard no mention on the part of the sub-committee, that any of these files were to be opened by this committee for public disclosure. Also, the question of so-called raw files has come up in the Attorney General's statement.

As you stated a moment ago, I believe that you either symbolize or give reference by number to the source of information on the part of those people who do not like to have their names disclosed.

Mr. Hoover. That is correct, and when we submit that report to the Civil Service Commission in the loyalty cases it is a summary of the files <sup>investigation</sup> in the Bureau.

Senator Hickenlooper. A great many of your reports adequately serve the purpose when they are in fact summaries of all the information which you have gathered about an individual, is that not the case?

Mr. Hoover. I would assume that that is the case. We have had very few complaints about it.

Senator Hickenlooper. Are you aware of loyalty files that have been made available to individual members of Congress or to Congressional committees of either the House or the Senate?

Mr. Hoover. By whom?

Senator Hickenlooper. FBI reports or files.

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko

Mr. Hoover. By whom? Just a minute. Who made the files available to members of Congress? Not anybody in the FBI ever made them available.

Senator Hickenlooper. I did not ask about the individual. I said, are you aware of any occasions when FBI investigative files have been made available by anybody to Congressional committees or to individual members of Congress?

Mr. Hoover. I am not aware of any loyalty reports being made available <sup>to</sup> ~~by~~ any committee <sup>by</sup> ~~or~~ any agency or any individual in the government, because there is a direct Presidential directive prohibiting it. I know in so far as the Federal Bureau of Investigation is concerned, no confidential reports of that Bureau have ever been made available to anybody.

Senator Hickenlooper. What is the situation about the Senate Judiciary Committee in connection with the investigation of Federal judges?

Mr. Hoover. In connection with the Senate Judiciary Committee, there is again a so-called summarization of a file. The raw file is not made available to the committee, by reason of the fact as the Attorney General has explained this afternoon, that there is a different principle involved in making available to a committee passing on the qualifications for confirmation of a man to a judicial post than there is involved in this over-all problem of internal security.

Senator Hickenlooper. Do you consider that problem more

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko

important than the question of making available information to a committee that is trying to investigate alleged subversive activities which may go to the heart of the national defense or our whole national security?

Mr. Hoover. I am not endeavoring to evaluate which is the most important or which is the least important, Senator. I am stating to you that as Director of the Bureau, in the years I have been Director I have consistently urged the Department not to yield access to these raw working files or to the summaries in the internal security cases. I can be overruled in that opinion by the Attorney General or the President. Up to the present time the Attorneys General have supported that and the various Presidents have supported that position. I think there is a great difference between an active file; a file that is in question before this committee upon which this committee was seeking access to the records is an active working file in current investigation. I do not think that file should be made available to you.

Senator Hickenlooper. In the event this committee made it clear that what the committee was seeking was an accurate summarization of the active working file, rather than the active working file itself--

Senator Green. May I draw my distinguished colleague's attention to the fact that we were directed to obtain by subpoena, if necessary, and examine, the complete loyalty and

Washington, D. C.  
employment files and records of government employees in the Department of State, and so forth? Nothing was said about summaries.

Senator Hickenlooper. Getting back to the question that I was asking you, Mr. Hoover--

Mr. Hoover. I will answer the question, Senator, that I would certainly recommend to the Attorney General that any summarization not be made available to the committee in an active internal security case, for the very reason that even though we summarize the file, the person reading that summary could very readily draw certain conclusions and deductions therefrom as to where the information might have been obtained. It might be to the embarrassment of informants, and again it is a matter of principle and one of degree. I have the utmost respect for this committee <sup>and</sup> ~~or~~ for its integrity, but if we yield in this one case we break a precedent that will plague the Department and certainly, I think, materially interfere with the efficient operation of the FBI in future years to come. Other committees will ask for it. It is entirely within the realm of possibility, maybe not probability, that there might be a committee in which we would not have the same confidence we have in this committee. There have to be certain principles set and adhered to or the floodgates will be opened.

Senator Hickenlooper. May I ask you, Mr. Hoover, a question I asked the Attorney General, which he said you were

Washington, D. C.  
Kass Building  
Franklin A. Steinko

better qualified to answer, and I believe that is true. How many clerks and stenographic personnel and other people have access to the information, or at least substantial parts of the information, that are contained in these files, by way of compilation?

Mr. Hoover. I would say, Senator, that there would be probably not more than half a dozen. That would be a maximum number, a half dozen employees of the Bureau who would have access to the entire, whole working file. There are many clerks who will file certain papers into a certain file and will make an index card, but the file is restricted to requests from a particular supervisor or supervisors who are supervising that case, and from the Assistant Director in charge of that division and myself. The file is not allowed to be examined by any clerk or employee just for the purpose of curiosity.

I may also say, Senator, that each one of those employees of the Bureau has been thoroughly investigated as to their integrity, their loyalty, and as to their security risk, and we have never had a leak from those files. I don't mean to infer that any committee on the Hill or any of its staff may be not as good a security risk as our employees, but I do not know whether they have been investigated, I do not know whether they have been checked as thoroughly as our people, and again, as I say, the danger of a leak from the Bureau--and I do not

say it is beyond the possibility of a leak in an organization that has 10,000 employees, but to date we have never had that occur to us.

Senator Hickenlooper. I might suggest, Mr. Hoover, that there are at least two or three members of this committee, I think, that have had access to a great many files. The Senator from Connecticut and I have had access to many files of the Atomic Energy Commission that are investigative files. I believe the Senator from Maryland has had access to certain files and information, and I do not believe any of us as a result of that have leaked any information. I do not know about Senator Green or Senator Lodge.

Senator Tydings. Just for the record in case there is a leak, the Senator from Maryland has not read any of these summaries, purposely.

Mr. Hoover I want to make it very clear that I am not insinuating any lack of security on the part of this committee. As I tried to treat the point in my statement, it is a matter of principle, and if we yield in this particular request of this committee, which probably has members equally secure as any high officials in Government, you are setting a precedent and opening a floodgate that is going to plague the Department of Justice and materially interfere with the security work of the FBI.

Senator Hickenlooper. I an understand your zeal, Mr.

Washington, D. C.

Kase Building

Franklin A. Steinko

Hoover, in the inviolate protection of your files and your investigative procedures. But I do want to observe that this committee has been specifically charged with investigating certain allegations and charges. It is beyond my conception as to how this committee can investigate the subject matter of the individuals charged, in their own interest and in the interest of the public, now that the charges have been made, if we are denied and have the door shut in our faces on information, pro or con, which is officially in the hands of the Government, but which we cannot see and which we can not use in evaluating the merits or the demerits of this investigation. That is the impasse to which we seem to have come, and I would be the last one- I am not perhaps the last one; I do not mean to discredit anyone else. There are a great many other people that would defend the integrity of your files and the integrity of your investigative system to the utmost. I am perfectly willing to do that. But I am anxious for someone to tell me how I can discharge my responsibilities as a member of this subcommittee when I do not have access to information in the hands of the Government upon which to make up my own independent judgment as to the merits or the demerites of these charges. That is the impasse that confronts me as a member of this committee, and I personally feel that there is not only no intention, but no possibility, of any disclosure of specific information in any of these files that would be made

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko

by this subcommittee unless and until full consultation and agreement with the proper authorities had been later had that such disclosure was all right.

Mr. Hoover. I agree with you in that conclusion. On the first I can not give you any assistance, as to how to break that impasse.

Senator Hickenlooper. I sadly agree that you can not give me any assistance on that.

Senator Tydings. I am going to defer to my colleagues in asking questions and save mine until the last, but I would like to ask you one question about something you have touched on with reference to judges.

I would assume that one reason these summaries of the FBI files are made known in the case of an applicant for appointment to be a United States judge, whether it be for one of the lower United States courts or the highest, would be predicated on the fact that once he has assumed office, he can not be gotten off the bench except by death, retirement, or impeachment, whereas in the case of all other individuals who work for the Government who are not elected, they can be discharged or released without that situation requiring impeachment. Is that one of the reasons, in your opinion, for this exception to what might be called the strictness of the FBI in not disclosing the files?

Mr. Hoover. I think the Attorney General can answer that



probably better than I.

Washington, D. C.  
Kass Building  
Franklin A. Steinko

Attorney General McGrath. It goes beyond that. The applicant for the job knows in advance that the FBI is going to make an investigation and the results of that investigation are going to be made known to proper officials. He is in a much different position when he seeks that position than is the non-innocent or innocent employee who is suddenly subjected to an investigation of his personal affairs without any desire on his part so to be investigated. I think that makes a big difference.

Senator Tydings. Furthermore, the judge sits with the power of life and death in many cases of the the citizens of the community, and I am reminded that after the Punic Wars, when Solon was commissioned to write the laws for ancient Greece, for the first time he gave the people the right to vote only for the judges who would sit upon their crimes and misdemeanors, for the reason that that is one thing above all others that must have every security thrown about it, and if people elect their own judges, obviously they must have confidence in their integrity, and that was the reason that was done.

Attorney General McGrath. May I say to you that the record of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department with respect to prosecution of all those against whom sufficient evidence has been secured is a splendid one, but

Washington, D. C.  
Kass Building  
Franklin A. Steinko

this is not the time to discuss that undertaking. There are facts built up from day to day that this committee is not aware of as a whole, and it may be before you conclude the work of this committee I should like to come back and review with you everything that has been done in this field by the Department of Justice, because I think it is a splendid record. That record is so good that if any member of the United States Senate thinks there are a lot of spies running around the United States, if he will tell us their names and a little information, we will soon bring them to justice.

Senator Tydings. Thank you.

Senator McMahon?

Senator McMahon. When was the loyalty program commenced, Mr. Hoover?

Mr. Hoover. In 1947, I think.

Senator McMahon. And under it all of the 2,000,000 employees of the Government have been checked?

Mr. Hoover. About 2,300,000 now, I think. That is, all of them have had a name check against the files of the Bureau. Of course they have not been investigated except in disloyal cases.

Senator McMahon. Can you tell us by whom this loyalty program was initiated?

Mr. Hoover. Originally the President named a committee, headed by Mr. Vanech, Assistant Attorney General of the

Department of Justice, and upon that committee was Secretary of the Navy Sullivan and Under Secretary of the Treasury Foley and representatives of various other branches of the Government, who conferred at great length and made recommendations to the President as to the procedures to be followed in this particular program. Then there was a consultation with the appropriate committees of the House for the granting of the appropriations on it.

Senator McMahon. I remember there was about a four months' delay before the money was appropriated after the program was formulated, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. Hoover. I think that is correct. The committees of the Congress gave it very careful study before the money was appropriated. I appeared before several of them on the House side.

Senator McMahon. Mr. Attorney General, you have just stated you do not consider it appropriate at this time to give us a review of the Department's work. I shall defer to your opinion as to its suitability at this time. It does seem to me, however, that since it is in this committee that charges have been made which have tended to shake confidence in the diligence of the Government's pursuit of wrongdoers, that it would be proper for you to briefly review some of the activities of the Department. I have in mind the eleven Communists in New York; I have in mind the successful

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko

Washington, D. C.  
prosecution of Alger Hiss; I have further in mind the prosecution of Mr. Bridges. I do not know whether that case is successfully concluded. And also of those persons who were in contempt of the committees of Congress for refusing to answer questions concerning their Communistic affiliations.

I do not wish to press you on it, but those thoughts do occur to me, and it did seem appropriate to me that this was a place and a time in which proper reference to them could be made. However, if you feel that you wish to come back again, I do not press it.

Kasa Building  
Senator Hickenlooper. Mr. Chairman, I might say for the benefit of the Attorney General that there are a number of questions collateral perhaps to his statement today that I would like to discuss with him. I refrained from asking those questions because his statement was confined to a certain limited area, and if the matter is to be opened up I merely wanted to say that I would have a great many questions to ask.

Franklin A. Steinko  
Attorney General McGrath. Senator Hickenlooper, that is exactly what I meant when I said I didn't think that it was appropriate today. We are here to discuss one question, the question of these files. But there is a very splendid story that ought to be known, because I think it would give confidence to the members of Congress, I think it would give confidence to the public at large.

I may say that there is no instance in which the Federal

Bureau of Investigation has completed a report involving disloyalty or subversiveness and referred it to the Attorney General where court action has not been instituted. And you may add to those you suggested that it was Mr. Hoover's organization that got the leads which resulted in the capture and arrest and conviction of Mr. Fuchs. Today we were successful in the prosecution of the Dennis case. We have a splendid record, and I think the country is entitled to know it, but I do not believe that while we are here to discuss this question of records that I ought to impose on the committee to talk about these matters, and I would like to come back at some future time and talk to the committee about what has been accomplished and to answer any questions that Senator Hickenlooper may have with respect to these matters.

Senator Tydings. Senator Lodge, have you some questions?

Senator Lodge. Yes. There is one point that I think ought to be definitely elucidated for the record. Let me say I think you made a very convincing exposition of your reasons for not setting a precedent, and for what you describe as a matter of principle. I think I heard you say that these raw files had not been made available to anybody. I think I am quoting you correctly.

Mr. Hoover. That is correct.

Senator Lodge. That prompts me to ask the question. Has the raw file not been made available to the courts in certain

cases?

Mr Hoover. There has been one instance ~~of~~ last year where certain very limited portions of the raw file were made available to the Court in the Coplon case. <sup>Certain Reports</sup> ~~That was~~ sealed for examination by the Judge in the last trial in New York City <sup>IN THE</sup> ~~of~~ Gubichev and Coplon <sup>CASE.</sup> In the trial in the District of Columbia there was introduced into that trial certain copies <sup>of Reports</sup> that had been forwarded to the Department of Justice, and abstracts had been made <sup>From Them</sup> ~~of it~~ by Judith Coplon, and were found in her possession at the time we arrested her in New York City.

That again showed the evil of making certain portions of that available to the Court, because in those files, just one or two reports taken out of a file of maybe 5,000 reports, there were mentioned the names of certain individuals. The President of a New England University was mentioned, and there were other very prominent people mentioned, upon whom there was cast an aspersion of subversive activities which had never been established or verified ~~or carried out~~ by the FBI, because we were not investigating that particular subject. Those reports were introduced in the court at the direct ruling of the Judge who presided, Judge Reeves in that case, and it was over the objection of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice representatives. That is the only case I know of.

Washington, D. C.

Kass Building

Franklin A. Steinko

Senator Lodge. The Attorney General did not make the raw file available?

Mr. Hoover. He did not make the whole file available. He made available only the <sup>Reports made</sup> files she had reference to in the trips in the District of Columbia. In the New York case there was made available for the Judge <sup>old Reports</sup> that file, as you know, and sealed for the Judge, for the examination of certain information obtained by wire tapping, in order that the Judge might determine whether that evidence had been used on which the case was predicated. The Judge ruled it had not been.

Senator Lodge. Did you approve of those two instances?

Mr. Hoover. I did not.

Attorney General McGrath. May I say that the decision in the Coplon case had to be made by the Attorney General as to either producing those files or dismissing the case against her and against Mr. Hoover's recommendation, the Attorney General who is to proceed with the case made information from the file available under such restrictions as we could secure from the court.

Senator Lodge. Is it true that when those files were made available they were made available for public disclosure?

Mr. Hoover. The portions of it that were made available in New York City were sealed. The Judge- Judge Ryan I think presided in this case--those reports were sealed and he examined them in chambers. He did have some discussion, I think,

Washington, D. C.  
with both the prosecuting United States Attorney and defense counsel. They were not made available in open court. The particular portions were sealed for the examination of the Court.

Senator Lodge. Were not parts of the raw file put in in the Washington trial?

Mr. Hoover. There were portions of the raw material that had been used in the Washington trial that were printed in the papers. On the excerpts that were made, the Court ruled that that whole portion of one report that she had abstracted had to be introduced for the information of the Court.

Senator Lodge. That was the only part that was available?

Kass Building  
Mr. Hoover. The raw file in that case I think ran to ten or twelve thousand pages, and all that was produced was twelve or fourteen <sup>Hundred</sup> pages, to my recollection.

Franklin A. Steinhko  
Senator Tydings. If you will allow me to pursue one or two questions, in your prepared remarks, on page 2, I see this sentence in the middle of the second paragraph: "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." Then this: "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 and to United States



Attorneys." In other words, I imagine when you think you have completed a file and have made out a case that violates any of the laws of our country, that file is then sent by you automatically to the Attorney General or the United States Attorneys, wherever the jurisdiction may lie, for proper action by the courts.

Mr. Hoover. Not the raw file. There is what is called a summary report, <sup>made</sup> and from the raw file <sup>AND</sup> there will be withheld from that report the sources and other confidential information that we do not desire to disclose.

Senator Tydings. I did not mean to say the raw file. What I meant to say, you say "We have completed the case; the evidence is there, and we send the summary for you to work with."

Mr. Hoover. That is correct.

Senator Tydings. You do not need to answer this unless you want to, but I can see no harm in it. I would assume that if you have not sent a file forward in any particular case, it would be for the reason that the case itself does not show such a conclusive state that you could forward it to the proper agencies for legal action.

Mr. Hoover. That would be, I would say, Senator, in about 98 or 99 percent correct; for this reason do I reserve the two percent. There are cases which we bring to conclusion in which we may have direct evidence of a violation of law,

but for purposes of carrying on a so-called bringing into the ring it is not forwarded at that time. I recall the days of the Duquesne case at the beginning of the last World War in New York City, where we had one or two men at the very beginning that we were certain had violated the espionage statutes. We held that case back for eighteen months. When we went to trial we had thirty-three defendants, all of whom were convicted.

Senator Tydings. So that, except for the exception that you first enumerated, in each case where you feel you have gathered sufficient evidence you forward it then to the proper legal authorities for such action as is necessary.

Mr. Hoover. That is correct, Senator.

Senator Tydings. And there would be no completed case in your files showing a breach of any of the government's laws except for the reason you have given, that you would withhold it.

Mr. Hoover. That would be correct.

Senator Tydings. Thank you very much, Mr. Hoover.

Senator McMahon. There is one additional question I would like to ask.

Mr. Hoover, on the first page of your statement you say, at the bottom, "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."

I assume that your feeling, however, would go to the files of other government departments that contain your reports?

Mr. Hoover. We have a very definite understanding with the other governmental agencies that no reports of the FBI which are sent to them, whether it be loyalty reports or reports on security of the War, Navy, Interior or Treasury, can be released by that agency upon request from any source without first clearing with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and if there is any question in my mind as to the propriety of it, I submit it to the Attorney General.

Senator McMahon. That clears that up.

Senator Hickenlooper. Just one question that occurred to me that I do not think I quite followed up. I would like to ask Mr. Hoover this question. We were discussing the case of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate receiving summaries on Federal judges. Are you aware of any other instances where summaries developed by the FBI have been turned over to other committees of Congress?

Mr. Hoover. In the Atomic Energy cases that has been done by reason of the very unusual, and I think very satisfactory, procedure which we worked out for having a Joint Committee of Congress, <sup>Created</sup> ~~under the law~~ of Congress, having very

definite responsibility for the checking of the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission. In that instance the Attorney General approved the requests that were made for making available to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy the summary reports in some of those cases. In each instance, however, they inquire of the Bureau as to whether there is any reason why this report should not be released at that particular time. There may be a current investigation going on, in which event we would not want it released.

Senator Hickenlooper. In those cases it is my understanding in connection with the Atomic Energy Commission that the FBI claims no supervision or dominion over any files once the file that is in the Atomic Energy Commission has actually gone into the custody of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. Hoover. We do not claim high priority or interest in the file. We do claim a right to <sup>be advised</sup> ~~have it cleared with us~~ if any portion of the file which they have received from the Federal Bureau of Investigation is to be made available.

Senator Hickenlooper. I see.

Do you know of any other committee of Congress which has been given access to summary files developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation other than the Atomic Energy Commission?

Mr. Hoover. I think in the case of the Committee on

Expenditures last year or the year before, headed by Senator Ferguson, there were certain ~~summary~~ files made available to that committee at the direction of the Attorney General in connection with the Kansas City election fraud causes. That is the only other instance I can recall that any files were made available. They have not been made available to the Appropriations Committees of either House of Congress.

Senator Hickenlooper. Or any other committee of the House or Senate?

Mr. Hoover. So far as my knowledge goes, no.

Senator Hickenlooper. That you know of.

Senator Tydings. I would like to thank you, General McGrath, and you, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, both for coming up before us at our invitation and conferring on the matter before us.

In the event the Chairman may be absent for several days this week, I have designated Senator Green to act as Chairman so as not to delay the work of the committee.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 o'clock p.m. a recess was taken until 10:30 o'clock a.m. of the following day, Tuesday, March 28, 1950.)

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DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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