U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

March 5, 2021

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.
SUITE 1203
27305 WEST LIVE OAK ROAD
CASTAIC, CA 91384-4520

FOIPA Request No.: 1410023-001
Subject: 121-HQ-23278

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

The enclosed 407 pages of records were determined to be responsive to your subject and were previously processed and released pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Please see the selected paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request as well as the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- In an effort to provide you with responsive records as expeditiously as possible, we are releasing documents from previous requests regarding your subject. We consider your request fulfilled. Since we relied on previous results, additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your 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.

- Please be advised that additional records responsive to your subject exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you must advise us that you want the additional records processed. Please submit your response within thirty (30) days by mail or fax to—Work Processing Unit, 170 Marcel Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, fax number (540) 868-4997. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence. **If we do not receive your decision within thirty (30) days of the date of this notification, your request will be closed.**

- One or more of the enclosed records were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession.

  If this release of the previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may file a FOIPA request with NARA at the following address:

  National Archives and Records Administration
  Special Access and FOIA
  8601 Adelphi Road, Room 5500
  College Park, MD 20740-6001

- Records potentially responsive to your request were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), and they were not previously processed pursuant to the FOIA. You may file a request with NARA using the address above.

☐ One or more of the enclosed records were destroyed. Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) , Title 44, United States Code, Section 3301 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1228; Title 44, United States Code, Section 3310 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1229.10.

☐ Records potentially responsive to your request were destroyed. Since this material could not be reviewed, it is not known if it was responsive to your request. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) according to Title 44 United States Code Section 3301, Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Chapter 12 Sub-chapter B Part 1228, and 36 CFR 1229.10.

☐ Documents or information referred to other Government agencies were not included in this release.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **"Part 1"** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **"Part 2"** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records about yourself or any third party individuals. **"Part 3"** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the 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.

If you are not satisfied with the Federal Bureau of Investigation's determination in response to this request, you may administratively appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP's website: https://www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of my response to your request. 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). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at ogis@nara.gov; telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing 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,

Michael G. Seidel
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

(i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.

(ii) **Intelligence Records**. To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

(i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.

(ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

(iii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

Part 3: General Information:

(i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A standard search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include references, administrative records of previous FOIPA requests, or civil litigation files. For additional information about our record searches, visit www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records.

(ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.

(iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative "FBI file." An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.

(iv) **National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private Citizens cannot request a name check.

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.

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**

FBI Best At Sifting Loyalty: Tydings

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

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

Sees Harm Done Abroad

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

Current hearings before the Senate committee, Senator Tydings declared, have harmed the United States in European countries where the Marshall plan is doing so much to prevent the spread of communism.

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

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

Warns Of Bomb Doubts

Senator Tydings warned his audience that it was foolish to think that Russia did not have the atomic bomb and is not working hard on the hydrogen bomb. He is chairman of the Armed Services Committee and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

He said it was his belief that the navy plane lost over the Baltic was landed in the water by its ten-member crew to prevent the Russians from salvaging the plane to study its secret equipment.

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

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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

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

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

By Bert Andrews

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

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

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

1. That the Loyalty Review Board decided at a secret meeting on April 3 to limit its investigation of the individuals named by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin.

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

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

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

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

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Thursday, April 27, 1950
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awaiting a new loyalty hearing, to technical details, were discussed.

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

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

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

Part of the minutes say:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other points decided were:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The minutes on this point read:

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

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Impostor Witnesses

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

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

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

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Exploited by Extremists

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

By Doris Fleeson

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

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

Doris Fleeson.

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

Boundless Ambition.

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

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

One of the party's major figures paid a little noticed visit to the Capital recently. He strongly condemned Senator McCarthy's tactics which he feels gravely injure the country but admitted that not all his associates took that view. Republicans, he went on, had never had the fight they must have to determine where they stand. He said that so far they had always at the last moment glossed over their difficulties but they could not get away with it again and should not, even if they could.

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

Lineup After Primaries.

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

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

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

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

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Those Loyalty Files

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

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

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

Just what are these files and what do they contain?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Bureau

State Dept. Accused Of 'Gestapo' Tactics

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

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

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

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

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

"Misinformed," He Says

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

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

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

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

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

Closed Session Today

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

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

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

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

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

Said Leader to Appear

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brewster's Description

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Caller Cited

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Confident" of Confirmation

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

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

This Crawford did.

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

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

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

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

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

Pervert Quiz to Link More, Wherry Says

By WILLARD EDWARDS

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

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

Lodge Promises Probe

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

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

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

Predicts More Resignations

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

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

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

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Budenz to Be Heard

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Crawford Offered Names

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

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

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

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

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

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Memo 5-1-50 Mr Coad to Director Impersonation of FBI Agents by State Department Investigators. — Senate Inquiry pertains to this article! Handled by Bartlett in correlation with OBE.

5/2/50 Memo. State advising that they cannot clear statements of Sen. Lodge, etc.

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

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Truman Answer To McCarthy Due In Talk Tonight

Acheson Denounces Charges as 'Mad, Vicious and Filthy'

By Robert K. Walsh

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

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

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

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

McCarthy Promises Reply.

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

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

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

Committee to Meet Today.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acheson Backs Loyalty Program.

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

"The wrong way," he continued, "is to smear everybody's reputation to make charges on the basis that if one is not right you try to find another one you hope will stick; to try to destroy the confidence of the people in their foreign office and in their Government in one of the most critical hours of the Nation's history."

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

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

Browning Poem Recalled.

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

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

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

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

Denies Plea for Sympathy.

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

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

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

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

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

"It tolls for thee."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Regaining the Offensive

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

By Doris Fleeson

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

Doris Fleeson.

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

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

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

Wins His Audience.

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

He had not spoken long before he knew he had his audience. Suddenly to his own astonishment, the dignified Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, heard himself crying out: "Pour it on, Mr. Secretary!"

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

Foreign Service Hurt.

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

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

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

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McCARTHY'S 'NEW LOOK'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That, too, is whistle-stop stuff.

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

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

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

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

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Communist Activities in the State Department

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Capital Times
Madison, Wisconsin
4-21-50

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
APR 26 1950
MILWAUKEE FIELD OFFICE
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Is J. Edgar Hoover A Spy?

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

To this, McCarthy made this brilliant reply:

"The senator knows full well that the director of the FBI has no authority whatsoever to call the attention of the public to things which are in his files."

In other words this man Hoover cares more for his job than he does for his country.

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

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

CLIPPING FROM:
OMAHA, WORLD-HERALD
DATED APRIL 11, 1950
OMAHA, NEBRASKA

NOT RECORDED
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Today's News . . J. E. Hoover Finds Regrets

Duke Shoop in the Kansas City Times

Washington—When an economy-minded House appropriations committee gives a Government agency all the additional money it asks and recommends a salary raise for its head besides, there must be a reason.

Such is the story today of J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, now in his twenty-sixth year as boss of the G-men. Without any doubt Hoover today is enjoying the greatest prestige of his life-time career as a public servant and can just about have anything he wants from Congress. His few congressional enemies, who in peace time thought the FBI had too much power, are now singing the agency's praises and are in the lead to give the FBI anything it wants.

* * *

The House committee is ready to vote four million dollars in additional funds with which to hire seven hundred more FBI agents. They would help reduce the backlog of almost 14 thousand pending security investigations. Hoover's 16-thousand-dollar salary would be increased to thousand dollars.

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

* * *

Hoover never holds press conferences and seldom appears in public. It can be revealed, however, that he regrets the McCarthy spy hunt and would rather talk about the Government's success in prosecuting Harry Bridges, Alger Hiss and Judith Coplon, or the capture of Dr. Klaus Fuchs.

* * *

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

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

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

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

* * *

When in a relaxed mood Hoover is one of the most charming men in public life. He thinks and talks with trip-hammer precision and speed, so well is he able to express his thoughts. He makes a point of difference between some one who is accused of being a foreign agent, and of one of doubtful security risk and one who is accused only of disloyalty.

Hoover places considerable emphasis on what he terms "appraisal by association." He explains that if a man is known as a "bad character," any one seen with him runs the risk of getting a bad reputation. He alluded to his early youth when his parents told him "one is juged by the company he keeps." Hoover says undoubtedly many persons who associate with persons of questionable loyalty to the United States or with persons who are "bad security risks" actually are not Communists or Communist sympathizers, yet the mere fact of this association lays them open to suspicion.

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

The FBI director feels the general public does not understand his reluctance to surrender FBI files on security cases. Two types of danger are involved, he explains. One is that injustice may be done to individuals. FBI files contain unsifted allegations. They also contain names of persons other than those who are subjects of investigation—persons who may well be completely innocent of wrongdoing.

* * *

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

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Senate Subcom. re CIO
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State Dept

More Witnesses Listed by McCarthy To Support Charges

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

By Cecil Holland

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

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

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

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

Will Give Names to Counsel.

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

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

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

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

Called in Lattimore Case.

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

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

urning from Afghan... ...itly denied the charges in a public appearance before the investigating committee and said that any one swearing he is or has been a Communist would be guilty of perjury or worse.

"Evidence in the Lattimore case," Senator McCarthy said to-

(See COMMUNISTS, Page A-6)

Communists

(Continued From First Page.)

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

Notes Tydings Statement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Senators' Protection

By Marquis Childs

Immunity And Discipline

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

Childs

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

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

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

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

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

"No man ought to have the right to defame others under the color of a performance of the duties of his office. And if he does so in the actual discharge of his duties in the Congress, that furnishes no reason why he should be able, through the medium of the press, to destroy the reputation and invade the repose of other citizens. It is neither within the scope of his duty nor in the furtherance of public rights or public policy. Every citizen has as good a right to be protected by the law from malignant scandal and false charges and defamatory imputations as a member of Congress has to utter them in his seat. If it were otherwise, a man's character might be taken away without the possibility of redress, either by the malice or indiscretion or overweening self-conceit of a member of Congress."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Gauntlet for Truman

President Could Answer McCarthy By Backing Inquiry into China Lobby

By Doris Fleeson

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

Doris Fleeson.

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

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

Symington Action Recalled.

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

There can be no doubt that the harvest of an investigation of the China lobby would include rad[illegible] faces among the Democrats. They are the party in power and the Chinese have naturally looked to them for what is euphemistically called in Washington legal advice.

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

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

Connally's Quip.

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

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

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

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

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Communists In The State Dep[illegible]

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THESE DAYS

By George Sokolsky

MY DEAR SEN. TYDINGS:

I recall that when Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to purge you, you stood up and fought and licked him. That was a grand fight and you showed yourself to be an independent man.

I have culled your record and find nothing in it that would ever have led me to believe that you would permit yourself to be used, for any reason whatsoever, to protect a gang of mugwumps who have brought our beloved country close to disaster.

Some say that you are, in a manner, protecting your father-in-law, "Mission to Moscow" Joe Davies. I do not believe it.

THE pseudo-intellectualism of Joe Davies, the playing at being a liberal, the ostentatious yacht, the entertainment of repulsive Reds and Pinks, and much else that we need not discuss here, must be offensive to you as a man of good taste.

The fact is, however, that the committee which you head and which bears your name is not doing its work in accordance with the resolution of the Senate or even in accordance with propriety. You are not getting down to bed rock. What your committee seems to be attempting to prove is that Sen. Joe McCarthy is a crazy bum.

You were not, in the first place, appointed to do that. You were appointed to investigate the infiltration of Communists in the State department. Secondly, even if you succeeded in ridiculing Sen. McCarthy, it would not change the situation.

DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT, back in 1934, was made to appear ridiculous, but the Hiss trial in 1949 proved him to have been right.

The Dies committee was made to appear ridiculous, but its files and indices are today the most valuable record the country has in a tough period.

Rep. George A. Dondero was made to look ridiculous when he fought to keep the "Amerasia" case alive, but we now know, five years later, that he was right.

SEN. BRIDGES was attacked for his criticisms of the State department China policy, but what he said has been proved by the course of events.

Rep. Nixon was called a headline hunter, but he did produce the pumpkin which sent Alger Hiss to his destiny.

I tell you that what Sen. McCarthy is shouting about has substance. You might silence McCarthy, but you cannot destroy the substance of his argument.

WHY should you, of all people, even try to do such a thing?

May I make a suggestion to you?

1. All this trouble starts with the organization of the Harold Ware Communist cell in Washington in 1934. I have written much on it, but I have not scratched the surface. If you really want to know what has happened in the State department, go about it systematically. Start with the Harold Ware Communist cell.

2. Then go to the "Amerasia" case. Call General William Donovan, Archbold van Beuren, Frank B. Bielaski, J. Edgar Hoover, Myron Guernea, Frederick Lyon, Robert M. Hitchcock, Donald Anderson, and Philip J. Jaffe, Kate Mitchell, John S. Service, Emmanuel S. Larsen, Andrew Roth and Mark Gayn.

YOU cannot convict those guilty of espionage because of double jeopardy and the statute of limitations. But if your committee does an honest job, they will fall by perjury and contempt.

I know much about the case, but I assure you that what I know is a pittance compared to what you will discover by a proper and systematic investigation.

May I suggest to you that you can have the assistance of the OSS and FBI men, who are outraged that their difficult and risky work, in a major espionage case, has gone by the board.

Make a thorough investigation of our China policy, noting the change of personnel from experts to amateurs in the State department, beginning about 1937 and running to this day. Also move into the Treasury to discover how we wrecked China's economy before we ditched the Nationalists politically.

Investigate the work of Charles Kramer and Harold Glasser and see where you arrive.

This is a major operation that I am suggesting and one that will serve America. It will also serve you, for Americans will then know you for what you are—an American first of all.

Respectfully yours,

George E. Sokolsky.

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Joseph R. McCarthy

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FBI - CHARLOTTE
APR 8 1950
Bureau

The Daily Advance

Published Every Evening Except Sunday
At Elizabeth City, North Carolina, by
The Advance, Inc.
EDWIN MOSS WILLIAMS, President

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—BY MAIL
In Albemarle (in advance)—One year, $7.00. Six months $4.00. Three Months, $2.25. One Month, 80c. Outside the Albemarle: One Year, $10. Six Months, $6.50. Three Months, $3.50. One Month, $125

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Members: Associated Press, AP Features, Audit Bureau of Circulations, Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, Newspaper Enterprise Association, North Carolina Press Association.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1950

Mr. Nease

Truman Right In Stand

President Truman has announced from his Florida vacation spot that FBI files will not be yielded up to the Senate committee searching for spies in Government circles. In that decision he is backing up Attorney General Howard McGrath and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover. That decision is correct for two good reasons.

In the first place it is sound constitutional policy that Congress shall not have the power to subpoena the confidential papers of the executive branch. President Truman, as chief executive, is responsible for the functioning of the agencies under his control. Selection of his subordinates often involves inquiries of the most involved and delicate nature. So do all policy decisions. If the President is to have no privacy in his relations with the legislative branch, then obviously the power and the prestige of the office is thereby diminished.

In the second place the FBI cannot function efficiently if its informants are disclosed under the spotlight of such a probe as Senator Joseph McCarthy is now conducting. The public airing of raw FBI worksheets would spatter the reputations of innocent people. It is intolerable, under the American system of justice, that mere allegations or suppositions in an investigative report be treated as proven testimony. Yet if the FBI reports were bandied about, used as political ammunition, the effect would be to damage the individuals concerned beyond hope of redress.

No doubt the records would disclose some interesting facts about certain persons but the President cannot afford to risk the safety of the entire Nation and the reputations of innocent persons simply to provide scandal material for those who are not satisfied unless they are attacking somebody's reputation.

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Charges to Boomerang, Harriman Predicts

New York, April 5 (U.P.)—ECA Ambassador W. Averell Harriman predicted today that charges by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.), that the State Department is Communist-infested, will "boomerang."

"Mr. Truman's vigorous statement helps to offset the damage that was done," Harriman said on his arrival by plane from London. Nevertheless, McCarthy's charges caused some confusion.

"My impression is that the people didn't believe it, and wondered what was back of it. When a man like Phil (U. S. Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup) is attacked it naturally makes people wonde what the United States position is.

"I am satisfied that this is going to be a boomerang for McCarthy. There has been a lot of talk about people who are traitors from McCarthy. As long as we are talking of traitors, I wonder what he is going to do? It might be well to ask who has the interests of the United States most at heart—Phil Jessup or McCarthy?"

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Communists in the State Department

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Protecting His Sources

If Senator McCarthy has received information from State Department employes or other vulnerable sources in support of his accusations, he is justified in refusing to identify his informants. The Tydings subcommittee does not contend otherwise, and it is unlikely that any one else will quarrel with the Senator on this point.

It ought to be obvious, however, that Senator McCarthy's reasoning does not apply only to his informants. The people who have given information to the loyalty boards or to the FBI are just as much entitled to the protection of anonymity, where there is risk of reprisals, as are those who have talked to the Wisconsi Senator. This point is well illustrated by th Senator's refusal to let the subcommittee hav certain affidavits which had been submitted to him. He said that the people who signed those affidavits did so reluctantly, and on the express condition that they would be given only to the FBI. Of these people, as well as others who have come to him, Senator McCarthy declared: "Their confidences I shall hold sacred."

Good enough. But what about others who have gone to the FBI in the firm belief that they could give information to that agency in strict confidence? Many of those people also fear reprisals if their identities should become known. Yet Senator McCarthy has demanded that those files be made available to the subcommittee, and has said that the President is "arrogant" because he refused to comply. By what process of reasoning does he arrive at the conclusion that his informants, and his alone, are entitled to full protection?

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McCarthy Charges Echo Pamphlet By Hate-Peddler

By STEPHEN FISCHER

A blue-print of Sen. Joseph McCarthy's campaign to discredit Owen Lattimore and the State Department was published in pamphlet form on the eve of the current Senate investigation by Joseph Kamp, New York publicist who has a long record as a peddler of hate propaganda, an anti-Semite, and a hero of pro-fascists.

"America Betrayed!" is the title of the pamphlet written by Kamp, who heads the Constitutional Educational League.

Kamp's methods, strategy, and top targets are identical with McCarthy's. He promises big revelations, then slowly waters down his charges until nothing is left but a nasty impression and guilt by association.

Like McCarthy, Kamp's prime targets are President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson. One man, Kamp wrote, "completed the ruin of China and assured the triumph of Russian Communism . . . Dean Acheson—once a lawyer for the Soviet government."

Like McCarthy, Kamp pleads for opening of the loyalty files.

Like McCarthy, Kamp attempts to pin a red label on all who have ever been critical of Chiang Kai-shek.

And like McCarthy, Kamp singles out Lattimore, Ambassador Philip Jessup and John Stuart Service. Service returned from India last week to answer McCarthy's accusations.

Chiang Kai-shek, Kamp says, has always been "unswervingly loyal to American interests."

The victory of the Chinese Communists, Kamp holds—in words almost identical with McCarthy's, was made possible by Communist agents active in the U. S. State Department for the past 17 years.

"Actually, if Joseph Stalin himself had written the directives which the State Department has followed in China since 1941, they could not have served Russian interest more directly," he declares.

President Roosevelt, President Truman, Gen. Marshall and Vice-President Henry Wallace were all dupes of Communist agents, Kamp insists.

The orange jacket of "America Betrayed," cries out—like McCarthy—that it will name "more than 100 Reds in the State Department."

But a quick reading of its 64 pages reveals that the word "Communist" is used directly in describing only a few convicted persons, such as Alger Hiss and Judith Coplon, or dead men such as Harry Dexter White and Lawrence Duggan.

The big exception to this pattern—just as in McCarthy's charges—is Lattimore. In an early page, Kamp says that while a number of American Communists worked against Chiang openly:

"The real work for Russia was carried on by cleverer men such as Alger Hiss, Harry White, Owen Lattimore and Lawrence Duggan who moved respectably in non-Communist circles, and who affected a post of disinterested 'Liberalism.'"

Like McCarthy, Kamp blames Acheson for stopping military aid for Chiang last Fall when, he asserts, the Nationalists might still have been saved.

"In this moment of national revulsion," the phamplet says, "one man stood firmly and insolently against any change—and by his insistence, he completed the ruin of China and insured the triumph of Russian Communism. That man was Dean Acheson—once a lawyer for the Soviet Government . . .

"Instead of sending help, Acheson commissioned the old Institute for Pacific Relations wheelhorse, Philip S. Jessup, to compile a White Paper which was one continuous tirade against Chiang."

Near the end of his pamphlet, Kamp lists 55 names, but carefully fails to accuse them of being Communists. The Senate Committee, he says, should demand the loyalty files of these persons "now in the State Department or who were in the State Department during the period in which U. S. interests were being betrayed to Communism."

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Senators to Act After Stalemate In Red Dispute

Democrats Oppose Lodge Plan to Set Up Inquiry Commission

By Cecil Holland

A Senate subcommittee today scheduled a closed meeting to consider means of breaking a stalemate in its investigation of charges of communism in the State Department.

The meeting, at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon, will consider what steps

Text of Asia Memorandum Released by Lattimore. *Page A-3*

to take since President Truman has instructed Government officials to ignore the investigating committee's subpoenas for loyalty files.

The subcommittee headed by Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland also will consider the refusal of Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, to turn over to it material which he claims will support his charges against Owen Lattimore, widely-known Far Eastern expert.

Senator McCarthy has charged that Mr. Lattimore is Russia's top spy in this country and has exercised a vital influence in shaping American policy in the Far East. Mr. Lattimore has hotly denied the charges and will reply to them in a formal appearance before the Investigating Committee Thursday morning.

The subcommittee is investigating Senator McCarthy's charges that the State Department has harbored Communists and fellow travelers.

Lodge Proposal Opposed.

Other developments included:

1. Democratic leaders expressed opposition to a proposal by Senator Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, a member of the investigating subcommittee, to turn the inquiry over to a non-partisan commission of 12 members. Senator Lodge made the proposal in a Senate speech yesterday and said the present inquiry is causing "mounting damage" to American position abroad.

2. United States Ambassador Philip C. Jessup described as a "misstatement of fact" Senator McCarthy's accusation that he was in charge of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations when the organization received donations from a man described by the Senator as an admitted Communist.

3. Mr. Lattimore released a confidential memorandum given the State Department seven months ago, advising "maximum flexibility" of American policy in the Far East and counseling against "premature or excessive strategic deployment." The report was made public after Senator McCarthy threatened to release it if the State Department did not do so.

Contempt Citations Demanded.

The investigating subcommittee's afternoon meeting turned largely on Republican demands for contempt citations against officials refusing to release the loyalty files on persons accused by Senator McCarthy.

However, Chairman Connally of the full Foreign Relations Committee said he doesn't believe the committee or the Senate would vote for citations against Secretary of State Acheson, Attorney General McGrath and Chairman Harry B. Mitchell of the Civil Service Commission. The three officials have been instructed by President Truman to ignore the Senate subpoenas for loyalty records.

Senator Brewster, Republican,

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of Maine, who is not a member of the investigating Committee, said the Senate will be in the position of "backing down" if no contempt proceedings are ordered. In ordering the investigation, he pointed out, the Senate gave the committee subpoena power for obtaining loyalty files.

Committee to Discuss Move.

Senator Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican floor leader, said the Senate Republican Policy Committee will discuss at a meeting tomorrow whether the contempt proceedings ought to be pushed.

Equally tangled was whether the committee could get at the McCarthy material which the Wisconsin Republican has turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and has refused to give to the investigating group.

Senator McCarthy has said he does not want to expose his source of information—the same reason given by the FBI for not releasing its information.

Senator Tydings hinted there may be some way of forcing Senator McCarthy to turn over this material in the Lattimore case. But it appeared that Senator McCarthy could ignore a subpoena since he would have congressional immunity.

Recheck of Cases Ordered.

As an alternative to letting the Senate group look at the loyalty files, President Truman has ordered the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board to recheck the cases of about 85 persons accused by Senator McCarthy of being security risks in the State Department.

Chairman Tydings said that Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the board, would be asked to give the committee a report tomorrow on this study.

Ambassador Jessup quickly countered Senator McCarthy's charges regarding the donations to the Council with which he was connected.

The Wisconsin Senator had demanded that Secretary Acheson have Dr. Jessup explain the acceptance of $3,500 donations in 1942 and 1943 from Frederick Vanderbilt Field, described by Senator McCarthy as a Communist.

University Head Chairman.

Dr. Jessup, a top adviser on political affairs and matters in the Far East, said he was not chairman of the council during the years Senator McCarthy reported the donations were received.

The chairman, Dr. Jessup added, was Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California. He said the men on the council "would never have accepted payments from Mr. Field or any one else for selling the Communist Party line," and added:

"Neither would I, if I had been in control."

Senators Tydings, Connally and Lucas, the Democratic leader, said it would be impractical to turn the present investigation over to the commission proposed by Senator Lodge.

"I think Senator Lodge should have made the proposal when the matter was first up in the Senate—not when we are half way through the investigation," Senator Tydings said.

McCarthy Backs Plan.

Senator McCarthy backed the proposal despite the fact that Senator Lodge in presenting it said that thus far there had been no proof to support the McCarthy charges. This apparently included the Lattimore case on which Senator McCarthy has said he was willing to let his whole case stand or fall.

"Anything would be better than the committee we now have," Senator McCarthy said through a secretary at Bethesda Naval Hospital where he is undergoing treatment for a sinus condition.

Senator Hickenlooper, Republican, of Iowa, a member of the investigating subcommittee, said he would support the commission idea only if it becomes impossible for the group to get the files.

Taft Against "Whitewash."

Senator Taft, Republican, of Ohio said he could see no reason for naming a commission as suggested by Senator Lodge unless President Truman would agree in advance that it could see the files denied the Senate committee.

"I don't want one if the commission is to be just a whitewash commission," he declared.

Senator Taft refused to comment on a statement at Cleveland by Henry Miller Busch that Senator Taft is the "man behind the McCarthy probe." Mr. Busch is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the seat now held by Senator Taft.

Mr. Lattimore's appearance before the committee was postponed from today until Thursday and he worked in seclusion on his reply to the McCarthy charges. He already has described them as "an unmitigated lie" and said they were made "falsely, irresponsibly and libelously." He plans to confer with his lawyers soon on a possible slander suit against the Wisconsin Senator.

Accuses McCarthy.

He said yesterday he was releasing the confidential memorandum because Senator McCarthy "in typical fashion is seeking by insinuation and concealment to spread some of the poison of which he has an inexhaustible supply." He explained that he had planned to make it public when he appeared before the committee. The State Department had taken the position that it could not release the document since it had been solicited in confidence.

The report contained advice that the United States should abandon support of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and avoid entanglements in Korea.

"If there is to be a war," the memorandum stated, "it can only be won by defeating Russia, not Northern Korea or Vietnam or even China. If there is to be a long peace, the primary factor in making peace possible will be a stablization of relations between the United States and Russia."

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Public Loyalty Probe 'Harm' Hit By Lodge; New Method Urged

McCarthy's Charges Declared Unproved; Lattimore Releases Note; Jessup Replies

(Lattimore Text on Page 9.)

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

The present method of publicly investigating charges of disloyalty is causing "mounting damage" to the United States position at home and abroad, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R., Mass.) declared yesterday.

He proposed that it be replaced with an inquiry into Communist infiltration in the State Department by a 12-man, nonpartisan commission, a sort of American equivalent to a B[illegible] "Royal Commission."

So far, Lodge added in a Senate address, the Senate subcommittee investigation of Senator McCarthy's (R., Wis.) charges "shows clearly" that none of his accusations has been proved.

Memorandum Released

His statement came on the heels of a release by Owen Lattimore, chief target of McCarthy's charges, of a memorandum on Far Eastern policy that he sent to the State Department last fall. It warned against "premature or excessive strategic deployment" by the United States in the Orient.

It said that if war comes, "it can only be won by defeating Russia—not Northern Korea, or Viet Nam, or even China." The major aim of United States policy in the Far East, the memorandum continued, should be to convince the nations there "that they can get along with the United States and with the countries of western Europe."

"To put it another way," the memorandum continued, "the aim of United States policy should be to enable the countries of the Far East to do without Russia to a maximum extent. This is a much more modest aim than insistence on and organization of hostility to Russia; but it is an attainable aim, and the other is not."

McCarthy in Hospital

The memorandum was made public by Lattimore's lawyers after a demand for it had been made earlier in the day by McCarthy.

The Wisconsin Republican, who has claimed that Lattimore is a "top Soviet espionage agent," a Communist, and the "architect" of American Far East policy, insisted on the disclosure in a statement he issued from the Bethesda Naval Hospital. He is undergoing treatment there for sinus trouble.

The statement implied, fairly bluntly, that Secretary of State Acheson was lying when he recently minimized the State Department's contacts with Lattimore. Actually, McCarthy said, [illegible]

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more had been requested to send in a memorandum for the guidance of Acheson and Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup, about to depart on a Far East mission.

Threatened Release

If the State Department did not make that memorandum public, McCarthy's statement said, he would be compelled to do so.

McCarthy went on to say that although Acheson said he thought he had never met Lattimore he was nevertheless reported by Drew Pearson to have arranged a 30-minute meeting between Lattimore and President Truman. This was just before the Chief Executive departed for the Potsdam Conference.

Later, Lattimore said he had met with Mr. Truman, but that Acheson had not arranged the session. He emphasized that he did not know Acheson.

Meantime, Jessup himself reentered the fray yesterday to set aright a "misstatement of fact" made by McCarthy in his Senate speech last Thursday.

Brandishing two photostats of checks, McCarthy said that Jessup, while controlling the Institute of Pacific Affairs, accepted a $3500 from Frederick Vanderbilt Field, admitted Communist and wealthy "angel" for several pro-Red publications. The allegation was that Jessup was "publishing the Communist Party line for a fee."

Jessup's reply:

First, in 1942 and 1943, when the donations were made, he had ceased being chairman of the American Council of the IPR. He was only a trustee, among about 50 others.

Sproul Headed Council

Next, "At that time, Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California, was chairman of the American Council of the IPR; Mr. Francis Harmon was treasurer, and Mr. William R. Herold, now president of the International General Electric Co., was chairman of the finance committee.

"During that period, Mr. Juan Trippe, president of Pan American Airways, and Mr. Henry Luce of Time and Life were sponsors of a drive for funds in behalf of the American Council of the IPR.

"Surely these gentlemen would never have accepted payments from Mr. Field or anyone else for 'selling the Communist Party line.' Neither would I if I had been in control.

"These contributions, according to Senator McCarthy's own figures, total only $3500 as compared with total expenses for the two-year period of approximately $200,000.

"About half of the amount was met by contributions from the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corp. Generous donations by large industrial concerns made up a large portion of the remainder."

The State Department declined to make public the Lattimore memorandum, on the ground it had requested and submitted on a confidential basis. But through his lawyers, Lattimore released the memorandum within a few hours.

In an accompanying statement, Lattimore said he had intended to make it public when he appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee. He was doing it, however, now, "because Senator McCarthy in typical fashion is seeking by insinuation and concealment to spread some of the poison of which he has an inexhaustible supply."

Lattimore said he wrote an article for January, 1950, issue of the Atlantic Monthly expressing publicly virtually the same views as were in the memorandum.

Rejects Chiang Tieup

The memorandum dismisses any possibility of working out a solution in China through cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek. It calls for the United States to "disentanglement" itself as quickly as possible from entanglements in south Korea. And it stated that it was impossible to "make Japan a satisfactory instrument of American policy."

Lattimore's memorandum will probably be used as a basis of argument both pro and con about him. His supporters can contend that it marks him as a man of objective judgment about the Far East. Others, who contend with McCarthy that opposition to Chiang is the mark of knowing or unwitting adherence to the Communist line, will assert that the paper shows the Johns Hopkins University professor to be a Soviet stooge.

Senator Lodge's comments, his first on the matter of the McCarthy investigation, were made in a Senate speech. He is one of the two Republicans on the Senate investigating committee.

Lodge said the present method of hearing charges of communism often smeared innocent persons, missed "the really dangerous individuals," and could actually protect "the real Communist ringleaders."

He added:

"All we can learn so far shows clearly that none of the current charges have been proven."

Condemns Bar to Files

He condemned President Truman's refusal to disclose Government loyalty files of those accused by McCarthy, although he said it was justified in the case of FBI material. Lodge did not mention either man by name in this attack on the methods permitted by the committee.

He told the Senate that if a political purpose exists in the investigation, "it merits unreserved condemnation."

Lodge's proposal was received either indifferently or with only lukewarm feelings by Senators, both Democrats and members of his own party. The most common reaction was to question whether the Senate could give up its own investigating subcommittee, which it had authorized, in favor of a new body.

Lodge declared that damage is mounting from the present way Congress is trying to check disloyalty charges. He cautioned that because the inquiry affects the Nation's foreign relations, it has a life and death meaning for every AMERICAN.

The impartial commission Lodge proposed in a bill that accompanied his speech would be composed of 12 members—half of them Democrats, half Republicans; half from Congress and the Government, half from private life; four would be named by the President, four by the President pro tempore of the Senate and four by the Speaker of the House. The commission would have access to any and all pertinent Government records.

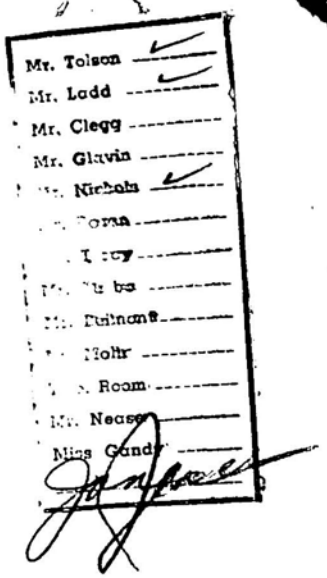
Other Developments

Other developments yesterday:

The hearing of Lattimore before the Senate subcommittee was postponed from today, as previously planned, to Thursday.

President Truman notified Chairman Tydings (D., Md.) of the subcommittee that he has instructed Federal agencies not to comply with the Senate subpenas for the loyalty files. His action, a pure formality, had been expected.

Tydings announced later that the subcommittee planned to have the entire State Department Loyalty Board, headed by Brig. Gen. Conrad E. Snow (retired), before it Wednesday for testimony on its clearance procedures. He said that Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Administration's top Loyalty Review Board, also might appear at the same hearing.



SENATOR McCARTHY'S BOOMERANG

Certainly no loyal Canadian or American could wish otherwise than that every possible precaution be taken against the acceptance or retention of subversively inclined individuals in the governmental set-up. Admittedly mistakes have been made on both sides of the border in this respect, but in the very nature of things such errors may be accepted as having created an alertness against their recurrence, and to have provided the F.B.I. in the U.S. and the R.C.M.P. in Canada with a better foundation for the carrying out of their most important work.

The information obtained by such forces naturally is of a highly confidential nature. Much of it is of a personal character and some of it is bound to concern entirely innocent people. And no citizen with a clear conscience and with loyalty to his country should object to being investigated, or to the existence of a file in which his name figures.

Such a citizen, however, would have every reason to protest if his file could be made public property at the behest of a politician. And of course there are elements in both countries keenly desirous of knowing the lines along which national police are operating. Publication of such confidential files would but play their game.

Therefore it would seem that John Edgar Hoover, in recommending that security files not be turned over to a Congressional Committee on the demand of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin, as well as President Truman in complying with the F.B.I. head's advice, were acting for the welfare and safety, not only of the United States, but of the entire continent.

Senator McCarthy would seem to have done a serious disservice to his country in making charges so precipitously and apparently upon flimsy grounds, as well as in the demand that F.B.I. files be made public. Such a performance can not do otherwise than enable enemies of democracy to cry "witch hunt" at any serious and well-founded investigation.

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER FOUNDED JANUARY 1, 1876
JOHN S. KNIGHT, EDITOR and PUBLISHER

Published daily by The Chicago Daily News, Inc., Chicago (6), Ill.
400 West Madison St. Tel. DEarborn 2-1111
ENTERED AT POST OFFICE AT CHICAGO, ILL., AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER

AVERAGE DAILY NET PAID CIRCULATION FOR FEBRUARY—539,453

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Disclosures Amply Justify State Department Inquiry

THE "bleeding hearts" are at it again.

This time they are unhappy because Secretary of State Dean Acheson is being "persecuted" by members of Congress who believe there is something rotten in the "striped pants" division of our government.

Let it be admitted that Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, Acheson's chief assailant, has been clumsy in method and short on evidence that the State Department is honeycombed with spies.

If his charges are ultimately found to be false, the senator will and should be thoroughly discredited.

Toledano and Victor Lasky and learn how the persistence of Rep. Richard M. Nixon of California prevented the Alger Hiss investigation from collapsing under the pressure of higher-ups who were trying to save a traitor's hide.

Pepper Scratches Editor And Discovers a Tartar

RANDOM NOTES: Martin Andersen, editor and publisher of the Orlando (Fla.) Morning Sentinel, replied to an attack by Sen. Claude Pepper in this vein . . . "You can never tell when or where lightning is going to strike next. In this great and glorious America which Chris Columbus and Claude Pepper discovered in 1492, you go to bed a poor, unknown editor and wake up famous. We frankly state we are not entitled to the glory heaped upon us because we must confess we are not running for the U.S. Senate. We have it on the highest authority that Rep. George Smathers, the ex-Marine, is the candidate—and is proving well able to take care of himself.

"Maybe that's why Claude Pepper is kickin' on a pore little ole paper editor."

Congratulations are due Wayne Coy, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, for demanding that radio and television clean up their shows and get rid of dirty jokes . . . The public is not taking to the livery stable humor of some "comedians" who yell "censorship" whenever a network tries to remove objectionable material from their scripts.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, is accusing the Byrd Committee on Nonessential Federal Expenditures of spending more than $100,000 on its activities. . . . This is "wanton waste and extravagance," says Humphrey. . . . The Byrd committee has shown how federal expenditures can be cut by several billions but the Sen. Humphreys never seem to be interested in piddling sums like that.

Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, in a plea for a "judicial congressional survey" of Europe's requirements beyond the Marshall Plan, wrote Paul Hoffman, ECA administrator, of the need "to put our country first in our consideration." Careful, Senator . . . we are so enlightened now that it's considered unfashionable to talk in terms of self-interest.

Drop in Income Taxes Will Increase Deficit

THE MARCH 15 income-tax returns indicate a drop in revenue. and the government deficit for the year ending June 30 may exceed $6 billion. . . . Finances of the government are in a bad way and promise to get worse. . .

Soooh, even though price supports for the peanut growers cost the taxpayers $38 million last year and Former Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson is authority for the statement that the country now has a 50 per cent overproduction of peanuts, Congress, with the approval of President Truman, has increased peanut planting by another 100,000 acres with prices guaranteed by the government.

The same act provides that cotton planters, with assurance of price supports, can sow another 1,200,000 acres, although the crop is already too plentiful. . . . Real patriots, those congressmen.

SEN. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts would "modernize the GOP" . . . He gives the specifications in the current issue of the Atlantic Monthly. . . . He concludes his article by saying that "The Republicans should not depend upon administration shortcomings for success. We must press our own program—bold, different, practical, and constructive."

That, my dear Senator, we will have to see.

JOHN S. KNIGHT

But meanwhile, why the rush on the part of the radicals and professional liberals to belittle his investigation before it is concluded?

Furthermore, their charge that McCarthy's probe is proving harmful to this nation's standing abroad cannot be substantiated.

The only "diplomacy" being given any recognition today is this country's ability to pay for what the rest of the world needs. So long as we are able to continue some version of the Marshall Plan, equip and arm Europe and hold the promise of a Point Four program to raise the standards of living everywhere, the United States will continue to call the tune.

Nothing that Sen. McCarthy can say will alter our "diplomatic" standing in the slightest degree.

McCarthy's Clumsiness Shouldn't Becloud Facts

WE CARRY no torch for the senator from Wisconsin. His methods show him to be a clumsy operator.

But we decline to join in the mass condemnation of his efforts to get at the truth merely because of his awkward footwork. This is why:

1. The Alger Hiss case was no "red herring." Hiss was found guilty of traitorous conduct while serving in a high position of trust where he enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his superiors.

Even Secretary Acheson declined to "turn his back" on Hiss after the man had been convicted.

Are there other Hisses in the State Department? Why not find out?

2. It is no secret today that a former State Department official employed so many homosexuals that 91 firings or resignations have since resulted.

This would indicate that others still remain who are subject to blackmail by foreign agents or fellow travelers. Could they be considered good security risks in a government service where loyalty and integrity are absolutely essential?

3. If the State Department is harboring no spies or enemies of the republic, what has it to fear from any investigation?

Yet access to the files of the FBI has been denied Senate investigators by an administration which seemingly is more intent upon protecting the State Department than in getting at the facts.

Higher-Ups Also Tried To Shield Alger Hiss

IT APPEARS unlikely that Owen Lattimore, John Service, Dorothy Kenyon and others named by McCarthy have ever belonged to the Communist party.

But isn't it something of a travesty on American ideals to find that we are entrusting the conduct of important diplomatic missions to individuals whose patriotism can even be challenged?

Why are so many fuzzy, frenetic followers of foreign "isms" found in the State Department?

Who can explain the strange suicides within the department, the case of Judith Coplon, and Owen Lattimore's contribution to the success of the Communists in China?

Sen. McCarthy may be a bungler but his apprehension over the infiltration of the State Department by potentially disloyal elements is widely shared throughout the country.

Read "Seeds of Treason" by Ralph de

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Communists in the Music Department

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It's There, Find It

J. Edgar Hoover has made a case nobody can shake for keeping FBI files confidential. That is clear. But it is equally clear that President Truman is hiding behind the FBI in his attempt to choke off senatorial investigation of State department corruption at the hands of the Communists.

The situation sums up as follows: The Senate has directed the Tydings subcommittee to subpena executive department files as just ONE element of the investigation. Mr. Truman has ordered that NO executive files be turned over, and is pushing the FBI out front as the clay pigeon for senatorial shooting.

What Does The Resolution Say?

And now, believe it or not, just as the President refuses ALL executive files to the Senate, the President's own executive loyalty board asks the Tydings committee for ITS files on Communist matters. The fight therefore exposes itself as an absurdity, except as to the FBI.

Some senators are saying that if Mr. Truman does not fork over in response to congressional subpena, he must be impeached. We cock an interested ear. But be that as it may, the Senate resolution which dictates the operations of the Tydings committee is one of the most powerful and all-inclusive ever written. It says for that committee to find out not only who IS but also who HAS BEEN corrupting our State department through Communist influence.

Such an investigation does not stand or fall on the mere issue of whether the Senate can riffle through executive files. There is plenty of evidence elsewhere. Find it, senators. And act on it.

Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Boom
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Editorial Page of the

Valley Times

Published every evening except Sunday by Valley News Corporation, 11109 Magnolia Blvd., North Hollywood

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5c a copy. Subscription rates: By carrier, 1 month $1.25, 6 months $7.50, 1 year $15.00. By mail in advance, 3 months $3.75, 6 months $7.50, 1 year $15.00 in California.

"Eternal Vigilance Is The Price Of Liberty"

Let's Channel McCarthy's Case

Instead of going to the considerable expense and creating the complicated and time-consuming setup of a new commission for investigating the Senator McCarthy-State Department squabble—as is advocated in some quarters—why not proceed more directly? Why not use the investigating organization already established, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI?

The FBI on its record recommends itself on these counts: (1) public confidence and respect, (2) facilities for thoroughness, fairness and speed, (3) relatively low cost.

It is lamentable but true that public confidence in and respect for the government as a whole and for its various branches suffer seriously from sweeping charges which cannot be sifted out promptly. The battle against wrongdoing in public office must be waged constantly and uncompromisingly. Seeds of distrust scatter readily, regardless of the basis for suspicion. These troubling facts, however, should not be permitted to argue against housecleaning when the good of the public calls for it.

In former comments on the subject, this newspaper has refused to try to pass judgment on Senator McCarthy's motive, or even to try to guess what he may have on State Department personnel, what he possibly may blast out. From all we can see, it looks much as if nobody can be absolutely sure on these questions. We are more and more thoroughly convinced that the atmosphere must be cleared substantially before the general public can start to view the whole matter intelligently.

To clear the atmosphere it is necessary first to eliminate the suspicion of undue partisan influence, or at least to move a lot further toward that than is possible through current procedure. The undue partisan influence to which we refer may be at work on either or both sides, may figure in either or both the prosecution and defense.

We insist that the public needs to have the highest attainable regard for the motives and purposes on both sides.

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JACKSON BERGER, EDITOR

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North Hollywood
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Of all offices and agencies of the government what one has a higher rating in public confidence and respect than does the office and organization of J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief? The simple answer is none. The reasons are well known.

The FBI stands high because it has done its job well; it has produced results, still is producing them. For the results accomplished the cost is by no means excessive.

If it were possible to take a vote all over the country on the question as to what government agency would be most likely to do, thoroughly, speedily, fairly and relatively cheaply, the job which Senator McCarthy has taken it upon himself to do, we are certain that the FBI would be nominated by an overwhelming majority.

So far we have refrained from bringing up the question whether or not the task could be assigned to the FBI. Attempts to answer that question would run naturally into the matter of the attitude of Congress, and Senator McCarthy in particular. We doubt if congressional sentiment would be favorable, and we are almost certain that the sensationally-inclined young Senator would welcome the loss of his limelight role.

But it must be said—and, without any intention whatsoever to demote Congress in the public eye, it is said—that Congress and its individual committees and members will gain in public esteem by showing a disposition to work with other government branches, agencies and entities to the fullest extent consistent with best interest of the people and public service.

It is possible that in this specific case the creation of a special court of inquiry, to be established and operated on an independent basis, might have certain advantages. But there are advantages on the other side too. One of them is progress toward a more permanent solution of the investigation problem.

Congressional committees and members are being diverted further and further from their real job, the business of making laws. It was never intended that the legislative arm of the government should be a permanent court of inquiry, trying anybody and everybody before the court of public opinion.

There is no objection to an arrangement for closer co-operation between FBI investigators and congressional committees. In fact that is highly desirable. It would offer full opportunity for bringing out facts as to any wrongdoing in office, but accomplishing this without sensational broadcasting suspicion. It also would automatically make available the accumulated files related to previous investigations of those now under suspicion or likely to be made so. It would automatically accomplish one point about which Senator McCarthy has complained, that relating to making state department personnel records available.

As the congressional investigation practice has grown up, as the habit has developed, the procedure is not entirely without point or merit. Neither is it free of abuses; it represents a terrifically high degree of lost motion and high cost.

In the present instance, it represents a play into the hands of our Communist foes in that it discredits the democratic system and the American government personnel.

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This Changing World

Transfer of Butterworth Unlikely To Appease State Department's Critics

By Constantine Brown

W. Walton Butterworth, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Far Eastern affairs, has been transferred to the post of adviser on Japanese affairs to Secretary of State Acheson.

Constantine Brown.

This actual demotion of Mr. Butterworth is regarded in Washington as a "peace offering" by the Secretary of State to his critics in the Senate who have objected repeatedly to the handling of Far Eastern affairs by the former chief of that division.

The "cold war" on Capitol Hill is not likely to abate, however, in the near future. While the investigation of Senator McCarthy's charges probably will end without positive result, the fight against State Department policies and the men who conduct them will continue on the floor of the Senate and in the Appropriations Committee.

Attorney General McGrath and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover have opposed giving the five members of the Tydings subcommittee access to FBI files to prove or disprove the Wisconsin Senator's accusations.

Hoover Sympathizers.

Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa, who is a member of the investigating subcommittee, agreed with Mr. Hoover that the country's security requires FBI investigations to remain secret. But he pointed out that the subcommittee reached a deadlock the moment it found itself unable to determine who is telling the truth.

Mr. Hoover sympathized with the plight of the subcommittee, but there was nothing he could do about it. Debates and possibly further investigations to pin down the responsibility for the present plight of the United States will continue, however.

One of the principal charges expected to develop is that China was handed over to Stalin in disregard of the obvious threat to this country's security. Since policies are made by individuals, there will be a renewed demand to scrutinize the persons who were responsible for such short-sighted policies as well as those who carried them out.

The critics of the administration's foreign policies in the Senate are accused of reverting to isolationism, at a time when we are engaged in a global cold war. This charge cannot be supported. Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, who spearheads the campaign, can hardly be described as an isolationist. He voted for lend-lease and favored intervention against the Axis as far back as 1939, at a time when some of the present strong advocates of a bipartisan policy were still in the isolationist camp.

Minority Still Left Out.

However, what appears to anger Republicans in both houses of Congress is that even today, after so much criticism about the administration's hush-hush policy the minority party is still kept out of the top councils of the executive branch.

For instance, when the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Defense Secretary Johnson arranged to fly over to Europe to discuss important matters in connection with the Military Aid Program, Mr. Johnson invited the Democratic chairmen of the two Armed Services Committees to accompany him. But he refused to extend a similar invitation to the ranking Republican members of those committees. He informed them they would be "filled in" by their colleagues of the majority.

This aroused grave suspicions among the Republicans. The refusal of the Defense Secretary to give them a similar invitation was believed to result from the fear that some major differences might develop at the meetings in Europe. Mr. Johnson, it is assumed, expects some of the European chiefs of staff to tell us bluntly that their countries cannot meet the requirements of the Military Aid Program.

If the Republicans were to hear first hand some frank talk of this kind the second year of the Military Aid Program, which Congress has yet to approve, might be jeopardized. Hence, they say, Mr. Johnson has adopted a policy of "what they don't know won't hurt them," and has taken off for Europe accompanied only by administration stalwarts.

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Secret Loyalty Files

Senator McCarthy's insistent clamor for access to secret loyalty files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has invited the suspicion on some sides that the government is shielding improperly Communists or their sympathizers on the federal payroll. This impression has been inspired despite the vagueness and hearsay of Senator McCarthy's allegations.

FBI Director Hoover, however, in testimony before a Senate investigating committee Monday asserted that release of the files would disclose information to endanger national security. It would be information of great value to Russia. Mr. Hoover explained that foreign agents, criminals and subversives would be tipped off that they were under FBI surveillance. Confidential sources of invaluable information for the government would be revealed, this counter-espionage nullified and these secret operatives placed in jeopardy.

Actually, the result would be to weaken the system of surveillance of Communists and suspects as an impairment of national security. Mr. Hoover further contended that disclosure of unproved charges would harm innocent persons and would "smear" them for the rest of their lives. Irreparable harm is being done to reputations by reckless accusations made under the cloak of congressional immunity.

FBI Director Hoover is an arch foe of Communists and fellow travelers, and his objection to disclosure of secret FBI files, essential to maintaining national security, is convincing. In well-meaning but misguided effort, the work of the FBI should not be undermined. Mr. Hoover can not be suspected of shielding anyone guilty of disloyalty or spying. Moreover, all free Americans must realize the justice of protecting innocent citizens from the ruin of "smear" accusation. Democracy must rest on justice by law.

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Fort Worth, Texas
March 29, 1950

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Those Loyalty Files

President Truman has not only reason but precedent going back to President Washington's day on his side in his refusal to turn over to congressional committees the secret files of the executive branch. Both Washington and Jackson rejected such demands as an unconstitutional invasion of the authority of the executive department.

But we are not so much interested in precedent as in logic, relative to the demand by Senator Joseph McCarthy and others in congress that they be given the secret reports of the FBI on all state department employes. Obviously, Senator McCarthy hopes by that means to substantiate his as yet unsubstantiated charges of disloyalty against Owen J. Lattimore and other state department associates. Or, perhaps, to pick up at least one hot trail for his political paper chase.

The members of congress who are making the most noise about Communists and spies, who have been throwing mud and assassinating character under the protection of congressional immunity from libel suits, could not be trusted to treat the loyalty files in a confidential manner. When the FBI investigates a government employe or official, it takes all kinds of statements from many kinds of people with varying motives. The loyalty board shakes down the reports to get at the truth. To expose all these confidential statements to congressional crusaders would lead to the worst sort of mess.

Nine tenths of the motive behind these Red witch-burnings is the discrediting of Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the Truman administration. Mr. Acheson made a grave error—if error it was—in proclaiming his personal loyalty to Alger Hiss, who stands convicted of disloyalty to the United States. But our world position has suffered as a consequence of the bitter attacks leveled against him and the state department.

Henry L. Stimson, Republican elder statesman who served as secretary of war and secretary of state, points out that the "noisy antics of a few . . . already have spattered mud upon individuals of the highest integrity."

"It should by now be wholly clear that indiscriminate accusations of this sort are doubly offensive," Mr. Stimson wrote to the New York Times. "They damage the innocent and help protect the guilty."

The senate refused, in 1948, to adopt a house resolution calling for fine or imprisonment of any federal official refusing to provide information asked by a congressional committee. A committee has the authority to cite an official for contempt, without such legislation, but no congressional body has risked a court test on the issue. One deterring factor is that the justice department, a part of the executive branch, would be the prosecutor of such a contempt charge.

While considering it inadvisable and dangerous to national security to open all the files of loyalty investigations to congressional — and hence public—inspection, we think that any federal employe is entitled to a defense in court against disloyalty charges. (This has been denied by the circuit court of appeals.) Perhaps it would also be a good thing for the administration to show the file on Mr. Lattimore, should he feel it necessary to prove his innocence of Senator McCarthy's allegation. But we are against the indiscriminate release of confidential material to provide a happy hunting ground for politicians.

Oregonian
Portland, Oregon
March 29, 1950

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THE SACRAMENTO BEE
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People Are Ready To Be Guided By FBI Chief

Will J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, now find himself blasted by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin as being "soft" toward Communists and other subversive elements?

The able and efficient chief of the FBI must have been conscious of the serious risk he took of becoming a new target for the senator's displeasure when he told the Tydings committee he is unalterably opposed to opening the FBI loyalty files for senatorial or other public scrutiny.

Some of the reasons Hoover gave for his opposition are:

1—Disclosure might do grave injustice to innocent persons. For himself, Hoover said he refused to be a party

to any action which would smear innocent individuals for the rest of their lives.

2—That disclosure would cripple the FBI investigative system.

3—It might cost the lives of United States secret agents.

4—It might give to a "foreign power" material it wants on American government and industrial leaders.

Hoover's belief, in a few words, is that far more ills would flow from a public airing of the files than any good such action possibly could accomplish.

It would have been unthinkable if in this matter President Truman had not concurred in the FBI chief's counsel and advice.

And for most Americans his words also will end the controversy. They will string along with J. Edgar Hoover.

FBI Files

Senator Tydings' issuance of a subpena to obtain FBI confidential files is a piece of folly forced on him by the obnoxious terms of the Senate resolution creating the subcommittee which he heads. Neither the director of the FBI nor the Attorney General can accede to the subpena's demand. They are under explicit orders from the President to refuse to do so. And if the Senate shows such flagrant discourtesy and disregard for the President's constitutional authority as to extend the subpena to him, he will certainly ignore it—and quite rightly. In doing so he will follow an honorable precedent set by George Washington and adhered to by all subsequent occupants of the White House.

The President has the responsibility of determining what executive papers it is in the public interest to submit to Congress. In the light of the testimony given to the Senate subcommittee on Monday by Attorney General McGrath and FBI Director Hoover, a decision by the President to forbid surrender of the FBI's files would seem to be dictated by elementary prudence as well as by principle. He has already gone to the legitimate limit in accommodating Senator McCarthy's curiosity by making available to the subcommittee a complete analysis of the one file on which the Senator said he would rest his entire case.

In explaining his reluctance to surrender FBI files, J. Edgar Hoover made, as Senator Lodge put it, "a very convincing exposition." Two types of danger are involved. One is that injustice may be done to individuals. The files contain unsifted allegations. They also contain names of persons other than the subject of investigation—persons who may well be altogether innocent of wrongdoing. "I would not want to be a party," said Mr. Hoover, "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 FBI."

It is not to be expected, of course, that this argument will seem persuasive to Senator McCarthy. But anyone as exercised as he pretends to be about national security ought to be persuaded by the other type of danger pointed out by Mr. Hoover.

> 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. 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.

Mr. McCarthy's position seems to be that he cannot personally protect the security of the country against espionage without injuring the agency officially designated to furnish such protection. We hazard a guess that if the American people must choose between an unhampered FBI and an unhampered Senator McCarthy they will prefer to rely for their protection on the former.

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FBI Files Subpoenaed By Tydings

By United Press

Chairman Millard E. Tydings (D) of Maryland of the Senate investigating subcommittee announced yesterday he has issued subpenas for the loyalty files of State department employes accused by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin of being pro-Communist.

Tydings announced issuance of the subpenas immediately after receiving word that President Truman had refused to give the files to the committee.

Tydings explained that he issued the subpenas only because "I have no option in the matter."

Tydings said the subpenas will be served upon the secretary of state, the attorney general, and the chairman of the civil service commission. He told a press conference the subpenas "are on their way."

The subcommittee chairman said the files he seeks cover 81 persons named by McCarthy in a Senate speech "plus eight or nine that he has named subsequently." Another McCarthy list of 25, he said, is not included.

In view of Mr. Truman's stand, it is considered a foregone conclusion that subordinate officials will decline to obey the subpoenas.

The issuance of the subpenas paved the way for a possible test, in the courts, on the question of whether the executive branch of the government has the right to refuse any information or papers demanded by Congress.

Tydings said the five members of his Senate foreign relations subcommittee, which has been investigating McCarthy's charges of Reds in the State department, unanimously backed his action in issuing the subpoenas.

Haldore Hanson said earlier he will sue Sen. McCarthy for libel if the senator ever gives up his congressional immunity and repeats his charge that the State department executive is pro-Communist.

Hanson swore before a Senate foreign relations investigating subcommittee that:

"I am not a Communist. I have never belonged to an organization cited by the attorney general as being a Communist-front organization. I have never knowingly associated with an espionage agent or a foreign power."

Threatens Immediate Suit

McCarthy has called Hanson a man "with a mission to communize the world." The Wisconsin Republican also charged that Hanson is known for his "pro-Communist proclivities."

Hanson told the subcommittee that if McCarthy will repeat these charges without benefit of immunity, "I will assure him that he will be called upon to answer me in a court of justice at the earliest practical moment."

It was the second threat of court action against McCarthy in as many days. Attorneys for Owen J. Lattimore, Far Eastern expert, Monday called upon McCarthy to detract charges that Lattimore is the "top" Russian espionage agent in this country. But they added that a retraction would not free the senator from liability.

The committee recessed its public hearings until April 4—when Lattimore will testify—after Hanson was questioned.

Deeply Resents "Nasty Word"

McCarthy on Feb. 20 told the Senate that if the time came when he would not repeat without immunity anything he said on the Senate floor he would resign from the Senate. Thus far in the three-week-old investigation the senator has not reiterated charges under circumstances that would permit court action against him.

Hanson, a small-statured man wearing thick eyeglasses, told Senate investigators that McCarthy had charged him with the "nastiest" word in the English language —that of Communist.

"I deeply resent this attack upon my loyalty," he said.

Hanson, an official connected with advance planning for President Truman's Point Four program for developing economically backward areas, formerly was a newspaperman and writer in China. It was his writings at that time which McCarthy particularly attacked.

Cleared by FBI in 1948

The senator said they showed a "pro-Communist" bias and reflected "hero worship" of Chinese Communists leaders.

Hanson told the subcommittee that he was given "complete clearance" after a full FBI field investigation in 1948. He was investigated, he said, in accordance with the State department's loyalty program affecting all employes.

"I am confident that an investigation of my political philosophy and my moral character will convince you that both compare favorably with those of any loyal American who is conscious of his duties of citizenship and is striving to live honorably in his community," Hanson said.

The subcommittee continued its investigation of McCarthy's sweeping charges against State department figures without access to government loyalty files.

President Truman, it was learned, has decided to refuse the request of the investigating committee for permission to examine the files. Sources close to the President in Key West, Fla., where he is vacationing, told reporters the files would not be made available —even on a limited basis.

Hanson told the committee that the words "pro-Communist . . . affinity for communsm . . . pro-Communist proclivities" all mean the same thing; "they all mean that he (the person charged) is the dirtiest, lowest type of man."

"Hated as Spy" by Neighbors

He told the committee that McCarthy had started "a ground swell of hate" which had been reflected in his relations with neighboring farmers in the Loudoun county section where he lives. The neighbors, he said, are whispering about "a Rusian spy" living in the neighborhood. He said his name was brought up by a State official at a Leesburg (Va.) county agriculture committee meeting.

Hanson said he believes in the government loyalty program and feels that subversives could be ferreted out by "the quiet, sober, thorough methods" used by the FBI.

"The kind of public denunciation, labeling and hate-mongering with which we now are dealing is alien to the traditions of the United States and more closely resembles the purges of another political system," he said.

Once a Writer for AP

Hanson told of his early history. He worked his way through Carleton college by waiting on table. After graduation he went to China where he taught school and began free lance writing. Later as an Associated Press cor-

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respondent, he covered engagements fought by Chinese armies, including Communist forces, against the Japanese.

Hanson said he joined the State department when he learned, while covering a history scholars' meeting for the AP at Chicago, that the department was seeking men with Far Eastern experience. But at no time, he said, has he been connected with State's Far Eastern division.

President Truman's decision to withhold the loyalty files soon may be forwarded to the subcommittee.

Point-by-Point Denial

Hanson answered McCarthy's charges in detail. He said the senator was in error in terming him an "important" official heading up the point 4 program. The senator, he said, had read to the subcommittee responsibilities assigned to a higher ranking officer.

"I appreciate the promotion," Hanson said. "My role is actually of a more humble nature."

Hanson made this point-by-point denial of McCarthy's charges:

Charge—Hanson "smuggled" dispatches out of guerrilla territory in China by arrangement with Communist generals.

Hanson—He was an AP correspondent assigned to the Communist armies writing what "I saw" there. The writings were "objective." The Communists were operating in a united front with Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek.

Charge—Hanson traveled with the Communist troops and lived with them.

Hanson—"I was ordered there by the Associated Press and . . . as a good newspaperman I wanted to go where the news was." Later he was cleared for news coverage at Chiang's Nationalist headquarters.

Charge—Hanson has a "criminal record in China, where he was arrested, not by the Communists, but by the anti-Communists."

Hanson—"I have never been arrested by anti-Communist officials . . . I have never been arrested by any other kind of officials of the Chinese government. My only arrests in China were by the Japanese army military police, when I tried to investigate atrocities."

Charge—Hanson's book, "Humane Endeavor, the Story of the China War," was pro-Communist.

Calls His Book "Objective"

Hanson—The book, written when he was 27 and not a "great" one, contained chapters on his experiences with Japanese forces, Chinese Communist forces, and Chiang's armies. McCarthy did not give a "balanced picture" in his citations from the book.

Hanson said his objectivity was commended by A.P. officials and editors.

He summed up his attitude towards McCarthy with:

"Congressional immunity may protect him from lawsuit, but it will not save him from moral accountability."

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Security Matter

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. Post Home News
DATED MAR 28 1950
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Hoover Shields FBI Reputation

By Doris Fleeson

Washington, Mar. 28—At the very end of his testimony before the Tydings committee, J. Edgar Hoover strongly intimated that FBI files contain no proof of Sen. McCarthy's spy charges against Owen Lattimore.

External evidence that this is so had appeared over the week-end in the Democrats' belated attacks on McCarthy and their championship of Secretary of State Acheson. Senators now confide that a general Democratic offensive along these lines can be expected.

McGRATH

Contributing to the closing of Administration ranks is the fact that Mrs. Lattimore was able to obtain the services of the law firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter. Thurman Arnold is a former New Deal Assistant Attorney General, Abe Fortas was Solicitor of the Interior Dept. under Harold Ickes, and Paul Porter has held many government posts and was publicity director of the Democratic National Committee in the 1948 campaign.

The chance exists to the end that McCarthy may bring in a long shot which will blanket his errors. Right now, the affair is headed strictly toward the political arena.

* * *

McCarthy either thinks so too or possibly has not read his Emily Post lately. He arranged to have Sen. Hickenlooper read a letter apologizing to the FBI director for failing to attend the McGrath-Hoover hearing but conspicuously omitted to mention that he regretted also the impoliteness to the Attorney General.

For the purpose of protecting the FBI files, the Truman Attorney General and Hoover, the fair-haired boy of Mr. Truman's adversaries in Congress, were a closed corporation. Both argue strongly from precedent and conviction that the great principle of a citizen's right to a confidential relation with his government is involved.

Hickenlooper tried hard to make it appear that their refusal to open the files reflected upon Senators. The witnesses ducked. Actually, as Thomas Jefferson said of judges, Senators are as honest as most men and not more so.

What they cannot be trusted to do, because it is to their interest not to do it, is to keep political secrets. Fortunately for the public they are in the habit of revealing these. Those who cover the present hearings place the McCarthy case in the political category.

* * *

McGrath did not surprise anyone. His present attitudes reflect precisely the high level of his career as a Senator. It is unusual, however, for Hoover to deny Congress anything and vice versa. (Congress has just raised his pay to $21,111 a year, putting him in the Cabinet and Supreme Court brackets.)

But Hoover has just hung up a record of 25 years of service during which time he has won a shining place in public esteem for the FBI. It is a tremendous achievement for what is essentially a secret police.

The FBI director must be aware that the country is sensitive to the FBI's great powers. He testified, in fact, that some citizens now are refusing to help lest their comments be made public.

If Hoover is concerned for his agency's reputation and his own place in history, he could hardly be criticized for it.

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Hanson told of his early history. He worked his way through Carleton college by waiting on table. After graduation he went to China where he taught school and began free lance writing. Later as an Associated Press correspondent he covered engagements fought by Chinese armies, including Communist forces, against the Japanese.

Hanson said he joined the State department when he learned, while covering a history scholars' meeting for the AP at Chicago, that the department was seeking men with Far Eastern experience. But at no time, he said, has he been connected with State's Far Eastern division.

President Truman's decision to withhold the loyalty files soon may be forwarded to the subcommittee.

Point-by-Point Denial

Hanson answered McCarthy's charges in detail. He said the senator was in error in terming him an "important" official heading up the point 4 program. The senator, he said, had read to the subcommittee responsibilities assigned to a higher ranking officer.

"I appreciate the promotion," Hanson said. "My role is actually of a more humble nature."

Hanson made this point-by-point denial of McCarthy's charges:

Charge—Hanson "smuggled" dispatches out of guerrilla territory in China by arrangement with Communist generals.

Hanson—He was an AP correspondent assigned to the Communist armies writing what "I saw" there. The writings were "objective." The Communists were operating in a united front with Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek.

Traveled With Red Troops

Charge—Hanson traveled with the Communist troops and lived with them.

Hanson—"I was ordered there by the Associated Press and . . . as a good newspaperman I wanted to go where the news was." Later he was cleared for news coverage at Chiang's Nationalist headquarters.

Charge—Hanson has a "criminal record in China, where he was arrested, not by the Communists, but by the anti-Communists."

Hanson—"I have never been arrested by anti-Communist officials . . . I have never been arrested by any other kind of officials of the Chinese government. My only arrests in China were by the Japanese army military police, when I tried to investigate atrocities.

Charge — Hanson's book, "Humane Endeavor, the Story of the China War," was pro-Communist.

Calls His Book "Objective"

Hanson — The book, written when he was 27 and not a "great" one, contained chapters on his experiencees with Japanese forces, Chinese Communist forces, and Chiang's armies. McCarthy did not give a "balanced picture" in his citations from the book

Hanson said his objectivity was commended by A.P. officials and editors.

He summed up his attitude towards McCarthy with:

"Congressional immunity may protect him from lawsuit, but it will not save him from moral accountability."

Mr. Truman's decision not to give up the loyalty files was not unexpected.

This position is in line with his March 1948 executive order and with testimony yesterday of Attorney General McGrath and FBI director Hoover before the subcommittee.

The group is investigating charges by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconin, that the State department is loaded with pro-Communists. McCarthy has insisted that the subcommittee must examine all government files before it can evaluate his accusations.

Subcommittee chairman Tydings (D) of Maryland, has taken up the matter with Mr. Truman.

McCarthy Delays Speech

McCarthy, who had planned a Senate speech today on the Lattimore case and advised the FBI to have an agent on hand to receive some "documents," later said he would speak Thursday.

There have been hints that the President would agree to let the subcommittee examine portions of the files under conditions of strictest secrecy. But Key West sources said that even this plan has been abandoned.

One high Administration official said the refusal of Hoover and McGrath to make any of the FBI's files available is well co-ordinated with the feelings of the President." Disclosure of the files, they said, would not be in the public interest.

As the subcommittee's investigation neared a hectic climax, there were these other developments:

1. Attorneys for Owen Lattimore called upon McCarthy to retract his "colossal lie" that the Far Eastern expert is Russia's top spy here. They made it clear that they may file a libel or slander suit against McCarthy in Lattimore's behalf.

Lattimore's attorneys notified Tydings that they plan to send the committee as soon as possible for study and publication a complete analysis of all Lattimore's writings. They added that Mrs. Lattimore is willing to testify in defense of her husband.

2. The State department ordered a sweeping shake-up in its Far Eastern section, long the target for congressional criticism.

Acheson Criticism Grows

3. Led by Sen. Bridges (R) of New Hampshire, who claimed that a "master spy" is at work in the State department, Republicans stepped up their criticism of Secretary Acheson. Democrats replied that these attacks were hurting U.S. prestige abroad.

Hoover told the subcommittee a disclosure of FBI files would jeopardize the lives of FBI informants, smear innocent persons and expose the FBI's techniques to "foreign agents, subversives and criminals."

Hinting broadly that he would resign if overruled on the issue, he also testified that he wants "no part" of any investigative agency that determined what portion of its files could be made public.

McGrath supported Hoover's stand.

Sen. Ferguson, (R) of Michigan who once warned that the issue someday might result in impeachment proceedings against Mr. Truman, assailed their stand.

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Truman Refusal To Open Loyalty Files Predicted

McCarthy to Speak In Senate Today; Says He Has Data

BULLETIN

Haldore Hanson of the State Department today formally denied Senator McCarthy's charges that he is "pro-Communist" and challenged the Senator to make his charges without congressional immunity.

By Cecil Holland

More charges and a stepped-up controversy over opening loyalty files today swirled around the Senate group investigating the State Department.

Developments came in rapid-fire succession as a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee continued its inquiry into charges by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin that Communists have infiltrated the State Department.

Stimson Says of McCarthy: "No Time for Noisy Antics." Page A 8

'Fierce Prayers' for Lattimore Offered by 'Living Buddha.' Page A 4

They included:

1. A report from a highly placed adviser with President Truman at Key West, Fla., that the President has decided to reject the committee's request for loyalty files on persons accused of Communist leanings.

2. Close associates disclosed the President is planning a series of speeches designed to consolidate public opinion in support of a unified front against communism. Some of these talks will be made during his May swing to the Northwest.

Bridges Sees "Master Spy."

3. A statement by Senator Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire that Russia has planted a "master spy" in the American Government, who is "using our State Department as he wills."

4. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was on record, with the backing of Attorney General McGrath, with a statement that opening of loyalty files in the investigation would cripple the agency and might "smear" innocent people.

5. Mr. Hoover strongly hinted in testimony before the committee yesterday that there is nothing in the FBI files to support Senator McCarthy's charge that Owen Lattimore, Far East expert, is Russia's top spy in this country—a charge that has brought a vigorous denial from Mr. Lattimore and a threat of a libel suit against the Wisconsin Senator.

6. Senator McCarthy announced he plans a Senate speech today and asked that an FBI agent be present so he could turn over to him "documents in the Lattimore case."

7. Haldore Hanson, State Department official accused of Communist leanings by Senator McCarthy, was scheduled to appear before the Senate group today to make a formal denial of the accusations.

The controversy over the loyalty files swelled anew as Senator Bridges took the floor late yesterday for a vicious attack on the State Department.

Senator Bridges did not name the person he said is Stalin's master spy and he said he was not making charges, but only asking questions. For one thing, he demanded to know who was responsible in the State Department

for hiring 91 sex perverts the department has said were fired in the last two years.

The New Hampshire Senator said Secretary of State Acheson would like to contend that "the spying is all over and ended and the spies are gone" from the department because it has kicked out the 91 homosexuals and "a handful of other 'security risks' have been allowed to resign."

He suggested the Senate foreign relations group obtain a report from the State Department on how long the perverts were employed before they were allowed to resign. He also said the committee should find out how many such cases are pending now.

Hoover Outlines Reasons.

The report from Key West that Mr. Truman will reject the committee's request for the loyalty and FBI files followed the appearance of Mr. McGrath and Mr. Hoover before the investigating committee yesterday afternoon. It had been indicated previously that Mr. Truman would grant the investigators limited access to the files.

The President was reported as basing his refusal on the same grounds that Mr. McGrath and Mr. Hoover stressed before the committee.

Mr. Hoover predicated his objections to opening the files on two principal grounds—the damage to national security in revealing FBI confidential procedures and techniques, and the possibility that disclosures might "smear" innocent persons.

"If spread on the record," Mr. Hoover declared, "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.

Would Reveal Informants.

"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 danger, it would certainly ruin their future value and effectiveness."

As for the other danger, Mr. Hoover emphasized there were "compelling reasons" why "the files of the FBI should remain inviolate." He said FBI could be compared to a newspaper reporter's notes before he has culled from them what is printable and what is not printable.

The FBI files, he explained, do not consist of proven information alone and must always be viewed as a whole. "I, for one," he added, "would want no part of an investigative organization which had the power of discretion to decide what information should be reported and what would be omitted." An item unimportant at one time may assume significance at another time, the FBI chief pointed out.

Must Maintain "Fair Play."

"Should a given file be disclosed," Mr. Hoover said, "the issue would be a far broader one than concerns the subject of this investigation. Names of persons who by force of circumstances entered into an investigation might well be innocent of wrong. To publicize their names without the explanation of their associations would be a grave injustice.

"* * * 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."

Mr. Hoover explained that FBI reports set forth all details obtained from a witness, and added:

"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."

McGrath Cites Precedents.

Mr. McGrath fully backed up Mr. Hoover's views. He cited a long list of precedents for refusing executive files to an investigative committee of Congress and declared that loyalty and investigative files "should be preserved in strict confidence." Most loyalty files, it was pointed out, contain confidential FBI data since that agency is charged with the responsibility of conducting such investigations.

It was during the questioning that followed the formal statements of the two officials that Mr. Hoover gave what some considered to be a hint that there was nothing in the files to support Senator McCarthy's charges against Mr. Lattimore, now in Afghanistan on a United Nations mission.

In reply to a question by Chairman Tydings, Mr. Hoover said that when the FBI completes a case against any one it is sent to the Justice Department for prosecution if there is any evidence that a crime has been committed.

Lattimore Not Mentioned.

Mr. Hoover said this was done in about 98 per cent of such cases. Sometimes, he added, cases are held back from immediate prosecution in order to detect and incriminate other persons involved in the crime.

Mr. Lattimore's name was not mentioned at all in Mr. Hoover's testimony, but the inference was drawn by some that if there had been any evidence to support the McCarthy charges the FBI would have acted. The committee has seen an FBI summary of its files in the Lattimore case and several Democrats have indicated there was nothing at all to support the charges.

Senator Hickenlooper, Republican, of Iowa, a member of the investigating committee, made it clear he was not satisfied with the reasons given by Mr. McGrath and Mr. Hoover for not opening the files.

He brought out that despite precedents against such moves the files had been opened for congressional committees from time to time.

Hickenlooper Points Out Cases.

It was brought out that FBI summaries of their reports customarily are made available to the Senate Judiciary Committee studying appointments to the Federal judiciary. Under the law creating the Atomic Energy Com-

nission, the Senate-House Atomic Committee has access to confidential data on AEC employes.

And it was developed by Senator Hickenlooper, the Senate Expenditures subcommittee headed by Senator Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, received confidential files in its investigation of the Kansas City vote fraud charges a few years ago.

Senator Hickenlooper wanted to know if Mr. McGrath considered turning over the files to the committee was a hazard when other committees had been given access to FBI records.

"I'm not going to pass judgment on the integrity of this or any other committee of Congress," Mr. McGrath retorted.

Principle Is Involved.

The two officials emphasized that a principle was involved and they were strongly opposed to turning over even FBI summaries to the committee. Mr. Hoover said: "If we yield in one case * * * we open the floodgates."

Senator Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, brought out that some raw material in FBI files became public in the Judith Coplon espionage case. Mr. Hoover made public over his protests and at the direction of Associate Justice Clark, then Attorney General.

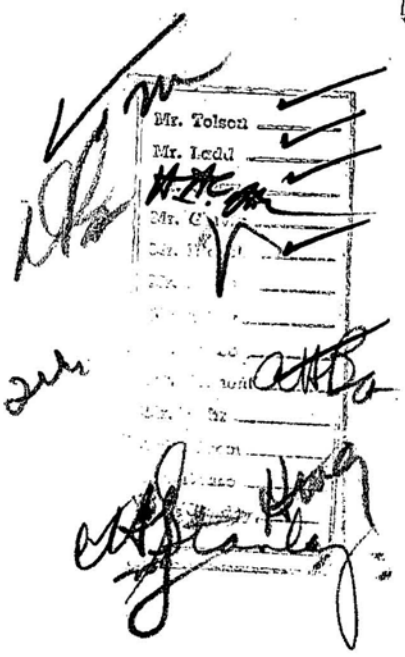
Senator McCarthy's announcement that he would speak on the Senate floor today on his charges was made in a memorandum sent to Senator Hickenlooper and read while Mr. Hoover and Mr. McGrath were testifying.

He said he deeply regretted not being able to hear Mr. Hoover testify, but that he was "completely and inescapably tied up" with the preparation of his Senate speech.

"Will you also inform Mr. Hoover," he wrote, "that I shall greatly appreciate it if he will have one of his agents available when I address the Senate * * * so that I may turn over to him documents in the Lattimore case which I consider of some importance."

John S. Service talks with newsmen as he leaves the plane which brought him to Washington from Seattle. He will appear before the Senate subcommittee later to answer charges made by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin. —AP Photos.

PPOSE OPENING LOYALTY FILES—FBI Director J. Edgar bover (left, in center foreground) and Attorney General Mc-rath (right) tell members of a special Senate subcommittee by FBI files should not be made available for the Senators' aspection. Behind them (left to right) are seated Louis Nichols (hand to face), assistant FBI director; Clyde Tolson, associat director, and Peyton Ford, assistant to the Attorney General. At the left front are reporters at the press table and in th background are spectators.



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The FBI's Files Must Be Kept Secret

Senator 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.

Yesterday FBI Director Hoover and Atty. Gen. McGrath testified 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 Senator 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.

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McCARTHY

Says He Will Make Senate Speech Today

Interrupts Hoover's Refusal of Files

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A surprise announcement by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin of new evidence in "the Lattimore case" yesterday caused dramatic interruption of testimony by FBI Director Hoover in the Senate probe of State department communism.

Hoover had just joined Attorney General McGrath in flatly opposing examination of government loyalty files by any congressional committee.

At this point, Sen. Hickenlooper (R) of Iowa announced he had received a memorandum from McCarthy which he wished to be read to Hoover.

McCarthy's Statement

McCarthy said he regretted being unable to listen to Hoover's testimony because he was "completely and inescapably tied up with the preparation of material which I expect to present on the Senate floor tomorrow.

"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 so that I may turn over to him documents in the Lattimore case which I consider of some importance," McCarthy wrote.

The reference was to Owen Lattimore, a State department consultant on Far East policy. McCarthy named Lattimore at a secret subcommittee session as a "top Russian agent" and the law firm of Arnold, Fortas, and Porter admitted in an open letter to McCarthy that Lattimore was the man accused. The lawyers demanded that McCarthy retract his charges against Lattimore and threatened legal action.

Democrats Balked

The McCarthy memorandum disrupted a Democratic plan to discredit the Wisconsin senator. Democratic committee members had hoped to draw Hoover into a statement that evidence in FBI files did not substantiate the charges against Lattimore. McCarthy had said he would "stand or fall" on the Lattimore case.

But the plan was hastily discarded in view of McCarthy's latest assertion that he had new information and documents bearing on the Lattimore case. Chairman Tydings of Maryland contented himself with asking Hoover if all cases deemed worthy of criminal prosecution were sent to the Justice department.

"That is 98 or 99 per cent correct," said Hoover. "In a few cases, we hold them back for the purpose of discovering other members of the ring."

Lattimore to Be Heard

Tydings announced that Lattimore would be given a hearing April 4 or later. Lattimore was said to have left Afghanistan, where he has been stationed on a United Nations mission, and to be flying back to the United States. In a cable shown Tydings, Lattimore characterized McCarthy's charges as "pure moonshine" and predicted the Wisconsin senator would "fall flat on his face" in attempting to prove them.

Lattimore is a Johns Hopkins university professor. President D. W. Bronk of the university wrote Tydings that he had full faith in Lattimore.

Last night, Sen. Bridges (R) of New Hampshire took the Senate floor to charge that the "wreckage" of American foreign policy indicates there is a "master spy" in the State department who has been aiding the world Communist movement.

"Stalin is not superman," said Bridges. "He had help from within our ranks. The investigating committee must call State Secretary Acheson who longer than any other man has been a key functionary in the State department.

"Must Find Master Spy"

"The committee was not set up to slap together a quick hearing, discredit the testimony of one witness, calling upon him singlehanded to perform the duty of the Department of Justice.

"We must find the master spy, the servant of Russia, who moves the puppets, Hiss and Wadleigh, and others, in and out of office, using them and using our State department as he wills. Who is he? I ask all senators to stay on the job until we get that answer. Until we find him, we cannot hope to deal with Stalin on an equal basis."

Earlier, Bridges charged Vice President Barkley with "gag rule" and "thought control" for parliamentary tactics in the Senate which stalled the G.O.P. attack on Acheson.

There were cries of outrage from the Democratic side of the aisle. Sen. Kefauver (D) of Ten

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nessee charged McCarthy with making "reckless accusations of disloyalty" against the State department which have "injured the framework of world peace." He said Republicans were out to "get" Acheson for political motives.

Secret Meetings Urged

Sen. Smith (R) of New Jersey said the investigating committee should hold all meetings in secret hereafter. Sen. Thye (R) of Minnesota declared "the fears and questions in the public mind will never be allayed until the records in the attorney general's office have been made available to the committee."

Smith agreed that there was "no possible justification" for denying access to the files. Sen. Myers (D) of Pennsylvania, yelled that McCarthy's charges were "born in politics."

These later developments overshadowed the testimony of McGrath and Hoover and the testimony of Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer, $9,800 a year State department official named by McCarthy as a security risk. She swore at a morning session of the subcommittee that she had never been a Communist or Communist sympathizer and had been cleared of disloyalty charges by a State department board in 1948.

The two chief law enforcement officers of the nation joined in a protest against disclosure of evidence compiled by the FBI in its investigation of federal payrollers.

Truman Expected to Refuse

The Senate group by unanimous Senate vote was directed to subpoena the government records on Feb. 22. No subpoena has been issued and Tydings waited a month before sending a formal request to Mr. Truman at Key West for the files. The President is expected to use the McGrath-Hoover testimony as a basis for refusing.

Under questioning by subcommittee members, McGrath and Hoover both insisted there was no method of supplying the Senate with data without betraying confidential sources of information. Hoover said he was opposed even to giving a "summarization" of the evidence in FBI files.

"An impasse seems to have been reached," remarked Sen. Hickenlooper. "It is beyond my conception how this committee can investigate charges if we have the door shut in our faces on information in the hands of the government."

McGrath Cites Precedents

McGrath said almost every President, from George Washington on down, had declined, for reasons of public policy, to furnish confidential papers to congressional committees. He said the courts had recognized "this constitutional prerogative of the Chief Executive."

Hoover declared that persons furnishing information to the FBI "must have the security of knowing that their confidence will not be broken." The disclosure of the contents of the files, he insisted, would reveal confidential procedures and techniques which would be useful to "criminals, foreign agents and subversives."

Hickenlooper and Sen. Lodge (R) of Massachusetts noted there was no question of making the files public but merely of making them available to the committee for scrutiny to determine the truth or falsity of charges made against government employes. But the two government officials insisted any privileges given the subcommittee would furnish a precedent for other committees in the future "which might not be so trustworthy."

Mrs. Brunauer's Testimony

Mrs. Brunauer, a middle-aged, bespectacled woman, soberly clad in a dark blue suit with a flat-brimmed blue straw hat, said she had been international relations director of the American Association of University Women for 17 years before she joined the State department in 1944. Her present title is assistant director for policy liaison of the United Nations education social and cultural organization.

She was accompanied by her husband, Stephen, a Navy department bureau of ordnance official, who was also named a security risk by McCarthy. Mrs. Brunauer admitted her husband, Hungarian-born, who came to the United States when he was 18, had been a member of the Young Workers league, an organization founded and operated by the Communist

Acme Photo

Hoover and McGrath at Senate Hearing

J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, and Attorney General McGrath confer during their appearance before the Senate foreign relations subcommittee yesterday. Hoover said that disclosure of the FBI secret loyalty files would mean a "complete collapse" of the whole system.

party. He dropped out in 1927, she said, and was denounced in 1932 by Communists as a deserter.

The witness admitted she and her husband had been friends of Noel Field, a former State department official, named as a member of the Communist underground in the Alger Hiss trial. Field disappeared behind the iron curtain in Czechoslovakia in 1948.

Asked whether her husband had been a guest of French Communists during a trip to Paris, Mrs. Brunauer said her husband was present and ready to testify under oath. Tydings said the subcommittee would be glad to hear him but no move was made to put Brunauer in the witness chair.

Mrs. Brunauer admitted presiding at a Washington meeting of Friends of the Soviet Union in 1936 and signing a call to the annual meeting of the American Youth Congress in 1939. Both organizations were later labeled subversive by the attorney general. She said she had no way of ascertaining the true nature of these groups.

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Hoover to Nix Loyalty Expose

Senate investigators expected a flat turn-down from FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover to day on their request for a look at his top-secret loyalty files.

In an almost unprecedented move, a Foreign Relations sub-committee summon Mr. Hoover and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to testify publicly on the fi Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R., Wis.) claims will back up his charge of Communist in tration of the State Department.

Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer, a State Department policy advisor, was to answer McCarthy's charges that she took part in Communist front activities and might be a bad security risk. She denied the accusation to newsmen and asked for the opportunity to do so under oath.

Chairman Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.), scheduled a hearing later for Owen Lattimore, far eastern expert whom McCarthy has labelled a long-time "pro-Communist" and collaborator with "those who have sworn to destroy the nation by force."

Mr. Hoover

Radio Commentator Drew Pearson identified Mr. Lattimore as the man Sen. McCarthy has cited as Russia's "top espionage agent in the United States," and still "connected" with the State Department. Sen. McCarthy was not for comment. Reporters had for days known that Owen Lattimore was McCarthy's taget, but had been told "off the record" and were honoring their pledge.

Mr. Lattimore, director of Johns Hopkins University's foreign relations school, now is in Kabul, Afghanistan, on an economic mission for the Secretary General of the United Nations.

The request that he be given a "full hearing" was made by Dr. Detlev Bronk, president of Johns Hopkins. Mr. Lattimore's wife also was reported to have asked that her husband be granted a hearing.

57 COMMIES

Sen. McCarthy has given investigators the name of his number one "spy" in private, but has never mentioned it in Senate speeches or in public appearances before the sub-committee. He has said his claim that at least 57 card-carrying Communist infest the State Department will "stand or fall" on this one case alone.

The Wisconsin Republican contends that evidence to support his charges is in the files of the FBI, the State Department's loyalty board and the Civil Service Commission's top-level loyalty review board. Unless all of the records are checked, he said, the investigation will be a meaningless white wash.

Mr. Hoover and Mr. McGrath were expected to advise the committee that the FBI might be blocked in its future work if confidential FBI informants are revealed. Last Friday Sen. Tydings and other sub-committee members were given a digest of the FBI file by Mr. Hoover and Atty. Gen. McGrath, and afterward it was indicated no one who saw it thought it upheld McCarthy's charges.

Democratic committeemen said privately they would be "most surprised" if they got anything but a negative answer to their request and a warning of the consequences of making the files available.

NO EVIDENCE

Some went so far as to say they expect Mr. Hoover, who enjoys wide prestige in Congress, to "polish off" the running argument. A strongly worded warning from the FBI chief, they said, would strengthen President Truman's long-standing argu-

ment that the files should not be divulged.

Sen. Tydings said in a radio broadcast last night that Sen. McCarthy had furnished "no direct evidence, no facts, no paper, no action, nothing" to back up his claims. Today, he told a reporter that "things seem to be moving fast now"—and tossed out a broad hint that the inquiry soon may be closed.

Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Government's top loyalty review board, went on record in opposition to giving his data to the committee. A Republican lawyer and an Assistant Attorney General under President Hoover, he said in a radio interview:

"A congressional committee is the last place in the world I'd want to put secret information."

Sen. McCarthy was brought under fire from both political parties.

Former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, 82-year-old Republican statesman, said Sen. McCarthy's charges "directly and dangerously" impede the conduct of foreign affairs. He said in a letter to the New York Times that Sen. McCarthy's "pro-Red" charges were not intended to rid the State Department of Communists but were an attempt to "cast discredit" upon Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

Sen. William Benton (D., Conn.) said in a television program last night that McCarthy was playing into the hands of Communist propagandists and ruining this country's reputation abroad.

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Date: MAR 27 1950

51 JUL

Calls Sen. McCarthy Short on Evidence

By FREDERIC TUTTLE

WASHINGTON, March 26 (INS).—Chairman Tydings today declared that in three weeks of hearings Sen McCarthy (R.-Wis.) has failed to give Senate probers "any definite information" to support his charges that the State Department swarms with Communists.

The Maryland Democrat said he will "welcome any person in America who will come in with facts showing that there are Communists or disloyal persons in this government. If he or she will give me that evidence, I will pursue it to the end of the road.

"But we have to have evidence. Accusations are not enough."

Tydings challenged McCarthy to lead the investigating subcommittee to the desk McCarthy said is retained for a "top Russian spy" he charged was "connected" with the State Department.

The chairman recalled that the records showed the purported "spy" never worked for the department, but five years ago was employed briefly on a special mission outside the U. S. and made several speeches.

"I thought the people were entitled to that information and released it immediately, whereupon Sen. McCarthy said they kept a desk for him at the State Department," he said.

"I've had the report investigated and I'd be grateful if Sen. McCarthy would tell me where the room and desk are because nobody in the State Department seems to know. If anybody will tell me where this desk is provided, I will take back what I am saying now."

Awaits HST Word

Tydings said he is "hoping to hear" from President Truman "soon" on whether the Chief Executive will release FBI, civil service and loyalty files on persons charged with pro-communism by McCarthy.

At his vacation spot in Key West, Fla., the President remained silent as to whether he will order release of the files.

Truman's special counsel, Charles Murphy, took off by plane for Washington, leading to speculation that he might be carrying instructions regarding the files.

Tydings pointed out that Attorney General McGrath and FBI Director Hoover are scheduled to testify before the subcommittee Monday, presumably in opposition to release of the FBI files.

Some Presidential word is expected after they have been heard.

"I'm still trying to get the files but we cannot get them unless the President permits it," Tydings said.

"George Washington refused Congress the files. President Monroe refused them the files. Andrew Jackson refused them the files, and so on down, all the way to the present time."

Abuses In Congressional Investigations Must Stop

Congressional investigation is a necessary and valuable part of government.

But when these investigations become one-sided forums for the smearing of character without chance for defense, they constitute a danger to our democracy;

When they are misused for politically partisan purposes, they reflect discredit to our democracy;

When the investigators bully witnesses, mistreat people and violate every principle of justice, they distort the whole concept of American rights under law.

* * * *

Unfortunately all these misuses and abuses have blotched the record often in the past and are even growing today.

They can be stopped, and indeed, they must be stopped if their harmful effects on traditional American democracy are not to weaken us dangerously.

The current flagrant example of the abuse of congressional investigative powers is being staged by one Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin.

And Senator McCarthy, as we shall show, is not particularly in a position to heap abuse on others.

McCarthy embarked on a gigantic program to discredit the Truman administration and to drive Secretary of State Acheson out of office.

Every competent observer of integrity in Washington has reported the McCarthy "probe" a politically inspired monster.

Even members of the senator's own party, including Robert A. Taft, have reacted in various degrees from coolness to McCarthy's exhibition to downright hostility.

* * * *

The McCarthy probe offers an outstanding example of a congressional—in this case, senatorial—investigation which violates every principle outlined above. It particularly violates the points concerning political partisanship and character smearing.

McCarthy made world headlines, as he knew he would, when he originally charged there were 57 "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department.

Now, that is a charge of the utmost gravity.

In these times, the State Department is the most powerful office in the world, so far as the issues of meeting Communist aggression short of war are concerned.

As Columnist George Sokolsky pointed out this past week, the loss of a China to Russian Communism can depend to a great extent on a handful of individuals in the State Department.

The State Department has the lives of hundreds of millions of people in its hands.

* * * *

Thus if it could be shown that

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Egan
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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the State Department is infiltrated by card-carrying Communists—or any other kind—it would have a terrific impact all over the world.

But has McCarthy proved his grave charge?

He has not. He has made a fool of himself and his party.

Worse than that, he has undermined the integrity of the United States government, at home and abroad. He has destroyed—to a degree not yet discernable—confidence in the State Department, the most important government agency in the world.

* * * *

But who is this Senator McCarthy?

Prize-winning journalist Stewart Alsop, of the New York Herald-Tribune, dug out a few interesting facts about McCarthy.

Twice, Mr. Alsop reports, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin has reviewed McCarthy's activities. In 1941, when the court charged him with "highly improper" courtroom activities and with an "abuse of judicial power."

Then in 1944, McCarthy campaigned for the Senate, but kept his position as a judge, collecting his pay and trying cases.

The Supreme Court was asked to disbar him. It deliberated, then decided that "the failure of the defendant (McCarthy) to keep his solemn promise to support the Constitution," although a violation of the moral code, did not "disclose such a degree of moral turpitude as to disbar him."

This is the McCarthy who

How to protect our democracy from the McCarthys and other irresponsibles who abuse and misuse congressional investigations? flings irresponsible charges, smears demonstrably innocent and loyal Americans and thus damages the fabric of our democracy.

A senatorial colleague of McCarthy's, Sen. Scott W. Lucas, has offered a resolution to guarantee certain rights to witnesses at congressional hearings. Writing in the New York Times, Senator Lucas revealed this pattern of his resolution:

* * * *

1.—The right to appear personally before the committee.

2.—The right to compel the committee to subpoena up to four persons for defense.

3.—The right to cross-examine witnesses personally or through counsel.

4.—The right of a stenographic transcript of the testimony.

To restore complete confidence and respect in the essentially valuable process known as congressional investigations, to protect Americans from reputation assassination and to strengthen democracy in spite of the McCarthys, Senator Lucas' resolution should receive overwhelming support and passage.

POLITICS
PHONY CHARGES
HERBLOCK
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"Wolf! Wolf!"

Diplomatic Blues

Two aspects of the Tydings hearing deserve some attention while the McCarthy charges are being sifted. One is brought to mind in the Service case, and it is the question of great concern to a free press trying to discharge its duty, of the continuing ability to get the news about our diplomatic affairs that the public is entitled to. The other aspect of the hearing is the constraint that might be put upon foreign service officers at home and abroad in divulging information to foreign officials.

The old charge against John S. Service, now resurrected by Senator McCarthy, is the *Amerasia* magazine case. It concerned abstraction of Government documents and their use by editors of *Amerasia*. In the case of Mr. Service, the grand jury failed to bring in an indictment, and he was released. He was then reinstated in the State Department with an apology from Secretary Byrnes. Those were the days in mid-1945 before the spy scare. On looking up our own comment at the time, we discovered that our concern, in common with that of other papers, related to leaking to "favored journalists." It was a subject much to the fore in those days, and we urged the State Department to permit free and impartial access to all information not involving military security. The various categories of "privileged," "secret" and "reserved" information should be abolished, we said, and the circulation of genuinely confidential information restricted only to those who could be implicitly trusted. What we are now afraid of is that the press might find a clamp put upon information to which the public is legitimately entitled by State Department officials who have been made overly discreet by continued harassment.

The other aspect of the McCarthy accusations has been expressed by one or two diplomats uneasy about the nature of their functions and the fulfillment of their responsibilities. It has hitherto been the practice to swap official information with the officials of other friendly powers. But in this world of quick change an ally today might be an enemy tomorrow. In that event, suspicion might be cast upon the Americans who par-

ticipate in trading information in time of good relations. Fear of the future may thus make the diplomat constrained, to the hurt of the gathering of information necessary to wise diplomacy. In other words, his own work as well as public relations might be handicapped. These implications of the current investigation should not be lost sight.

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This Changing World

State Department Reported Urging Release of Loyalty Files to Probers

By Constantine Brown

The State Department is said to be urging President Truman to make loyalty files available to a Senate investigating subcommittee.

Constantine Brown.

The subcommittee is investigating charges by Senator Joseph McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin that there are Communists and fellow travelers in the State Department. It wants Loyalty Board and FBI data on individuals mentioned by the Wisconsin Senator.

Secretary of State Acheson has stated publicly and privately that if there are some "termites" still left in the State Department, he has no objections to their being publicly exposed. Should the White House see eye to eye with him, the subcommittee would be able to handle the matter properly. The uneasiness felt throughout the country for some time, based on the fear that our foreign policies have been unsuccessful because of doubtful loyalty on the part of some persons connected with the department, also might be dispelled.

Would Have Healthy Effect.

The removal of all "termites" from Government departments would have a healthy effect not only on the American people but also on our friends in Europe who are attempting to resist the Communist drive.

The spectacular statements of Senator McCarthy may have caused the lifting of many eyebrows abroad. But governments in Western Europe have their own "pinkos" and the investigation in Washington may prompt them to do some housecleaning of their own. In Britain, for instance, some 30 bad security risks already have been removed from the government payroll.

Should we adopt a more aggressive approach in Washington, it is probable that the French government might act more aggressively and clear out Communists or their sympathizers still in key positions. There are none in the cabinet itself, and only a few in the security agencies of France. But there are more than is healthy for that country in government-owned arsenals, in laboratories handling defense matters, and particularly in the nationalized aircraft industry.

The damage done to the prestige of our Government by the attacks in Congress on State Department personnel is insignificant.

Would Strengthen Defense.

A housecleaning both by the United States and other countries would result in an over-all strengthening of Western defenses. Moscow and its satellites, while attacking the "fascist" methods of the American Government, are not happy about what is now happening in Washington. They fear that a thorough investigation will expose and remove their remaining friends in Government. Their "leaks" have helped considerably Moscow's military and diplomatic strategy in the past. The result of a bona fide investigation may also be the starting point of a new nonpartisan foreign policy which will inevitably hurt the Kremlin's cold war.

The defense last week of the speeches made by Mr. Acheson on the West Coast by two of the most bitter Republican critics of the Secretary's foreign policy was indicative of what might happen if he decided to embark on a realistic "global diplomacy."

In his West Coast speeches Mr. Acheson served official notice that the era of appeasement—open or concealed—is definitely ended and that the Soviet government will be received with open arms in our efforts to secure world peace, provided it plays with all its cards on the table. If the Secretary of State sticks to this policy—and judging him by his past record he says what he means—a new era of genuine nonpartisan policy may soon be started.

But before the Republican and some of the Democratic Senators become convinced that he is in earnest, it is essential that the present investigation of the charges by Senator McCarthy be conducted earnestly and without partisanship.

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Loyalty Files Awaited as New Dispute Flares

McCarthy Hits Denial By State Department Of Spying Charges

By Cecil Holland

As a Senate investigating group awaited a decision on obtaining loyalty files, a fresh controversy developed today over charges by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, that Communists have infiltrated the State Department.

Senator McCarthy hotly disputed a State Department report saying that a man he has described as Russia's top spy in this country is not connected with the department.

Other Developments.

The controversy broke out amid these other developments in a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee investigation of the McCarthy charges:

1. Chairman Tydings of the Senate group formally requested President Truman to turn over to the investigating committee loyalty files on those accused by Senator McCarthy. Similar requests were made to the State Department, Attorney General McGrath and Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board.

2. John Stewart Service, veteran State Department diplomat accused by Senator McCarthy of being "pro-Communist, said in Japan, "I am not and never have been a Communist, pro-Communist or fellow traveler." He made the statement in an interview with the Associated Press as he prepared to return by plane from a diplomatic assignment to India to answer the charges.

The new controversy over the charges broke out after Senator Tydings released late yesterday the State Department's record of employment on the man, still unidentified publicly, accused by Senator McCarthy of being a Russian spy.

Cites Record of Employment.

In a statement to which Senator McCarthy took vigorous exception within an hour, Senator Tydings said:

"The record of employment given me is as follows:

"He has never been employed by or connected with the State Department except once. About five years ago, and for a period of four months only, he was associated with a mission outside of the United States.

"Once thereafter, on a single day, although not employed or compensated by the State Department, he publicly addressed a group of State Department employes.

"On another occasion, though not employed by the State Department, he took part over a period of two days in a Citizens' Round Table Conference, in the company of many distinguished Americans who likewise were participating in this discussion.

"I am advised that there were no more contact, association, employment, or connection between the State Department and this individual in any manner or form at any other time, save as mentioned above."

Called "Completely Untrue."

Senator McCarthy told a news conference the report was "completely untrue" and "a deliberate misstatement of facts by the State Department." He also described it as "another of those obvious attempts to twist and distort the facts."

The man he has accused, Senator McCarthy added, "has a desk in the State Department; at least he did up to four or five weeks ago," and has had "free access to the files."

The Wisconsin Senator also declared that Senator Tydings "knows it is untrue because he has in his possession a sworn statement from a State Department official that this man was a consultant of the department on Far Eastern affairs as late as last December."

Senator McCarthy said that if the man he has accused of being a top Russian spy is brought be-

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fore the investigating committee and if he is allowed to question him, "he'll indict himself or perjure himself."

Will "Stand or Fall" on Case.

Senator McCarthy reiterated that he is "willing to stand or fall" on this case. If it is disproved, he said, the committe would have "the right to discredit the other charges.

"If I'm 100 per cent right, and I have no doubts about that," he added, "then the committee should recognize the seriousness of these charges."

Senator Tydings earlier had disclosed that he had asked formally for the loyalty files in letters sent out Tuesday. He said he had requested the files in 81 cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy in a February 20 Senate speech that led to the present investigation, and others that Senator McCarthy has named in public hearings as being "pro-Communist."

Senator Tydings said he had requested these files since "some manner of charges, however fragmentary, have been lodged" against those individuals.

Refuses Comment on Report.

Senator Tydings refused to comment on a report that the committee is sending an investigator to Wheeling, W. Va., to seek information about a speech Senator McCarthy gave there in opening his charges against the department.

Herman A. Gieske, editor of the Wheeling Intelligencer, said Lyon Tyler, jr., former FBI agent, had sent word that he would come to Wheeling to question a reporter who covered Senator Tydings' Lincoln Day speech there on February 9.

Democrats have been reminding Senator McCarthy that he was reported as saying in Wheeling that there are 205 Communists in the State Department, while elsewhere he his said there are 57 card-carrying Communists in the department.

Senator McCarthy told The Star that an error in his office in typing his speech led to the report that he had used the 205 figure. What happened, he said, was that a Wheeling reporter asked for an advance copy of the speech and that he gave it to him after warning that he had not checked it and probably would deviate largely from the text.

Explains Confusion.

He said the confusion about the 205 figure arose because he quoted in the speech from a letter from former Secretary of State Byrnes that was inserted in the Congressional Record in 1946.

That letter, he added, said that in one group of State Department employes screened by the Security Board 284 were listed as disloyal or a bad security risk, and that of this number only 79 were discharged. This left 205 still in the department, Senator McCarthy said, and added that he had not charged all of these were Communist.

"It should be unnecessary to spend time and money to investigate this matter in view of the fact that I understand that each of my speeches was either rebroadcast or recorded," Senator McCarthy said.

However, it was reported from Wheeling that the recording had been destroyed.

McCarthy Blasts Truman, Says He Imperils Security

Sends Telegram Changing Refusal To Release Files

By Cecil Holland

Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, charged today that President Truman is endangering the Nation's security by what he described as the President's "arrogant refusal" to release loyalty files to a Senate investigating committee.

Senator McCarthy made the accusation in a telegram sent to Mr. Truman at Key West, Fla., and said the President is delaying an investigation of his charges that Communists and fellow travelers have infiltrated the State Department.

Actually Mr. Truman has not refused to turn over the files to a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee. The matter is still under consideration and Chairman Tydings of the subcommittee said he believes a procedure will be worked out by this week end to make the files available.

Tydings Refuses Comment.

Senator Tydings said he had "absolutely no comment" on Senator McCarthy's charge. But another Democratic Senator who withheld the use of his name blasted Senator McCarthy's criticism of Mr. Truman as such a low attack "that I can't think of a fitting reply," and added:

"Let the American people be the judge of that kind of criticism of the President of the United States."

The exchange came amid these other developments:

1. Representative Nixon, Republican, of California, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, said the Senate inquiry is "rapidly degenerating into a political squabble." He suggested that Mr. Truman name an "impartial, non-political commission" of outstanding jurists to make the investigation.

2. Chairman Taft of the Senate Republican Policy Committee said Republican Senators are going to continue to "help McCarthy in his fight." After a meeting of the committee Senator Taft told reporters that support is not a matter of party policy but that he had suggested to Senator McCarthy that "if one case didn't work, to bring up others."

Werdel Defends McCarthy.

3. Representative Werdel, Republican, of California said Senator McCarthy is being made the victim of "an organized smear" and added: "I think he must be in the right track."

4. Deputy Undersecretary of State John E. Peurifoy said that a man named by Senator McCarthy as being the top Soviet espionage agent in this country—a man not yet identified publicly—never has been an employe of the State Department. Senator McCarthy said the man, whose name he has given to the committee, was "connected" with the State Department.

In his telegram to Mr. Truman the Wisconsin Senator said he has been "exceedingly disturbed" by reports from Key West that the President might make a portion of the files available to the investigating committee.

Fails to See Precedent.

"This," he added, "seems dangerously in line with your original statement that you would co-operate with the committee to 'disprove' McCarthy's charges."

Senator McCarthy said no precedent would be established by releasing the files, since such data had been made available to other investigating committees.

The telegram added:

"You are also aware of the fact that when the Senate voted unanimously for the subpoena of those files it was not requesting from you a favor which you have the right to withhold, but rather demanding the information which the Congress is entitled to under the Constitution. It should be significant to you that not even one Democrat voted against the resolution providing for the subpoena of the files."

Senator Tydings said he is seeking to work out arrangements to obtain the files without resort to subpoena. The committee, he added, would have no power to enforce the subpoena.

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'Top Agent's' File May Pace Loyalty Probe

'Progress' Being Made, Tydings Says After Talk With Peurifoy

The decision on whether to make Government loyalty files available to a Senate investigating committee may hinge on action to be taken on the files of a man charged by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) as being Russia's "top espionage agent" in the United States.

It was learned yesterday that the decision on this case, still undetermined, may provide the pattern with respect to the other people McCarthy has accused of Communist activity or leanings.

After a conference on the matter yesterday with Deputy Undersecretary of State John E. Peurifoy, Senator Tydings (D., Md.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee, said he was making "very rapid progress" toward obtaining the files. He said Peurifoy is willing to hand them over.

But the decision rests with President Truman, and his advisers have conflicting views on the wisdom of letting members of Congress search into Executive Branch files.

If some way can be found to make available to Tydings' subcommittee the files on the alleged "espionage agent," presumably this method can serve for the rest of the cases.

McCarthy has offered to stake his whole case on the charges he made Tuesday, in secret session, before Tydings' subcommittee. He said the man is "connected with the State Department."

Yesterday, Secretary of State Acheson flatly told a questioner at his news conference that if there was a Russian spy agent in the department, he didn't know him.

Peurifoy flatly denied that the suspect McCarthy named to the subcommittee works in the Department. He added that "he has never been an employe of the State Department."

The individual has not been named publicly, but his identity is common knowledge to the newsmen who have been reporting on McCarthy's charges.

At his news conference, Acheson supported a contention made earlier in the week by Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup that McCarthy's charges were injuring the conduct of American policy.

Acheson said Jessup made a full, true and correct statement on that matter when he testified before the Tydings' subcommittee. But, said Acheson, he saw no point in repeating or enlarging on Jessup's statement, lest that create the impression that the Department was opposed to an investigation. Actually, Acheson said, the State Department welcomed the investigation.

On Capitol Hill, Senator Benton (D., Conn.), struck back at critics of Acheson in a maiden speech proposing a world-wide "campaign of ideas" to combat Russian propaganda.

Benton, who served as Assistant Secretary of State from 1945 to 1947, said this country cannot expect bold and imaginative planning in the cold war with Russia "so long as the State Department is forced to cower like a tormented turtle."

The Connecticut legislator said former Secretaries of State James F. Byrnes and Gen. George C. Marshall both had to suffer through the "occupational hazard" of criticism, and he declared:

"Now it is Dean Acheson, in spite of the great reforms he has achieved in the department and the loyal and able key subordinates he is developing."

The way to remedy the department's problems, Benton said, is not by "harrying and tormenting Dean Acheson until he quits his great post."

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M'Carthy Tells Truman to 'Put Up or Shut Up'

Delay in Opening Files Assailed by Senator

By WILLARD EDWARDS

President Truman's continued delay in opening government files to Senate investigators of communism in the State department was assailed yesterday by Sen. McCarthy, (R) of Wisconsin, in these words:

"I have now furnished the name of a man connected with the State department who is Russia's top espionage agent. Evidence in the government files themselves will prove this extremely serious charge. Unless Mr. Truman is afraid of what the files will disclose, there is no reason to keep them secret. It is now up to the President to put up or shut up."

No Word From Florida

Chairman Tydings (D) of Maryland of a Senate foreign relations subcommittee, ordered a month ago by unanimous Senate vote to obtain the files in order to check on McCarthy's charges, reported that no word had been received from the President, vacationing in Florida.

Tydings conferred with Assistant Attorney General Peyton Ford and Deputy State Undersecretary John E. Peurifoy in an effort to secure the records which carry details on the FBI, civil service commission, and loyalty board investigations of employes. He repeated what he has been saying for two weeks—that he is hopeful of obtaining access to the files and thought an "understanding" would be reached eventually.

U.S. Court of Appeals upholds President's right to fire any government employe "of whose loyalty he is not completely convinced." Page 2.

For the first time, Tydings conceded that an adequate investigation will necessitate opening all government files dealing with an employe's loyalty—not the State department files alone. McCarthy has repeatedly emphasized that State department files are not indexed, are of the loose-leaf variety, and damaging evidence could easily be removed. FBI and civil service commission records, which cannot be rifled without detection, must also be supplied, he declared.

No Comment on Lattimore

Both Tydings and McCarthy were asked yesterday if Owen Lattimore, a State department consultant now in Afghanistan, was the man named in secret session Tuesday as a Russian agent. Both refused to answer any questions that might furnish a clue to the identity of the man. Tydings said he has received no word from Lattimore, publicly named last week by McCarthy as a bad security risk.

Rep. Nixon (R) of California, a member of the House un-American activities committee, proposed in a statement that the State department inquiry be turned over to an "impartial, non-political commission" of well-known jurists, headed by a man of the type of Federal Judge Harold R. Medina, who presided at the trial which resulted in the conviction of 11 Comunist leaders.

"The current Senate investigation is degenerating into a political squabble," Nixon said. "The Alger Hiss conspiracy could have been exposed years ago had Administration officials not treated the case on a political basis. The Administration should follow the precedent set up in the Teapot Dome case and have an investigation not hindered by political charges of the 'red-herring' or any other variety."

At his press conference, State Secretary Acheson refused to discuss Republican demands that he resign. Asked if there was a Russian espionage agent in the State department, as charged by McCarthy, he answered that if there was, he didn't know it. He said he did not expect to be called to testify by the investigating subcommittee.

Acheson indorsed the charges of Ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessup that McCarthy's accusations were injuring foreign relations. Jessup has denied charges that he was pro-Communist.

Anti-Red Bill Advances

The Senate judiciary committee, meanwhile, favorably reported a bill requiring the registration of Communist political organizations and Communist-front organizations, defined on the basis of domination by a foreign government or the world Communist movement.

Sen. Langer (R) of North Dakota filed a minority report assailing the measure as "the greatest threat to American civil liberties since the alien and sedition laws of 1798." Sen. Kefauver (D) of Tennessee voted to report the bill with "grave doubts as to its constitutionality" and reserved the right to vote against it unless amendments were adopted.

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Administration to Sift McCarthy's Charges Wisely and Judicially

Truman Knows Incident Can Cause Real Trouble In Coming Campaign

By David Lawrence

KEY WEST, Fla., Mar. 22—Just where is the episode of the loyalty files and the Senate inquiry into Communist sympathizers in Government departments getting us—what is back of it, and what direction will it take? It could stiffen the back of the Secretary of State and prevent the development of the very flexibility of approach toward Russia which may be found necessary in these critical times.

To brush the entire incident aside as the charges of just a single Senator is to take a superficial view. The affair has too many political aspects to be dismissed as irrelevant, and it has some international aspects as well.

Senator McCarthy is regarded by his colleagues in the Senate as the kind of person who usually has backing for charges he makes, and it is significant that several Republican Senators—to whom he has confided some of the things he claims are to be found in the loyalty files—are standing by him.

Advised To Be Cautious.

So far as President Truman is concerned, he is a more-than-interested bystander. He knows the incident can make political trouble. To him it can be a "red herring" again and divert attention from other issues in the coming campaign. So the President has been advised to be cautious and not to take an adamant position against revealing what is in the files. For if he didn't authorize some form of inspection, then Senator McCarthy would just take the floor in the Senate some day and spill more details that would force the revelation of all the files rather than simply those records concerned with particular persons.

The policy of letting Senate committee members see the files will satisfy them as to what is there. If, by chance, anything damaging is in them, it will be confined to those particular circumstances and not smear innocent persons.

But everyone here is in the dark as to what's back of it. The principal surmise is that Senator McCarthy isn't really concerned about individuals as such and that he hasn't any persons like Whittaker Chambers or any pumpkin papers to produce. What the Wisconsin Senator undoubtedly is trying to do is show that Communist sympathizers influenced the formulation of State Department policy from the days when Patrick Hurley, American Ambassador to China, publicly charged that certain individuals in the State Department were undermining American aid for Chiang Kai-shek.

Charge Stirs Up People.

It so happens that a large group of church people in America—Protestant as well as Catholic—think Chiang was weakened by American policies in the last few years. Some of the Republicans have taken up this cause. Their effort now is to show that the State Department really gave up China to Russia. Hence the political procedure appears to be to tie in the alleged Communist symathizers with scuttling of Chiang Kai-shek in the Department of State.

The China problem by itself isn't a good political issue. It is something too remote for the average man to bother himself about. But a charge of communistic influence in a Government department is something else. It has in it more drama and it stirs up people, especially with the Chambers-Hiss case as a background of disloyalty.

Curiously enough, the House Un-American Activities Committee started off with charges against innocent persons and was ridiculed and bitterly criticized but it wound up with a couple of jury trials and a conviction for perjury which in the popular mind has been translated into treason.

Under such circumstances, the wise course is to sift the charges carefully and judicially. The administration is prepared to go ahead on that basis, even if in the course of the inquiry some damaging information does emerge. It counts on the common sense of the American people to evaluate these matters fairly and in perspective.

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Red Agent Now Hiding

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

A former Russian MVD leader, now in hiding here, is said to have supplied Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.) with the name of the man McCarthy charges is the top Soviet espionage agent in this country, it was learned today.

This Moscow agent, who worked closely with the head of the Russian secret police, was told in the Kremlin that a State Department employe was the main contact of the MVD in the United States.

Several years ago the MVD agent broke from his espionage work and did not return to Moscow. Fearful of assassination at the hands of Stalin's trigger-men, this agent has remained in hiding and has refused to testify before Congress or in public trials.

DETAILED RED ACTIVITIES.

However, he is said to have given McCarthy details on the Russian espionage network and particularly on a spy ring in the State Department.

This newspaper also has learned that another State Department employee was photographed by the FBI giving Government documents to two persons under FBI surveillance as probable espionage agents.

These photographs, taken by a process closely guarded by the G-men, were for years in the FBI files and were seen by several important State Department officials.

CONFIDENTIAL POST.

Despite these photographs, considered by the FBI as major evidence in their case, the State Department employe has been promoted and assigned to work of highly confidential nature.

It is known that FBI agents who spent months working on the case were enraged at the casual dismissal of these photographs by the State Department.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boren
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carbo
Mr. Hogan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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MY DAY

Sen. McCarthy's Charges Are Music to the Kremlin

By ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

NEW YORK, Tuesday—What a relief it is to have someone speak up fearlessly as Ambassador Philip C. Jessup has now done in his own defense and to have both Gen. Marshall and Gen. Eisenhower back him up.

Guilt by association is a very dangerous accusation and the smearing of people before you have proved them guilty puts our country in a strange light before the rest of the world.

It seems to me that Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and those who support him have done a great deal of harm to the possible building up of a strong bipartisan foreign policy. In addition, they have shown a total lack of appreciation of what this sort of performance does in weakening our representation in other parts of the world.

We have an extremely strong and able Secretary of State in Dean Acheson. He is ably supported by loyal and devoted American citizens. If our legislative branch can find and prove that there are a few people in the State Department who should be removed, it should be done quietly and quickly, with as little publicity as possible.

The accusers cannot realize how much their methods do to help the Communists. What rejoicing it must bring in the Kremlin when they can say: "The U. S. is divided; they find Communist sympathizers everywhere."

That is certainly music to Communist ears and should give gentlemen like Sen. McCarthy pause in pursuing the present tactics.

* * *

I MUST say a word in this column about the late Ellis Gimbel. It has always seemed to me that he personified really responsible citizenship in a community.

Not being a Philadelphian, I cannot, of course, know of all the ways in which he helped people to raise the level of civic responsibility among the well-to-do in his city. It is many years now since I first heard of the award which he gave annually and I have always thought that it offered encouragement to obscure people who might never have had recognition if he had not sought them out and pointed to the value of the services they were rendering in their community. He will be missed by many and when I go to the city of brotherly love I shall regret not finding him there to greet me.

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Drew Pearson Says Taft Told McCarthy to 'Keep on Talking'

Drew Pearson said yesterday that Senator Taft (R., Ohio) had advised Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) to "keep on talking" about his charges of Communists in the State Department.

The columnist declared that Taft told other Republican Senators at a recent Capitol luncheon:

"I told Joe (McCarthy) to keep on talking, keep them confused. If he keeps talking long enough, people will believe him."

Senator Taft could not be reached for comment last night.

Pearson made the statement in a luncheon address at the Hotel Continental before the Washington Grocery Manufacturers' Representatives. The luncheon was held to honor officials of the Giant Food store chain.

Pearson criticized the Wisconsin Senator's attack on the State Department. He said the charges were having a bad reaction abroad and that "when we need friends abroad, we give the appearance of being torn with internal dissension."

The columnist said McCarthy had made "wild charges," first declaring there were 205 card-carrying Communists in the State Department, then reducing the number to 57. Most State employes, Pearson said, are "sincere" and "reasonably hard working."

Pearson told the luncheon he was sorry President Truman had not taken a "high type" Republican into his administration to help with the bi-partisan foreign policy.

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0 Communists in the State Depart ment

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Name of Top Red Given Inquiry, McCarthy Says

State Department Plea To Reveal Loyalty Records Reported

By the Associated Press

Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin said today he has handed Senate investigators "the name of the man—connected with the State Department—whom I consider the top Russian espionage agent in this country."

The Senator made the statement to newsmen. Reports circulated meanwhile that the State Department is urging President Truman to open FBI and all other Government loyalty files to the Senate subcommittee investigating Senator McCarthy's charges of Communists in the department.

Partial Text of Jessup Attack on McCarthy Charges. *Page A-7*

The "top Russian agent" was described by Senator McCarthy as Alger Hiss' one-time boss "in the espionage ring in the department."

McCarthy Answers Tydings.

Hiss, former State Department official, has been convicted on a charge that he lied in denying he handed secret United States documents to a courier for Russia.

Senator McCarthy's statement was prompted by another one made at a news conference late yesterday by Chairman Tydings of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee.

"Up to the present time," Senator Tydings declared, "neither Senator McCarthy nor any one else has given us the name of a single person who is accused of being a Communist or a card-carrying Communist."

Since the inquiry started on March 8, Senator McCarthy has publicly accused nine persons of being pro-Communist or otherwise bad security risks. He has turned over 106 other names to the coommittee for study in secret.

Truman Decision Awaited.

Senator Tydings said Senator McCarthy has not lodged definite charges against any one on the list of 106.

Mr. Truman, who is vacationing in Florida, is faced with making a decision on whether to let Senators on the inquiry committee examine the loyalty records of persons whom Senator McCarthy has accused.

A particularly knotty problem for the President is whether the records of the FBI and the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board should be made available, or just the State Department loyalty records. He has refused in the past to let congressional committees at any such records.

Deputy Undersecretary of State John E. Peurifoy told reporters, after a conference at the Capitol with Senator Tydings, that the department made its views known to Mr. Truman last week.

Officials Fear "Whitewash."

Mr. Peurifoy refused to disclose them. It was learned that the department wants the members of the committee to have all the loyalty records, including those of the FBI.

Department officials feel, it is understood, that Senator McCarthy almost certainly will cry "whitewash" if any of the files are withheld from the committee.

Senator Tydings said he had been told that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is "very much concerned" over the possibility of having to hand over that agency's records. Senator Tydings also said he heard that Seth V. Richardson, chairman of the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board, is opposed to releasing the records of that unit.

Over the week end an administration lieutenant said Attorney General McGrtah was objecting strenuously to any decision which would give the committee FBI files. Mr. McGrath was described as feeling that to do so would dry up FBI sources of confidential information.

McCarthy Silent on Name.

In Key West yesterday, high White House sources said Mr. Truman was seriously considering approval of limited access to the FBI records and other files. Those sources said that under that plan the files would be made available at the White House "under restrictions which would prevent a fishing expedition."

Senator McCarthy refused to say whether the case of the man he regards as a top Russian agent is one of the nine he has outlined at the public sessions.

Asked whether he has had a look at the individual's loyalty file, McCarthy replied:

"I know precisely what is in that file. The information in it would shock and jar the committee to such an extent that the Democrats would stop playing petty politics."

The time has come, Senator McCarthy said, "for Tydings to put up or shut up." He added:

"I have called this particular case to his personal attention and told him it is very important."

Wants Complete Files.

Senator McCarthy said the "Russian espionage agent" in the case is affiliated with the State Department, but he refused to say in what way.

He said Alger Hiss "was one of the links in the espionage chain" of the individual he (McCarthy) wants investigated.

Senator McCarthy emphasized he won't be satisfied unless the committee gets the complete files, including those of the FBI and the State Department, on all those whose names he had given to the group.

One of those Senator McCarthy named publicly, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, yesterday flatly denied Senator McCarthy's charges that he has an "unusual affinity for Communist causes" and once sponsored a subversive organization.

Dr. Jessup, who returned from the Far East to reply to Senator McCarthy, said the Senator had showed "a shocking disregard for the interests of our country."

Dr. Jessup was defended against Senator McCarthy's accusations by Gen. Marshall, former Secretary of State, and by Gen. Eisenhower, now president of Columbia University. Both wrote letters to Dr. Jessup which Senator Tydings put in the record.

Texts of Letters.

Texts of the letters follow:

"My Dear Jessup:

"I am shocked and distressed by the attack on your integrity as a public servant.

"Throughout your intimate service with me while I was Secretary of State you were clearly outstanding as a representative of the Government both as to your masterful presentations and the firmness of your opposition to all Soviet or Communist attacks or pressures. This was conspicuously the case during your handling on the Security Council of the Berlin blockade issue.

"Both the Undersecretary, Mr. Lovett, and I counted you as a great source of strength to the State Department during those critical days.

"Faithfully yours,

"G. C. MARSHALL.

"My Dear Jessup:

"I am writing to tell you how much your university deplores the association of your name with the current loyalty investigation in the United States Senate.

"Your long and distinguished record as a scholar and a public servant has won for you the respect of your colleagues and of the American people as well. No one who has known you can for a moment question the depth or sincerity of your devotion to the principles of Americanism. Your university associates and I are confident that any impression to the contrary will be quickly dispelled as the facts become known.

"Sincerely,

"DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

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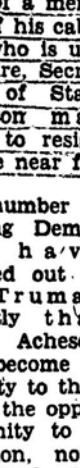
The Changing World

Capitol Buzzing Again With Rumors Acheson May Have to Resign Soon

By Constantine Brown

Congressional cloakrooms are hearing again the rumors that despite President Truman's reluctance to dispense with the services of a member of his cabinet who is under fire, Secretary of State Acheson may have to resign in the near future.



Constantine Brown.

A number of leading Democrats have pointed out to Mr. Truman recently that Mr. Acheson has become a liability to the party since he has given the opposition a golden opportunity to attack the Administration, not only on its mistakes in foreign relations but also on his attitude toward Alger Hiss.

The antagonism of Democrats in Congress was best illustrated last Friday when Republican Senators such as Knowland of California and Ferguson of Michigan went to the defense of the Secretary of State, who was being lampooned by Democratic Senators Johnson and George.

The attacks by these Democratic stalwarts resulted from their disagreement with two speeches made by the Secretary of State in California, setting forth the American position in the cold war and the conditions under which we would discuss a world settlement with Russia.

Belated Awakening Seen.

The Republicans pointed out that the only criticism to be made of Mr. Acheson's speeches was that he did not speak as realistically last summer. Mr. Acheson's stock with Congress and with the country as a whole is so low, however, that his belated "awakening" is not likely to be effective.

The charge by Senator McCarthy that the State Department is like a sieve in guarding security lists not wholly against Mr. Acheson, although he has his share in it. Some Congressmen remember that while he was Undersecretary of State with James F. Byrnes as Secretary Mr. Acheson told them he would rather have a dozen bad security risks in the department than to victimize one innocent person by applying the discretionary powers which Congress gave the department to dispense with the services of suspected officials.

We now are reaping the harvest of blind appeasement during the years when the highest Washington officials believed that the United States would jeopardize the chances of "friendship with Russia" if the Communist sympathizers were cleared out of Government departments.

U. S. Agents and Gouzenko.

When Igor Gouzenko, the code clerk in the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, made his sensational disclosures which led to the uncovering of the Soviet spy ring in Canada and the United States he was interrogated also by American security officers sent from Washington. The results of that interrogation were compiled in a voluminous report which J. Edgar Hoover presented to Secretary of State Byrnes.

The names of a number of State Department officials are said to have been included. Mr. Byrnes paid no attention to the report, however. He did tell members of Congress that he had no authority summarily to remove such persons. This power was given to him later by special act of Congress, authorizing the Secretary of State to dismiss persons suspected of disloyalty.

Some of these bad security risks decided to resign voluntarily and obtained better-paying jobs either in private organizations or with the United Nations. One of the suspects, John Service, a Foreign Service officer, was brought before a grand jury in Washington. He not only was reinstated but received a promotion and a letter of apology from Secretary Byrnes and Undersecretary Grew.

Marshall Couldn't Believe It

During the time that Gen. Marshall was Secretary no sweeping investigations were made in the State Department. Gen. Marshall could not believe that there were disloyal persons in his agency. Anyway, he was busy with other matters and paid little attention to what was going on within the Department.

Gen. Marshall brought in as head of administration an able young man named John Peurifoy, who still holds that position. Within the limits of his authority—which is by no means discretionary—Mr. Peurifoy has tried to rid the department of its worst elements. He does not, however, have a completely free hand.

The State Department's troubles which are receiving public attention now are thus not of recent date. They are the continuation of a bad situation which has existed for nearly 15 years, not only in the State Department but in most other Government departments and alphabetical agencies.

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"And Keep An Eye On A Cake My Wife Has In The Oven"

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Big Business Guns for Truman

By Drew Pearson

A quiet campaign by big business to defeat the Truman Administration was launched in New York the other day under the auspices of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Pearson

Chairmanned by Carrol E. French of Standard Oil of New Jersey, a group of big business executives discussed plans for a propaganda drive through employe magazines and by putting slips into employes' pay envelopes.

Chief speaker at the closed-door meeting was Lemuel Boulware, vice president of the giant General Electric Corp. and former vice chairman of the War Production Board. Boulware announced that General Electric was actively campaigning for the Taft-Hartley Act, against the unions and, above all, against socialism.

"Roosevelt, Truman, Reuther and their ilk are the avowed enemies of American business," Boulware told his fellow executives in brief. "They consider the American businessman a thief, a cheat and a coward. The time has come for the American bussinessman to stand up and take a stand for what he believes in.

"Therefore, General Electric," he said, "is taking a strong stand against socialism which we regard as a more serious menace than communism."

Boulware, who is in charge of G. E.'s labor relations, also stated that no union on a national level is any good.

Business executives were also urged to give as much circulation as possible to "The Road Ahead," written by bitter Roosevelt-hater John T. Flynn.

Harum-Scarum Senator

Republicans have been getting more and more embarrassed over the antics of harum-scarum Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin. After claiming 207 pro-Communists and disloyalists were on the State Department's payroll, smiling Joe hasn't named a single State Department official who was a pro-Communist and made the charge stick.

The trouble with Joe is that he rushes into situations where he doesn't have the facts, just as he rushed into his own election campaign in Wisconsin without resigning from the Court of Appeals. As a result of using the judicial bench as a campaign forum, the Board of Bar Commissioners lodged the following serious charge against him before the Supreme Court:

"It is difficult to conceive of any conduct upon the part of a presiding judge which would bring judges and courts into greater disrepute and contempt than the conduct of the defendant (McCarthy) challenged in this proceeding.

"He, as an officer of the court, knowingly and willfully, placed the gratification of his personal ambition above the interests of the public and the rights of litigants.

"The defendant, by his conduct, chose to defy the rules of ethical conduct prescribed by the Constitution, the laws of the State of Wisconsin, and the members of the profession, in order to attain a selfish personal advantage. The gratification of his ambition was in defiance of the declared public policy and laws of the State of Wisconsin."

The Wisconsin Supreme Court held that McCarthy was guilty of the above charge, but for some reason failed to disbar him. This caused the irrepressible gentleman, who now flings charges at the State Department, to smirk at the Board of Bar Commissioners as follows:

"Their actions are a disgrace to every honest, decent lawyer in the State of Wisconsin and they should resign."

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SENATOR GEORGE WANTS TO QUIZ ACHESON

Others Ask to Testify; Administration Drops Plans for Whitewash

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Weight of Evidence Prohibits 'Smear'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The Truman administration has reluctantly abandoned plans for a Senate committee whitewash of the State department, it became known yesterday.

Behind this decision lies a fascinating story of back-stage political maneuvering on Capitol Hill and in the executive branch. An original program, calling for a quick and merciless vivisection of Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, author of charges that numerous State Department employes are disloyal, has been discarded under the pressure of public opinion and the gradually accumulating evidence piled up by the Wisconsin senator.

State Laxity Revealed

With the surface barely scratched, strong evidence has been produced to indicate the State department has been exceedingly lax in screening employes delegated to confidential posts in Washington and in strategic areas throughout the world. More material of this nature remains to be made public.

Names Named

SEN. McCARTHY (R) of Wisconsin turned over to Senate investigators last night the names of the 81 persons he charged on the Senate floor are State department pro-Communists. The names were not made public.

The Senate foreign relations subcommittee this week will begin a full-scale investigation never contemplated in the beginning. Chairman Tydings of Maryland, after maintaining for three weeks that he would need no investigators, has employed three ex-FBI agents who will examine govern-

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ment files hitherto locked to the gaze of Congress by Presidential decree.

Many considerations entered into this reversal of program, among them the following:

1. The Senate appropriations subcommittee, which will decide how much money State Secretary Acheson gets to operate his agency in the coming fiscal year, has made it clear it will probe the State department if there is any suspicion of a cover-up by the foreign relations subcommittee.

Suspicious of Acheson

Whereas the foreign relations committee is almost unanimously friendly to Acheson, the appropriations group has a majority of Democrats and Republicans suspicious of his operations. They have made it known that they will withhold appropriations until there has been a State department house cleaning.

2. Tydings and Sen. McMahon (D) of Connecticut of the investigating subcommittee, originally delegated as "hatchet men" to work on McCarthy, have been inundated with mail from constituents protesting reports of a whitewash. Both are up for re-election this year.

3. Acheson, since his two statments defending his continued friendship for Alger Hiss, convicted perjurer-spy, has become a damaging political liability to the Democratic party in a campaign year. Acheson's best friends on Capitol Hill wonder whether his removal will not be essential to political success in November.

McCarthy Story Reviewed

Here is the story, gained from reliable sources of both Republican and Democratic complexion, of how a contemplated whitewash evolved into an investigation promising to be exhaustive.

McCarthy took the Senate floor on the night of Feb. 20 and outlined 81 cases which, he said, indicated disloyalty now or recently in the State department.

Senate Majority Leader Lucas of Illinois called an emergency session of the Democratic policy committee next day. The issue of communism in the State department, he told the assembled Democrats, was rapidly becoming a political issue with damaging possibilities in the coming congressional campaign.

Discussion of how best to discredit McCarthy was frank. It was quickly agreed a committee investigation of some sort under Democratic auspices must be launched to accomplish the desired objective. Sen. Hoey of North Carolina, chairman of the committee on executive expenditures, had a staff of trained investigators available and his group was the logical choice. But McCarthy was the ranking Republican on that committee, it was recalled, and Democrats shuddered at that prospect.

Connally Opposed It

The Senate judiciary committee, which had just completed a survey on communistic invasion of the United Nations, was considered only briefly although it too had a staff of experienced investigators lying idle. Chairman McCarran of Nevada was no friend of the State department.

The final decision was that the foreign relations committee would have to take on the job. Chairman Connally of Texas roared that he had no time for such "chicken-feed." But he was told a subcommittee could be appointed to handle the hearings at which, it was hoped, McCarthy would be slashed into bits.

Lucas rushed to the Senate floor with a carefully worded resolution narrowly confining the investigation to persons named by McCarthy and at present in the State department. But Republicans were alert, action was postponed until the following day and Lucas had to accept several amendments which broadened the investigation to include all disloyal persons now or formerly with the State department, whether named by McCarthy or not.

Another amendment directed the committee to subpoena the loyalty files of the government, forbidden by Executive order to Congress ever since the Alger Hiss case broke before a House committee. The approval vote was unanimous.

Connally appointed a subcommittee of five, headed by Tydings, a clever lawyer noted as a sarcastic cross-examiner. Tydings, aided by Sen. Green (D) of Rhode Island and Sen. McMahon planned a heckling procedure intended to confuse and discomfit McCarthy when he appeared to present his evidence.

Tydings, during this period, repeatedly said he saw no need for hiring investigators nor issuing a subpoena for the government's loyalty files. Tyding's friends predicted McCarthy would retire, bleeding, from his encounter with Tydings and a quick report exonerating the State department and castigating McCarthy would dispose of the whole affair in a few days.

Aid From Within Dept.

In the meanwhile, however, assistance had been offered McCarthy from a number of quarters. Subsequent developments indicated that information was given to him from within the State department itself by employes resentful of the domination of a pro-Communist clique. Investigating agencies, which had for years seen their reports on Communists in the government ignored, also offered him their services. Organizations interested in combatting communism provided reports.

The Wisconsin senator amassed a great weight of evidence in addition to the material upon which he had based his original Senate speech. Working 20 hours out of 24, he prepared for the first open hearing.

The opening gun fired by Tydings was a demand that McCarthy supply the name involved in case No. 14 of the 81 cases outlined on the Senate floor. He refused to permit the Wisconsin senator to proceed with his outline of prepared evidence until this name had been made public. The intent of this strategy, it became known, was to embarrass McCarthy because case No. 14 involved a charge of suppression of evidence against a high State department official who was later commended by McCarthy as one of the few who had tried to drive Communists out of the State department.

More Sniping at McCarthy

For two days, McCarthy sought futilely to present evidence against a dozen officials on whom copious evidence was available. He was confined to giving one name—that of Dorothy Kenyon—against whom the evidence was less serious than in the other cases.

McCarthy finally erupted and accused the committee of acting as "a tool of the State department," seeking to discover the names of his State department informants so that they could be fired.

By this time, thousands of letters were flooding members of the subcommittee, particularly Tydings and McMahon, suggest-

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ing that the country was interested in cleaning out the State department and would not take a whitewash inquiry kindly. Tydings was asked by more than one constituent if he was being influenced by his father-in-law, Joseph E. Davies, former ambassador to Russia who wrote the pro-Russian "Mission to Moscow."

Sentiment is Reversed

By the end of the week, a remarkable change was evident in the attitude of the Democratic members of the subcommittee. McCarthy was permitted to proceed without interruption and poured into the record a great amount of detail concerning nine officials, whom he named publicly, and several others whose names he gave the subcommittee privately. He promised by the next day to present the probers with the names of some 125 persons whose loyalty records should be investigated.

The chairman appointed a counsel and investigators, announced that the State department had agreed to open its files for examination, and emphatically announced the subcommittee would "lean over backwards" in an effort to conduct an honest inquiry.

The best that the State department now can hope to get from the Senate investigation, it is believed, is a face-saving report asserting that McCarthy went too far in charging he could prove there were 57 card-carrying Communists in the State department.

Experienced investigators have long conceded the virtual impossibility of proving that any individual is a card-carrying Communist. In the 12 years that the House committee on un-American activities has functioned, it procured Communist party cards in only a few instances, notably in the cases involving Hollywood film writers.

None Carried Cards

Communists infiltrating the government are particularly warned to conceal their party membership, investigators note. None of the four persons—Hiss, Whittaker Chambers, Henry Julian Wadleigh and Harry D. White—named as Soviet informants in the Alger Hiss trial ever carried party cards.

McCarthy, with little previous experience of Communist party operations, was admittedly unwise in selecting the "card-carrying" phrase. What he actually said, a check of his first public speech at Wheeling, W. Va., revealed, was that the 57 employes were "either card-carrying Communists or certainly loyal to the Communist party."

The Wisconsin senator, in his appearances before the subcommittee, had modified this assertion to assert that his evidence, amplified from various sources in recent weeks, indicates violation by more than 100 State department employes, past and present, of Secretary Acheson's own "loyalty yardstick."

Four Types of Risks

This "yardstick," as given Feb. 28 to the Senate appropriations committee, classifies "security risks" into four categories, as follows:

1. 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 the government by unconstitutional means, or who consistently believes in or supports the idealogies and policies of such a party or movement.

2. A person engaged in espionage or acting directly or indirectly under foreign government instructions or who deliberately performs his duties to serve the interests of another government.

3. A person who knowingly divulges classified information for transmission to a foreign government or who is so consistently irresponsible in the handling of classified information as to indicate extreme lack of care or judgment.

4. A person who has habitual or close association with persons known or believed to be in categories 1 and 2, to an extent which would justify the conclusion that he might divulge classified authority.

He Follows Definitions

Under these definitions of disloyalty, McCarthy asserted, all the persons he has thus far named publicly are suspect.

The case of Miss Kenyon, whose term as American representative on a United Nations commission was terminated last Jan. 1, has been cited by opponents of McCarthy as an outrageous example of maligning an innocent person. Yet Miss Kenyon, who did not deny her connections with at least 28 Communist fronts, so designated by the attorney general and other official agencies, was certainly a subject for investigation under the "security risk" characteristics outlined in categories 1 and 4, McCarthy noted.

An FBI report on Miss Kenyon's numerous Communist front connections was in the hands of the State department loyalty board which cleared her. But the record shows that she was not even questioned by the board despite this indication of "consistent support" of organizations advocating a foreign ideology.

Accepting the woman's vigorous testimony before the subcommittee that she never "knowingly" belonged to a Communist front, the loyalty board still was lax in not seeking that testimony, McCarthy asserts.

Acheson Is Just 'Mosquito' to Red

LONDON, March 18 (AP). Red China's prime minister, Chou En-lai, described Secretary of State Acheson today as "a mosquito trying to shatter the fortress of world peace."

In a statement commenting on Acheson's speech Wednesday at San Francisco on U.S. policy toward Asia, Chou asserted:

"The affairs of the Asian peoples must be settled by themselves and must never be interfered with by such American imperialists as Acheson and company on the other side of the ocean."

D. McCarthy

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Loyalty Unit to Probe 'Leaks' to McCarthy

By LAURENCE BURD

President Truman's loyalty review board yesterday ordered a full investigation into information "leaks" to Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, who is seeking to rid the State department of pro-Communist elements.

Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the loyalty board, announced it wants to find out how McCarthy learned the board had recommended the recall of John S. Service, State department employe, from the Far East for a loyalty hearing. McCarthy has named Service as one of those suspected of Communist leanings.

Will Call Acheson

Sen. George (D) of Georgia predicted yesterday that the subcommittee will call Secretary of State Acheson to answer McCarthy's charges.

George, ranking Democrat on the foreign relations committee, told newsmen that the subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges "certainly" will want to hear Acheson.

The veteran legislator said the inquiry will affect American public opinion "and, with the world in the condition that it is in, it is highly important that the inquiry be concluded at the earliest possible time."

Refuses to Answer

Richardson, meanwhile, refused to answer questions put to him earlier by McCarthy concerning the board's records in the Service case.

In a reply to McCarthy, Richardson said he was barred by order of President Truman from answering three of the four questions. Richardson told the senator his only recourse is to ask the President.

"I regret," Richardson wrote, "that the all-inclusive terms of the directive of the President under the date of March 13, 1948, in my opinion prevent me from disclosing to anyone not connected with the operation of the program the contents of any report, record or file relative to the loyalty of employes."

Referring to the leak of information, Richardson complained that McCarthy told a Senate subcommittee of the move to recall Service last Tuesday five hours before the board's decision was communicated to the State department.

New Gag Effort

"We are going to do all we can to find out who is responsible for the leak," he said.

Yesterday's action by the board to plug the leak was interpreted by some as a new attempt by the Administration to cut off the senator's access to data that will embarrass the Administration.

The Administration-dominated foreign relations subcommittee hearing McCarthy's charges of Communist infiltration has already been accused by Republican senators of trying to investigate McCarthy rather than his evidence.

Meanwhile, McCarthy has been disclosing data heretofore suppressed by the Administration. Presumably such evidence has come from anti-Communists inside the government. McCarthy has refused to disclose his sources for fear the Administration would exact reprisals.

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Access To Files

Senator Tydings says that his committee has obtained free and unlimited access to the loyalty files in the State Department concerning the 81 cases, now grown to over a hundred, that Senator McCarthy is itching to expose. The announcement was made as if it were the merest routine. But everybody with any relation to confidential papers on personnel knows otherwise. It is a decision of great consequence. Let us skip this time over the irretrievable damage to innocent reputations arising from the parading of hearsay by overt or covert publicity. Think of the precedent that revelation would set in furnishing a handle to other Senators who might see in this type of politiking a ready access to the headlines at election time. Or ponder the harrowed feelings of the FBI. The FBI is not only afraid of the danger to its information system consequent upon exposure, it is worried over the constant pressure that it should evaluate all the tidbits and idle gossip that under its system go into loyalty records.

So there should be second thoughts, in our opinion, on this question of opening the relevant files. A dilemma, to be sure, is involved. The State Department has offered free and unreserved cooperation to the committee, Senator Tydings insists on a fair hearing, and there is the challenge to be met from Senator McCarthy. Surely a compromise could be found that would satisfy all parties this side of dishonorable conduct and dangerous procedure. We suggest there is such a compromise. All parties in the present instance seem to have justified confidence in the chairman of the over-all Loyalty Review Board, Mr. Seth W. Richardson, who made a national reputation as counsel to the Senate's Pearl Harbor inquiry. He is a distinguished lawyer, an upright citizen—and he happens to be a Republican. We should imagine that he is just as much averse to opening files as any other public-spirited person. Why not let him take time out to study the hundred or so files affected by the McCarthy charges in a kind of special post-audit, submit a report to both the President and Senator Tydings, and then stand prepared to answer questions on his findings before the Tydings Committee? Surely, if this were done, the Tydings Committee would be in a position to evaluate the McCarthy charges, and so discharge its obligations under the Senate resolution.

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Matter Of Fact

By Stewart Alsop

McCarthy Past And Present

SENATOR Joseph McCarthy's standards for service in the Department of State are most exacting. One can almost hear the bellows of righteous rage which the Senator would emit, if he could prove that the State Department had wilfully 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.

Senator McCarthy has not been able to prove anything of the sort. So far, in his attempt to support his charge that there are "57 card-carrying Communists" in the State Department the Senator has failed to produce solid evidence of anything but his own political ambition. Yet if Senator McCarthy really wants to find in the American Government the man identified above, he need not look very far. He will find him in the United States Senate, in the person of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The official records of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, McCarthy's native State, make fascinating reading. There have already been reports of certain rather unlovely aspects of Senator McCarthy's career in Wisconsin. But stories of the Senator's peculiar attitude toward 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 in 1941, when McCarthy was a circuit judge. At that time, McCarthy decided a certain case in favor of the plaintiff, and against the State. When he rendered 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 to the Supreme Court, McCarthy had this part of the court record destroyed. The 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, ill-advised act of a young man. But what makes the case interesting 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 charge 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 Senator 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, and 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 charged, 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," 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 thus 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 squalor and downright nastiness which surrounds the current goings-on on Capitol Hill is perhaps not surprising. The issue of internal security in these times is a desperately serious one, as the Hiss and Fuchs cases have clearly shown. There could be no more serious charges 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. Here are all the familiar trimmings—guilt-by-association, occasional fuzzy-mindedness labeled disloyalty to the country, 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.

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Reaction Checked

Democrats Find Senator McCarthy Has Failed to Score on Charges

By Doris Fleeson

Democrats have made a quiet check of the country's reaction thus far to Senator Joseph McCarthy's Communist charges against the State Department and are satisfied that he has not yet scored.

Doris Fleeson.

But they know they are not home yet. One Hiss case and the Senator's overstatements and confusions will recede into the background.

Republicans are aware of this, of course, and some of them have volunteered Senator McCarthy advice and assistance. At least one, Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, who hazed Secretary of State Acheson about the Hiss case, complains that the young man from Wisconsin won't take advice from his elders. It was noticed, too, that after the first day, Senator Millikin of Colorado, the shrewd and mellow chairman of the Republican conference, absented himself from the hearings.

GOP Heads 'Not Involved.'

The Republican National committee calls attention to the fact that it is not involved in any way.

Actually both the accuser, Senator McCarthy, and the accused, Secretary Acheson, are being isolated by the politicians. They are on their own and neither is likely to get any help until after he has proved he doesn't need it.

This is largely due to timidity which is the occupational disease of the politician. To some extent it is also personal. The Senator and Secretary have not been taken into the club.

Senator McCarthy's ambitious, restless personality has put off his colleagues. They simply do not feel sure of him.

The case of Secretary Acheson is more complex. If politicians did not possess the human touch, they would not be in politics. Having it, they rarely warm to the cool intellectuality of an Acheson even when they admire it. The Secretary's daily walks with Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter have not helped him with Congress. Capitol Hill never cared for the Justice's influence on Franklin Roosevelt; they attribute to him scheming, power-loving characteristics which they fear.

Senators Unsure of Ground.

Though he has been long in Government, Mr. Acheson's appointments have always been personal to the President of the United States. He does not have any Senatorial sponsors to act as a kind of buffer state. He can count on President Truman but the President cannot transfer his political protection to the Senate floor.

The emotional impact of charges like those Senator McCarthy makes is such that no Senator will get involved until he is absolutely sure of his ground. Finally, the Secretary's statement about Alger Hiss scared them off; the politicians deny him the right in his great office to have personal feelings.

The hearings so far are criticized almost as much in private conversations among the politicoes as the principals. It is now felt that it was a mistake to force Senator McCarthy to name names in open hearings—the Senator bears down heavily on the fact that he didn't want to.

Now that counsel has been hired, a different form of procedure can be expected. As William P. Rogers demonstrated when he took the job of counsel to the Ferguson Committee, Senate hearings can be transformed into sober judicial hearings. Mr. Rogers took over after the Howard Hughes-Senator Brewster flasco and wiped it out with his successful expose of Gen. Meyers, who is now in jail. Democrats hope for a similar change in the McCarthy hearings.

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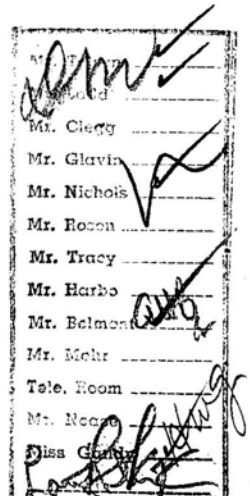

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Slow Down for Facts

Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin has already made sufficient allegations before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee to necessitate the immediate establishment of some orderly and quasi-judicial system for determining the merits of his charges. There are two tests to which these charges should be submitted with all possible speed and without regard to partisanship or personal sensibilities. The first is whether they are true and the second is whether they are of real consequence.

When the Senator began his attack on the State Department, we were under the impression he intended to prove in detail the general accusation he had made that there were some 57 Communists holding office in the Department. It now appears that he is prepared to do something less than this but is able and willing to name person after person who either does or did hold a position of trust, not always in the State Department, and who is or was favorably disposed toward Communism or toward persons who were active in its operations.

Chairman Tydings says the committee is ready to engage lawyers and is ready to ask J. Edgar Hoover to recommend four investigators. Thus the committee, instead of being a tribunal before which Senator McCarthy was to submit his evidence, becomes an investigating body to follow leads supplied by the Senator and dig up whatever facts may be discovered in the process.

This is a familiar but not always satisfactory pattern of congressional investigations. Its weaknesses are that usually the accusations and innuendoes capture more public attention than the defense or explanations of the accused; that too frequently the facts are lost in a welter of charge and countercharge; that inaccurate or unsubstantiated allegations do not meet with the reproofs that make for a sense of responsibility in better regulated transactions.

It is by no means essential that Senator McCarthy prove each and every assertion he has made. If their general accuracy is established, the situation will be serious enough to warrant the most drastic house-cleaning in the history of the government, comparable in modern times only to the scandals of the Harding administration and more serious to the national welfare. But it would be well if the committee could hold up the daily parade of accusations long enough to go thoroughly into some of them and develop conclusive evidence on which public opinion could base an effective demand for corrective action.

The Hartford Times.

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Daily Edition Founded in 1841
by Alfred E. Burr

MEMBER GANNETT GROUP

Times Building, Hartford 1, Conn.

Francis S. Murphy, Publisher
C. C. Hemenway, Editor
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SUBSCRIPTION RATES PAYABLE IN ADVANCE
One year, $15.50; six months, $7.75; three months, $3.90; one month, $1.30
By carrier weekly, 30c; single copy, 5c

Member the Associated Press, the United Press, International News Service, the Gannett News Service.

New York Office, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, 20; Chicago Office, 400 North Michigan Ave., 11; San Francisco Office, 681 Market St. 5.

Published daily except Sunday. Entered at the Post Office at Hartford, Conn., as Second-Class Matter under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to the use for republication of all the local news printed in this newspaper, as well as all AP news dispatches.

McCarthy Adds Four, Including Lattimore, To 'Pro-Red' Roster

HALDORE HANSON

Associated Press WIREPHOTOS
OWEN LATTIMORE

Harris & Ewing
STEPHEN BRUNAUER

Associated Press Photo
MRS. BRUNAUER

Accused by Senator McCarthy of pro-Communist leanings.

Charges Are Denied; Senator Reneges on Windup, But Rejects Long-Session Idea

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) yesterday added four more names of Federal officials to his roster of "pro-Communists."

At the same time, however, he reneged on his promise of last week to finish by yesterday his presentation to a special Senate subcommittee of charges of Communist infiltration in the State Department.

The four persons McCarthy tagged with Red leanings, or worse, were:

1. Owen J. Lattimore, from time to time a State Department adviser and a nationally known authority on the Far East.
2. Haldore Hanson, a State Department official connected with "Point Four" work.
3. Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer, a State Department official on its UNESCO staff.
4. Her husband, Stephen L. Brunauer, former Navy commander and now a civilian scientist in the Navy Department's explosive research division.

Lattimore on U. N. Mission

Lattimore is now on a United Nations mission in Afghanistan. His wife, and his boss, Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, president of The Johns Hopkins University — quickly entered denials for him.

In their own behalf, the other three persons named by McCarthy firmly denied the charges. Mrs. Brunauer said she was asking Senator Tydings (D., Md.), chairman of the special Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee, to be heard before that body.

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Room

Yesterday's hearings, which again took place in the packed, klieg-lighted, Senate Caucus Room, were in marked contrast to the fire-and-brimstone sessions last Wednesday and Thursday.

McCarthy read his testimony through with almost no interruptions—only occasional reading by Tydings of some of the other sponsors of organizations with which McCarthy said the four persons he named had been associated.

Objects to Afternoon Session

The only exchange of any consequence was between McCarthy and Tydings over the subcommittee agenda. On McCarthy's promise that he would finish his cases yesterday, Tyings proposed to have his subcommittee sit throughout the afternoon.

McCarthy objected on the ground that housing legislation was coming up in the Senate and that he was obliged to be present.

Later, it was determined the housing legislation was not to be called up. McCarthy still objected to continuing, however, this time for the reason that he had to attend to his constituents' affairs.

Finally, after infinitely polite but equally persistent prodding by Tydings, McCarthy said he could not afford to spend so much time before the subcommittee. He would give it every morning, but needed afternoons and nights to prepare his case, he intimated.

Furthermore, he said, he had changed his mind about the time it would take to complete his presentation. Rather than the four or five hours he had thought, it would take at least three more morning sessions.

Hearing Slated Today

Tydings concurred, and has him scheduled to continue at 9:30 a. m. today. He will be followed about noon by Dorothy Kenyon, former U. S. representative to a U. N. commission, which McCarthy last week said was immersed in deep-rooted Communist activities.

Another person accused by McCarthy last week of "unusual affinity" for Communist causes is United States Ambassador-at-Large Phillip C. Jessup. In Paris yesterday, Dr. Jessup said he is cutting short his Far Eastern talks with European officials to fly back to Washington.

He will arrive Wednesday and has said he would be glad to appear before the subcommittee to dispose "of the allegation that I am friendly toward Communism."

In passing, McCarthy yesterday blasted Secretary of State Acheson for shifting the "onus" of the loyalty exposures to the shoulders "of a harmless and likeable young man by the name of John Peurifoy," Deputy Under Secretary [illegible]

McCarthy said he wanted to know when Acheson will have guts enough to stand up and say, 'This is my baby.'"

It has been Peurifoy who has so far issued State Department answers to McCarthy's charges.

'Big Shot' Unidentified

McCarthy did not say which of his cases yesterday was the "phenomenal" one about a State Department "big shot" that he promised last week.

The best-known name of the four he mentioned was that of Lattimore. McCarthy conceded he was not a full-time Federal employe, but pointed to a number of temporary advisory or consultative posts he held there.

He said Lattimore's "pro-Communist record goes back many years." In proof, he cited this evidence.

1. He was a member of the board of the magazine "Amerasia," headed by Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a prominent "money bags" for many Communist publications.

2. He was accused by Frank C. Waldrup, editorial director of The Washington Times-Herald, of characterizing the Russian purges of 1936-39 as "a triumph of democracy," and of casting doubt on General MacArthur's policies as Supreme Commander in Japan.

3. He was a trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, along with Field and several other pro-Communists.

At this point Tydings interrupted to read the rest of the officers and trustees. They included Henry R. Luce, of Time, Inc.; Robert G. Sproul, president of the University of California; Ray Lyman Wilbur, formerly in President Hoover's Cabinet; Paul G. Hoffman, present Economic Cooperation Administrator; former Under Secretary of State Sumner Wells; Juan Trippe, head of Pan-American Airlines, and several other prominent figures.

4. Lattimore spoke on the same platform with Field, and under the auspices of the Washington Committee for Aid to China, on February 11, 1941.

What McCarthy did not say, but what was revealed by an examiner of the handbill announcing the meeting, was that the subject of the talk was an appeal to stop further shipments to Japan.

5. He and Mrs. Lattimore were sponsors of the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights, an affiliate of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. This latter organization was called "subversive" in April, 1943, by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Maryland Citizens Listed

Tydings pointed out that other sponsors included many well-respected Maryland citizens whom he, Tydings, knew. McCarthy agreed. He added, although he did not demonstrate that Lattimore was not, however, a "dupe who joined my mistake," but rather was one who duped other, well-intentioned people to join.

6. He was the representative in October, 1943, of the Office of War Information, at a meeting of the Writers' Congress and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. The latter was classed as subversive by the Attorney General four years later.

The rest of McCarthy's case against Lattimore was a 3700-word article from the Knights of Columbus magazine by the Rev. James K. Kearney, S.J., which McCarthy read into the record. It bitterly assailed Lattimore as the architect of a China policy that Father Kearney considered was wrong and that had disastrous results.

McCarthy did not indicate what the priest's qualifications were as a Far Eastern expert. Lattimore, now head of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins, has lived many years in China and has written nine books about the Far East. He is considered by many as the greatest American authority on Chinese and Mongolian affairs.

In Baltimore yesterday, Mrs. Lattimore, a foreign affairs expert in her own right, declared:

"First of all, my husband has never been a State Department consultant or official of any sort—never on the State Department payroll.

"Second, he has never been a Communist, nor a pro-Communist. He is an anti-Communist.

"Persons have criticized him because he has pointed out many shortcomings in the Nationalist government of China. He did this earlier than most non-Chinese, and most of what he said has now come to be recognized as fact.

"But he has never spoken in support of the Chinese Communists. He regards a Communist rule in China as unfortunate both for China and for the United States."

In making his case against Haldore Hanson, McCarthy intimated the young State Department official would have tremendous powers in the new "Point Four" program for undeveloped areas.

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From McCarthy's description of his position, however, it appeared that he was a subordinate official in what is still a shadow organization. He is to be chief of a staff for "Technical Cooperation Projects" in an as yet interim office of "Technical Cooperation and Development," headed by a former Agriculture Department official.

Case Against Hanson

The case against Hanson was that after two years as an Associated Press reporter and "stringer" in the Far East, he wrote a "pro-Communist" book in 1939, and formerly edited a Communist magazine in Peiping.

McCarthy said, "This man clearly believes that the Communists in China stand for everything good." He added that Hanson "has the attitude of a hero worshipper for the Chinese Communist leaders," and is a "man with a mission—a mission to communize the world."

The quotations that McCarthy cited from Hanson's book do not quite paint this picture.

In passages McCarthy cited, Hanson praises the discipline and integrity of the Communist leadership in their war against the Japanese in 1937-39, finds much to admire in the character of Mao Tse-tung, present head of Red China, and says that some of the other Red generals made "good company."

At the State Department yesterday, Hanson said he was 27 when he wrote the book, and although he did not apologize for the kind of newsman he was, he did not know whether he would write the same thing now.

At that time, he pointed out, he spent six months with the Communist guerillas, and wrote of them in the context of their war effort against Japan. His book also contained his description of nine months with the Japanese troops and six with the Nationalist forces.

He said he was arrested by the Japanese three times in 1937 and 1938 while trying to smuggle his dispatches to the Associated Press.

His dispatches were reprinted, he said, in a full page of Time magazine and again in the Reader's Digest. He denied he edited the Communist magazine in Peiping, but said his name appeared on the editorial board on the last issue only.

McCarthy identified Mrs. Brunauer as an assistant to Alger Hiss, now convicted of perjury in connection with a Russian espionage ring, at the time of the San Francisco conference setting up the United Nations.

McCarthy repeatedly told the subcommittee that this case demanded "immediate attention," but his actual charge against her was only that her "Communist front activities . . . are sufficient to seriously question her security status."

Six Exhibits Given

He gave six exhibits to the subcommittee listing her affiliations, mostly from 1936 to 1939, in organizations subsequently classified as subversive.

Tydings took one of the exhibits, showing her a signer of a call to the annual meeting of the American Youth Congress in 1938, and pointed out that other names included several Senators and Representatives, and former Postmaster General James A. Farley.

The State Department, meanwhile, yesterday said she had been thoroughly investigated and vouched for by many people prominent in public life, and that the department is "satisfied that she is loyal to the United States and does not constitute a security risk."

In a statement issued through the State Department, Mrs. Brunauer said that she deeply resents McCarthy's charges and is confident the Senate investigation will find he has "been very badly misinformed."

"I am not and never have been and could not possibly be a Communist," she said. "It would be completely foreign to my character. I am a loyal American and a loyal officer of the State Department."

She went on to say that the Russians she has constantly tangled with in UNESCO meetings would scarcely consider her pro-Communist. She also said her husband was "vigorously anti-Communist."

Her husband's name was brought up by McCarthy in discussing her case. He said he would not go into details about him in public session, but implied he had been under constant Government investigation, that he had admitted membership in the Communist Party and was a close friend and collaborator of Communists.

At the Navy Department, Brunauer vigorously denied this. He said his loyalty was checked three times by various agencies when he took different jobs in the Government and when he became a commissioned officer in the Navy.

The Navy Department itself put out a statement saying that as a commander in the Naval Reserve and as a civilian employe of the Bureau of Ordnance, Dr. Brunauer had been "thoroughly investigated."

It added, "As a result of this investigation, as administrative decision was made that there was not sufficient evidence to warrant Dr. Brunauer being charged with disloyalty.

"While a commissioned officer during the war and later as civilian employe, Dr. Brunauer has made noteworthy contributions in the field of explosives. He is regarded as an eminent expert and his ability in the field of research is highly regarded."

Dr. Brunauer was born in Hungary and was naturalized as an American citizen in 1927.

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State Dept., Loyalty Board Defended, Praised by Peurifoy

Deputy Undersecretary of State John E. Peurifoy sprang yesterday to the defense of the State Department's nine-member loyalty board with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) has branded "stupid and incompetent."

Peurifoy said in a statement he is "shocked" that McCarthy should hurl such abuse at a group of men whose records demonstrate their "unimpeachable character and high standing."

Meantime, McCarthy announced that he will base his claim that the State Department is riddled with Communists on a few "thoroughly documented" cases.

He said he will not try to present "complete details" on all 81 cases of alleged disloyalty which he cited in a Senate speech last month. But he promised to give "all the names" to a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigating his charges.

The subcommittee's hearings are in recess until Monday, when McCarthy is scheduled to complete presentation of his charges.

So far, McCarthy has named only one person—former Judge Dorothy Kenyon of New York—and she is not a State Department employe. She once was a United States representative to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, but has been in private law practice since last January 1.

Miss Kenyon has vigorously denied McCarthy's assertion that she belonged to 28 Communist-front groups, and is scheduled to appear in person before the subcommittee Tuesday.

McCarthy told the subcommittee Thursday that the State Department loyalty board cleared Miss Kenyon without even questioning her, despite an FBI report disclosing her "long record of Communist ties."

He said this proves the loyalty board is "stupid and incompetent—at the mildest."

Peurifoy took full responsibility for the membership of the board, and said each individual was "picked by me personally."

"I picked them not only on the basis of their unimpeachable character and high standing, both inside and outside the Department," he said, "but also because they are good, sound citizens from the standpoint of their thinking, judgment and levelheadedness."

Peurifoy said he does not believe that "anybody needed more than look at the records" of the board examiners "to satisfy himself as to their competency."

The loyalty board is headed by Brig. Gen. Conrad E. Snow, ret., of Haverhill, N. H., assistant legal adviser of the Department.

Members include:

Theodore C. Achilles, director of the Department's Division of Western European Affairs; Willard F. Barber, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; John Oscar Bell, a high official of the military aid-to-Europe program; George H. Raynor, former United States Steel Corp. executive, and adviser to the American U. N. delegation; David A. Robertson, former naval officer and now military adviser to the Near Eastern Division of the Department; John W. Sipes, former naval [illegible] and legislative assistant in the Department; William P. Snow, veteran Foreign Service officer and assistant chief of the Northern Division, and Arthur G. Stevens, executive director of the Office for European Affairs.

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McCarthy Again Vows to Name 'All the Names'

By United Press

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) said today he will hand Senate investigators "all the names" of Government officials he claims are bad security risks.

But he said he will base his statement that the State Department is riddled with Communists on a few "thoroly documented" cases.

Hearings of a Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee on the Senator's charge that there are at least 57 Communists operating in the department were in recess until Monday.

IN 5 HOURS

Sen. McCarthy has promised to complete his testimony in about five hours if committee Democrats refrain from "needling" questions. Sen. McCarthy said he will make no effort to back up with "complete details" each of the 81 instances of alleged disloyalty he cited in a Senate speech. Rather, he said, he will concentrate "a number of important cases," all documented.

As for the remainder, Sen. McCarthy said he will make public Monday all names in his files save those of alleged sex offenders. He challenged the committee to dig out the details for itself.

'PHENOMENAL,' HE SAYS

Among the cases slated for publication is one Sen. McCarthy has described as "phenomenal" and "infinitely worse" than the case of Judge Dorothy Kenyon. Sen. McCarthy has accused Miss Kenyon of "Communist activities" and membership in at least 28 "front" organizations.

Miss Kenyon, a former U. S. representative to the United Nations, has called Sen. McCarthy an "unmitigated liar" and is scheduled to testify under oath before the committee on Tuesday.

Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup also may testify then if he chooses to reply to Sen. McCarthy's charge that he has shown an "unusual affinity" for Communist causes.

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Clashes Mark Senate Probe Of State Dept.

Abrupt Recess Is Called by Tydings

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The Senate investigation of Communists in the State department was abruptly recessed yesterday until next week after a turbulent second-day session at which Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin labeled the probers "a tool of the State department."

The Senate foreign relations subcommittee, directed to make the inquiry, announced after a two-hour closed session that McCarthy would again be heard in open session next Monday. Chair-

Picture on Page 4, Sec. 1

man Tydings of Maryland said the Wisconsin senator would be permitted to testify all day long without interruption.

Tydings also revealed that Dorothy Kenyon 62, a U. S. representative on a United Nations commission, whose term ended Jan. 1, would be permitted to answer McCarthy's charge next Tuesday. She had requested the hearing, declaring the allegations of numerous Communist-front connections were "maliciously false."

Jessup Can Answer

Ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessup, also named by McCarthy as having "an unusual affinity for Communist causes," will be permitted to testify next week if he wants to, Tydings said. Jessup, now in Europe but expected back in Washington shortly, has not asked for a hearing, Tydings said.

The three Democratic members of the subcommittee — Tydings, Sens. Green of Rhode Island and McMahon of Connecticut — continued their "filibuster" against McCarthy yesterday preventing him from presenting any new evidence. He has said he is ready with evidence in 80 cases.

McCarthy was repeatedly harassed by the Democratic trio, who demanded that he turn over his private files so they could learn the name of a certain "high State department official." This individual had used pressure, McCarthy said, to change the evidence which had resulted in the dismissal of a "flagrant homosexual and associate of Communists."

Gave Name in Private

McCarthy gave the committee in private the name of the homosexual, but refused to divulge the name of the high official, asserting he had no documentary proof and would not indulge in "guesses or hearsay."

When the verbal prodding continued, McCarthy accused the Democrats of seeking—not the name of the high official—but the names of his State department informants.

"You're being used as a tool of the State department," he told the committee. "It wants the names of my informants so that their heads can be cut off. The State department also wants to see my files so that they can rifle their own files without being caught short."

The crowd in the big hearing room gasped and the committee members showed their anger. McMahon shouted that McCarthy had made an [illegible] speech against the best interests of the United States," but Tydings appeared quieted by the charge and eventually agreed with "the point made" by McCarthy.

Infinitely Worse'

"Now the next case which I shall present to the committee is infinitely worse than this Kenyon case," began McCarthy, lifting a mass of documents to the table before him.

"I think the President has a responsibility to call the loyalty board before him and find out why Miss Kenyon was declared loyal.

"It is his duty to find out why the loyalty board declared her loyal without even questioning her when they had a report from the FBI that she belonged to more

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than 28 Communist-front organizations."

"This is not testimony!" yelled Tydings. "I am tired of speeches about what the President ought to do."

"If this heckling by the chair would cease," remarked McCarthy, "I can start presenting some of this evidence."

Hearing Is Adjourned

Before McCarthy could continue with his second case, the hearing was adjourned. After an executive session, Tydings announced the recess until Monday and said McCarthy would be allowed to testify without interruption.

Earlier in the hearing, after revealing privately the name of the 'Flagrant Homosexual,' McCarthy refused to name the "high State department official" whose pressure is said to have led to his reinstatement.

"I am not naming the high official," McCarthy said. "The chairman can obtain it in a very easy and simple manner—by subpeonaing the files in this case, not merely the State department's loose-leaf files, which can be readily rifled, but also the files of the FBI and the civil service commission."

Do They or Don't They?

"You told the Senate," protested Tydings, "that you had seen a report replete with information concerning this high official. Now, do your files contain this name or don't they?"

"I do not have the name," said McCarthy. "If the chairman is so anxious for it, let him ask the Secretary of State for it."

"Why this insistence on this case?" demanded Sen. Hickenlooper (R) of Iowa. "The committee has authority to get this file by subpeona."

"I have a very strong suspicion concerning the name of this individual," remarked McCarthy. "But I'm not going to give you suspicions or hearsay."

Sen. Green took over the questioning of McCarthy, asking again and again whether McCarthy could supply the name of the high official.

"I think I know the name," repeated McCarthy." You apparently know it also. You probably know more about it than I do.

"You say this is a mystery case. I'm mystified concerning this insistence on this one case. If the Senator is interested in knowing whether my charges are true or false, he knows that the government files will supply the answer."

"I'm not trying to find out if the charges are true or false, but whether you relied on accurate information in making these charges," barked Green. "I'm going to get an answer out of you!"

"I'm not going to guess for you," snapped McCarthy. "I don't know what his name is—period. Your name may be in my files . . ."

"I wouldn't be surprised," said Green.

"Perhaps the Senator thinks it an honor to be on the membership list of a subversive organization," said McCarthy. "He is entitled to that opinion."

"Keep Them Intact"

"We may have to subpeona your files," threatened Tydings. "I ask you to keep them intact."

McMahon took over the cross-examination of McCarthy. After repeated questions, he also demanded:

"Do I have to serve a subpeona on you? I insist on an answer. Will you produce all you have on this case right now?"

"If you question the accuracy of any charge, subpoena the FBI files and find out," challenged McCarthy. "The supporting evidence for my charges is in their files."

"I'm left with the unfortunate opinion that the senator has material which he refuses to turn over to this committee," said McMahon, his voice rising.

"You're not fooling me, senator," McCarthy told McMahon. "I know what you want—the names of those in the State department who gave me information so that heads will fall. You're not fooling me. I've been informed that the State department is very anxious to know who is giving me this information.

"This committee is being used as a tool of the State department. It's not out to rid the State department of bad security risks, but out to discover who's helping me so that they can be kicked out tomorrow."

You'd Better Reflect

McMahon flushed.

"I'm profoundly shocked by this irresponsible speech," he declared. "I repudiate and denounce these imputations against committee members. It is unworthy of any United States senator to engage in such an irresponsible business. If there is to be this kind of talk, it is not to the best interests of the United States.

"When you start making charges of that kind, you'd better reflect seriously on it."

"I never say anything without reflecting on it," said McCarthy. "I repeat that this is an obvious attempt to get the names of loyal Americans who may have given me information. It is shameful and obvious here to everyone what is going on."

Tydings was shouting and banging his gavel.

"I'd like to say again and again and again and again and again," he shouted, "that we will obtain all the files that are necessary. We want your files to compare with the State department files to see if they have been tampered with."

Both Heard Rumors

"Let's not fool each other," said McCarthy. "You and I both have heard rumors that the State department is right now rifling the files, taking out anything that will reflect on individuals. Naturally, they want to know what photostatic copies I have so they won't be caught short by taking out a document of which I have a copy.

"If they got my files now, they could go ahead and take out everything else. I will resist any attempt to obtain my files until after the State department has surrendered its files. Seizure of my files now will only aid a whitewash."

Tydings had recovered his calm by this time. He adopted a conciliatory attitude.

"I See Your Point"

"Waiving the implication that this committee would aid the State department in any way," he remarked, "I give you our pledge that we would keep your files extremely secret and under no circumstances would they be shown to the State department. I see your point and I agree with it."

But Green again demanded that McCarthy supply the name requested.

"What you want," repeated McCarthy, "is the name of some loyal man who has told me what is in the State department files. If you got it, his job wouldn't be worth a snap of the fingers. You ought to be more concerned with the truth of my charges than the source of my information."

Subcommittee on Spot

"I thought the committee was after facts, not the harrassment of a witness," remarked Hickenlooper.

"This subcommittee is on the spot," admitted Tydings. "If we say the charges are not sustained, the inference will immediately be drawn that the records furnished us by the State department are not complete."

This exchange had taken more than an hour. McCarthy proceeded to put into the record the remainder of his evidence in Case No. 1, that regarding Dorothy Kenyon. Committee members again began interrupting him. The hearing was adjourned with McCarthy having been permitted to give evidence in only one of the two-day hearing.

Insults Fly At Hearing On Loyalty

Senate Inquiry Unit Called a Tool of State Department By Irate McCarthy

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) and a Democratic-controlled Senate subcommittee settled down yesterday to a rowdy trading of ugly remarks about each other.

The exchange of unpleasantries took place in the second day of a Senate Foreign Relations Special Subcommittee investigation into McCarthy's charges of Communist infiltration in the State Department.

At the end of a session of almost three hours, the battle was a stand-off.

McCarthy accused the subcommittee of being "the tool of the State Department." In return, the subcommittee majority made painfully clear its view that McCarthy, though under oath, was far less than candid in saying he was unable to make an important identification.

First Case Completed

At the end of the hearing, McCarthy finally completed his first case, in which he accused Dorothy Kenyon, a former New York municipal judge and former United States representative to a United Nations commission, of being "deep-rooted" in "Communist activities."

Judge Kenyon promptly called McCarthy "an unmitigated liar." Next Tuesday she will have a chance to answer in person. The subcommittee, after a closed session yesterday afternoon, agreed to let her take the stand then.

It also decided to let McCarthy continue his presentation "without any prolonged interruptions," on Monday. McCarthy indicated that he could complete his cases—presumably 81 of them, which he outlined on the Senate floor on February 20—in four or five hours.

Plans for procedure after Tuesday are vague. But Subcommittee Chairman Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.), repeated yesterday his intention of giving everyone whom McCarthy accuses in public a chance to respond in public before the subcommittee.

Opportunity for Jessup

He offered this opportunity to Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, head of the State Department Far East Policy Board, when Jessup returns from a trip abroad. On Wednesday, McCarthy alluded to an "unusual affinity" of Jessup for Communist causes and promised to discuss it in more detail later.

Tydings' decision to hear Miss Kenyon was in response to a telegram he received from her yesterday. It read:

"I will welcome an opportunity to appear before the committee at its earliest convenience to attack Senator McCarthy's outrageous and maliciously false charges against me."

At the end of the closed session of the subcommittee, Tydings told reporters that before the investigation was through he would have an investigatory staff and would obtain the Government files that McCarthy has been demanding.

Most of yesterday's session was taken up with wrangling over the "Case 14" that McCarthy made up a listing to the Senate last month. Neither McCarthy, on the one

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hand, not Senators, Tydings, McMahon (D., Conn.) and Green (D., R. I.), on the other, mentioned the essential element in the case that gives it its importance. But as both sides observed frequently to each other, "You're not fooling me."

The central fact is this:

In Case 14, McCarthy reported that secret State Department files are "replete" with evidence of a "high official" attempting to doctor the records in behalf of a department employe found to be a bad security risk.

McCarthy said the "high official" sought to have individuals who had submitted derogatory affidavits about the employe repudiate those statements.

The "high official," it is well known via the grapevine, is Joseph Anthony Panuch, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in charge of administration until 1947.

And in his Case 41, given to the Senate the same day as Case 14, McCarthy hailed Panuch, this time by name, as an anti-Red crusader who tried to houseclean the department. He was sacked, presumably by pro-Communist "underlings" in the Department to his crusading efforts, McCarthy stated.

Yesterday, McCarthy was to report to the subcommittee whether he could identify the "high official."

For an hour and one-half, in one way and another, he said he could not, that he only had a "suspicion," but was not going to put his suspicions in the record.

During the same time, also in one way and another, Tydings, McMahon and Green tried to make him explain why, if the files—which McCarthy presumably saw, or had knowledge of—were "replete" with data on the malfeasances of the "high official," McCarthy did not know his name.

The counterpoint to this exchange was the thumping of Tydings' gavel, demands of "Now you be quiet," and mutual accusations of interrupting each others' remarks.

To find the name, McCarthy repeatedly suggested, all Tydings would have to do is to subpena Government security files. This is the last thing the Democrats wish to do at this time, and the main thing McCarthy wishes them to do.

Finally, Green insistently demanded whether there was "anything" in McCarthy's files to identify the thoroughly identified "high official."

McCarthy still ducked. "Must we subpena your files?" McMahon asked.

"You're not fooling me," McCarthy said. "I know what you want. The State Department wants to know who the loyal Americans are who are giving information to me, so that it can make their heads fall. The Department is very curious to know."

"I'm surprised this committee is becoming the tool of the State Department."

If he surrendered his files to the committee, McCarthy went on, any informants he had in the State Department, if he had any, would be kicked out of their jobs the next day.

McMahon roared in reply:

"I am profoundly shocked by the irresponsible speech that has just been made by the Senator. His imputation to me and the committee of any such motive is something I repudiate and denounce.

"It's unworthy of a Senator of the United States. I say to you when you start making charges of that kind against me you better reflect on it."

"Everything I have said," McCarthy replied, "has been reflected over a long time."

"I doubt it," snapped McMahon.

"It's shameful," countered McCarthy. "It is obvious to everyone here what you're trying to do."

Rumors of File "Rifling"

He went on to allude to "rumors" that the State Department was "rifling" its files to remove derogatory evidence. If he passed his files to the subcommittee, McCarthy went on, they would be given to the State Department so that it could make its own files conform.

"We're not fooling each other in this case," he said. "There is nothing the State Department would like better than to find out what I have in my files."

Finally, after repeated refusals by McCarthy to explain how he could make the charge against the "high official" if he di dnot have anything in his own files to identify him, Tydings, Green and McMahon gave up.

It was "futile" to continue, Tydings said. What should be done about it, he asked his colleagues, and what were their views on the matter?

"I won't put mine into the records," was McMahon's acid comment.

McCarthy Assails State Dept.

The discussion went on to Miss Kenyon, and to McCarthy's charges that the State Department's loyalty board was "at the mildest" incompetent and stupid to have given her clearance after finding her associated with 28 subversive organizations.

McMahon moved to summon the loyalty board before the subcommittee for an examination.

Senator Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) knocked that pitch out of the lot. He amended the motion to have the loyalty board come, but to bring along the security files with them.

The Democrats decided not to "press" the motion.

At his press conference yesterday, President Truman was asked what he thought of the hearings.

He replied that he thought the Senate subcommittee is handling the situation very well.

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Think of the fate that attended the two bucks which Mrs. Acheson contributed to the League of Women's Shoppers, and be warned. How many simoleons have been separated from you either by worthy causes or by importunate solicitors? That worthy group you aided with a dollar the other day in behalf of a memorial to Robert Browning might have lurking in its sponsorship a follower or Marx. One day he will be exposed, and your dollar will suddenly look as Red as Moscow, and it will be traced to you. Then you will get your name in the paper as a Marxist, or something. Or that lobby for renewal of rent control may have tapped you for largesse. Wonder now what it is *really* up to? Even the mission box will soon look doubtful. Who knows whether that two bits you dropped in hopefully for the salvation of the heathen has actually saved a soul or a Chinese Communist?

If Senator McCarthy goes on dredging up such tidbits as this for the edification of the Republican Party, we may say with the poet "Alas for the rarity of Christian charity," in spite of the Biblical injunction that we devote a tenth part to almsgiving. Causes, like people, come in good and bad shapes, they change from good to bad, and from bad to good. Who hasn't helped a bum or two in his lifetime and who can be sure that he never will again? But the charity can never be recalled, even if it looks like Nemesis in the little black book of a future Senator McCarthy, and the giver, thinking no evil, may in consequence find himself tainted. If this sort of thing keeps up, then charity will not only begin at home, it will stay at home.

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Ex-Judge Hurls Lie at McCarthy's 'Red' Charge

Miss Dorothy Kenyon Denies Affiliations As Senators Clash Over Procedure

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

In a stormy Senate hearing, full of angry repartee and partisan jockeying, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) yesterday began presentation of information to support his charges of Communist infiltration in the State Department.

His first case was an added starter to the 81 he outlined in a Senate speech on February 20. It dealt with Miss Dorothy Kenyon, former New York Municipal Court Judge and former United States representative to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

McCarthy said she had a long record of "Communist activities" and has been affiliated with at least 28 organizations officially labelled subversive.

Tydings Enters Fray

From New York, where Miss Kenyon is now in private law practice, she promptly retorted that McCarthy is "an unmitigated liar."

In a session of more than two hours before a special subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee set up to look into his charges, McCarthy was able to complete only four pages of a ten-page statement he had prepared on Miss Kenyon. There were two reasons for the slow going.

First, Subcommittee Chairman Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.) wrangled with McCarthy and the Republican members of the subcommittee, Lodge (Mass.) and Hickenlooper (Iowa) for 40 minutes in an attempt to get McCarthy to discuss another case. It was, Tydings insisted, the "most important" of the 81 McCarthy had mentioned.

Could Lead to Unfairness

Second, McCarthy ran up against committee procedure of a sort that Lodge accurately labelled as "most extraordinary and unusual." It took the form of an on-the-spot and immediate examination by Tydings and his Democratic colleagues, Senators Green (R. I.) and McMahon (Conn.), of each piece of evidence on Miss Kenyon that McCarthy offered as an exhibit.

Usually, in congressional committees, evidence presented is not commented on, nor the witness queried in detail on the evidence, until he has finished his presentation.

Tydings made it clear nothing of the sort would be done in these hearings. For, he and McMahon repeatedly asserted, this could lead to gross unfairness.

Evidence presented with a "one-

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Former N. Y. Judge Calls McCarthy Liar

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sided" interpretation, Tydings said, would be broadcast with that interpretation throughout the country, with never a chance of complete correction.

The charges would go on page one in all papers, McMahon said. If they were unfair charges, and were refuted only later, the answer would never catch up in the public mind. The refutation would appear on "page 17 or page 47," and much later, McMahon added.

"These charges are going out all over the country," Tydings said at one point. "The evidence must go out in full, or else the public can never draw the proper conclusion."

Other Names oted

Accordingly, with each of the first three exhibits McCarthy offered, identifying Miss Kenyon with a subversive organization along with well-known Communists, Tydings and Green read other names shown on the exhibit as sponsors. They included Senators and Representatives and other distinguished and prominent public figures.

McMahon harried McCarthy with demands to state when the subversive organizations with which Miss Kenyon was connected were declared by the Justice Department to be subversive. Was Miss Kenyon connected with them only before that time, or afterward as well, McMahon wanted to know.

McCarthy said he did not have the dates. McMahon said he himself would supply them, because they made a great difference. Many innocent and well-meaning people joined organizations in good faith and left them after they were characterized by the Attorney General as subversive, McMahon commented.

"Front" Organizations

To this line of argument, McCarthy replied that it was perfectly true innocent people could have been, and were, duped into joining. After all, he said, these were "front" organizations; the Communists' whole purpose was to lure respectable persons into them.

He said that Mrs. Dean Acheson, wife of the Secretary of State, is listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a sponsor of the Congress of American Women, an alleged Communist front. McCarthy cited her as an example of how "well-meaning" people are "tricked" into lending their names to Red endeavors.

No such excuse can be made for Miss Kenyon, he asserted, because "her Communist activities

Associated Press WIREPHOTO
DOROTHY KENYON
Denies charges

Philip Jessup and I am sure he must agree with me that Senator McCarthy is an unmitigated liar," she continued.

"I am not a sponsor of Russian organizations and I would never have dreamed of sponsoring the coming of the Red Dean to this country," she said.

"I saw the list of organizations which Senator McCarthy mentioned and most of them I never heard of. Some of them I vaguely recall as having made speeches before, as I have made speeches all of my life.

"As a decent, liberal American citizen, I am outraged by Senator McCarthy. He has proved by his outrageous and malicious charges that he knows nothing of sound Americanism."

As to her "pro-Communist" attitude, Miss Kenyon said:

"Let them ask Madame Popova (Elizivetta Popova, Russian delegate to the last session of the U. N. Commission on the Status of Women) whether she thinks Dorothy Kenyon is pro-Communist. She knows that I have done nothing but battle with her."

Yesterday's hearing found Lodge and Hickenlooper vigorously protesting the interruptions of McCarthy by the Democrats in their examination of his exhibits.

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are not only deep-rooted but extend back through the years."

"This lady has been affiliated with at least 28 Communist front organizations," McCarthy declared. Nine of the 28 have been labelled subversive by the Justice Department, he said, while the other 19 were so labelled by the Un-American Activities Committee.

Miss Kenyon's Affiliations

"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," McCarthy said.

He identified Miss Kenyon as being also United States member on the U. N. Commissions of the Economic and Social Council, with a salary of $12,000 a year.

He identified her as a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and a member of the board of sponsors of this organization who welcomed Hewlett Johnson, the "Red Dean" of Canterbury, to a Madison Square Garden rally.

Also, McCarthy said, Miss Kenyon was a sponsor of the American Russian Institute, also classed by the Attorney General as subversive. He mentioned that another sponsor was Phillip C. Jessup, Ambassador at Large and head of the State Department's Far Eastern Policy Board.

'Unusual Affinity' of Jessup

McCarthy said that he would discuss at a later point in the inquiry the "unusual affinity" of Jessup for "Communist causes."

McCarthy's statement included a dozen or more other organizations with which Miss Kenyon was connected, and all of which were officially branded as subversive.

Miss Kenyon's term as United States representative on the U. N. Status of Women Commission expired January 1, this year. She was not reappointed. The State Department said that though her salary was $12,000 a year, she was paid only for time served at the U. N. which was usually only about two weeks a year.

In New York, Miss Kenyon said yesterday that McCarthy "is using the cowardly device of sheltering behind his congressional immunity to evade the legal consequences of his action."

"I am happy to be associated with

Lodge twice said it seemed to him as if it were a deliberate attempt to "rattle" and confuse McCarty. He had never seen such procedure, he went on, in which the witness was not allowed first to present his case.

"Kangaroo Court" to Lodge

He suggested normal procedure should be followed, with Senators taking turns questioning the witness after he had completed his statement. As it was going now, Lodge observed, McCarthy was being compelled to act as though he were in a "kangaroo court."

But Tydings rejected the idea of "later" examination of the evidence.

So when McCarthy gave as an exhibit a clipping from the Communist Daily Worker, showing Miss Kenyon a signer of a petition under the auspices of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, McMahon stepped in.

Why use as evidence a paper famed for its "genius for misrepresentation," he asked.

Tydings, meantime, began pointing out the other names on the petition, including former Manhattan Borough President Stanley Isaacs, Atomic Scientist Harold C. Urey and others.

Others Treated Similarly

Much the same thing happened with McCarthy's next two exhibits, accompanied by much the same protests from Lodge and Hickenlooper.

Tydings made little mention during the hearings, of a controversial point at issue: whether he would subpena files from the executive departments on the loyalty of the individuals involved in the charges.

McCarthy insisted files would be necessary to get to the truth of the matter. He said four sets would be needed: those of the State Department loyalty agency, the State Department personnel files, the Civil Service Commission files and the FBI records.

Tydings gave no indication whether he would attempt to subpena them or not.

The hearings resume at 10:30 this morning.

What Do the Files Show?

SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, has performed a healthful service to the country by forcing the Senate to investigate communist infiltration in the State Department.

He has read to the Senate a number of case histories, authentic and from the record, as he insists, nameless for the present, which clearly point to a continuance of persons similar to Alger Hiss in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

The Senate unanimously voted for such an investigation and appointed Senator Tydings chairman of a committee to conduct it.

Senator Tydings assures the country that there will be no whitewash.

Senator McCarthy has stated that unless the loyalty files of the State Department are available the investigation will not succeed.

President Truman, pursuing his "red herring policy," declines to make the files available. He is still trying to cover up the crimes of Yalta, the mistakes at Potsdam, the costly New Deal-Communist alliance.

President Truman has been proved to be consistently wrong in his attitude toward Communists.

He was proved wrong by a jury in the second Alger Hiss trial.

He was proved wrong by the Ray Murphy memorandum on disloyalty in the State Department.

He was proved wrong by the arrest of Dr. Klaus Fuchs in England.

He was proved wrong by the exposure in the Fuchs confession that, as far back as 1942, our atomic secrets were being stolen from us in the interest of Soviet Russia.

He was proved wrong by the fact that the disastrous China policy of the United States was in the hands of a pro-Russian group—as Adolf Berle's statements in the Hiss case verify.

He was proved wrong by the activities of Harry Dexter White, in the Treasury Department.

He was proved wrong by the suicide or murder of Laurence Duggan.

How much proof does the little man need?

On *"Meet the Press,"* last week, Senator McCarthy appeared before a group obviously antagonistic, who only too apparently attempted to force him to name names on the radio. Had he fallen into the trap, he would have been faced by perhaps many libel suits, as his Congressional immunity would not have applied.

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The attempt was ~~then~~ made to get him ~~to say~~ how he got his information from State Department files. Had he told, the usefulness of the investigation would have been over.

Had he mentioned the names, the Senate investigation would probably have been postponed until all the suits could have been tried.

Senator McCarthy repeated, time after time, that there is only one way to prove that he is right or wrong—and that is to produce the files.

He said a large number of cases showed that Communists are still in the employ of the State Department.

Therefore, the files must be produced.

They can first be screened in executive session to protect the innocent. But they must be produced.

And once the evidence is unmistakable, that an American public official is a Communist, which makes him *ipso facto* an agent of Soviet Russia, he should be exposed by name and photograph.

Let's get rid of the rats—fast!

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Communists in the State Department

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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Patterson
Mr. Reilly
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
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Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

St. Louis Star
Johnson
Wilson

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

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EX-

State Dept. Chiefs Seek Full Hearing

BY PAUL R. LEACH

Chief of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—President Truman may let the Senate judiciary committee have digests of reports on individual State Department employes whose loyalty has been questioned.

That was what Sen. Tydings (D., Md.) was believed to be hinting at Monday when he said his investigating subcommittee "hopes" to get essential records without subpoena, but that he means to get them.

Tydings will start hearings next week on charges by Sen. McCarthy (R., Wis.) that 57 alleged Communists or fellow travelers are now on the State Department payroll.

SEN. TYDINGS

Both Secretary of State Acheson and John E. Peurifoy, deputy undersecretary, who conducted the department loyalty and security "purges" since 1947, want a full and complete public hearing. They believe the department to be "pure."

They say the McCarthy charges have upset morale among the home as well as foreign employes. A complete airing is necessary, they believe, to restore that morale.

• • •

ACHESON WAS called for testimony Tuesday at the closed hearing of a Senate appropriations subcommittee studying department requests for operating money.

It is understood that Acheson and Peurifoy would like to throw the records of any questioned employes McCarthy may name on the committee table.

But they cannot produce the records, either on Senate committee request or subpoena, because of the President's loyalty board procedure directive of March 13, 1948.

• • •

THAT DIRECTIVE said all files concerning any employe who had been investigated must be kept confidential. It further said any subpoena or other demand for those filed should be referred to the President "for such response as he may determine to be in the public interest in the particular case."

It has been common practice in all government inquiries conducted by the FBI to keep details of those reports confidential. That is done to protect sources of information of the FBI.

However, making public a summary of findings in any individual case could be ordered by the President.

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Standby Draft Bill Ready

By United Press

Chairman Carl Vinson of the House Armed Services Committee planned to introduce a bill today to put the draft on a standby basis.

His proposal would prohibit the Armed Forces from drafting any more men without the consent of Congress.

Altho there have been no inductions for more than a year, the Administration asked the authority be left intact so inductions could start immediately in the event of an emergency.

Rep. Vinson countered that no such authority is necessary; that Congress could act on short notice if an emergency develops.

Elsewhere in Congress:

McCarthy May Not Press for Red Files

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) hinted Republicans may not press too hard on their demand the State Department open up its loyalty files to Senate investigators. If the Administration refuses to produce the records, he said, the GOP could accuse it of "covering up" on his charges that 81 Communists have wormed into high Government positions. Meantime, Sen. McCarthy said, he will aim his testimony before a special Foreign Relations Sub-committee hearing at "the big three" he claims heads the Red ring. (See Mr. Edson, page 21).

The CIO came out in favor of an expanded Social Security system that would guarantee "adequate pensions for all." In testimony prepared for the Senate Finance Committee, Emil Rieve, chairman of the CIO Social Security Committee, said the organization does not want either industrial pensions or "flat-rate" pensions to take the place of the Social Security system.

Administration Rallies for Rent Control

President Truman and his legislative lieutenants are rallying their forces for a fight over extension of rent controls. Sen. Burnet R. Maybank (D., S. C.), denied the Appropriations Committee, of which he is a member, sought to wipe out controls completely by voting to cut Rent Administrator Tighe Woods' operating funds by $1,000,000. He said the committee "did not pass judgment" one way or the other and the question still is "wide open."

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'Fair and Impartial' Probe of Red Charges Pledged by Tydings

McCarthy Insists That Inquiry Will Be Useless Without Truman Files

By Cecil Holland

Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, yesterday promised "a fair and impartial" investigation of charges that Communists are employed in the State Department.

After being named chairman of a five-man Senate Foreign Rela-

McMahon Says Public Wants Atom Control or No Soviet Pact. Page A-2

tions subcommittee to make the investigation, Senator Tydings declared:

"We will let the chips fall where they may. This will be neither a witch-hunt on the one hand nor a whitewash on the other."

Other Members of Group.

Other members of the investigating group named by Chairman Connally of the Foreign Relations Committee are:

Senators McMahon of Connecticut and Green of Rhode Island, Democrats, and Hickenlooper of Iowa and Lodge of Massachusetts, Republicans.

They will investigate charges by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, that Communists have been employed in important policy positions in the State Department.

Senator McCarthy said it was "a good committee" but that the investigation would be useless un-

(See COMMUNISTS, Page A-2.)

Communists

(Continued From First Page.)

less loyalty files of State Department employes are made available to the committee.

Truman's Stand Clear.

President Truman has made it clear that he would not release the files although he said he would co-operate with the investigating committee to disprove what he described as false charges against the department.

Senator McCarthy noted that the three Democratic members of the subcommittee hold positions entitling them to highly-secret information.

"These men have demonstrated that they can be trusted with secret information," Senator McCarthy added. "I don't think anyone will believe the President if he says he can't trust them with information in the secret loyalty files."

Senator Tydings heads the Senate Armed Services Committee; Senator McMahon is chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, and Senator Green is one of the leading members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Sees Public Pressure.

"I'm confident," Senator McCarthy said, "that public opinion and the committee will force the President to produce the files."

Senator Tydings said he plans "to proceed as soon as possible" with the investigation.

He called the investigating group for a meeting tomorrow to lay plans for the inquiry and discuss procedure. He said one or two "outstanding and respected persons," probably lawyers, will be employed to act as counsel and advisers.

Republicans succeeded in forcing the appointment of a five-man rather than a three-man committee as favored by Democratic leaders. Senator Connally said he started out with the idea that a three-man committee could make the investigation "more expeditiously and efficiently" but that he "readily agreed" to the Republican suggestions.

Cost May Reach $25,000.

The inquiry, he said, is expected to cost between $25,000 and $50,000.

Meanwhile, the House Committee on Un-American Activities scheduled another open session of its hearing on Communist activity in the Pittsburgh area for 10:30 a.m. tomorrow.

It was expected there would be additional testimony based on information gathered by Matthew Cvetic, who did undercover work for the FBI during seven years as an active member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Cvetic testified last week. Committee officials said he had furnished them data bearing on activities of approximately 200 Communists.

Committee Counsel Frank Tavenner would not say whether Mr. Cvetic, or other witnesses, would be heard tomorrow.

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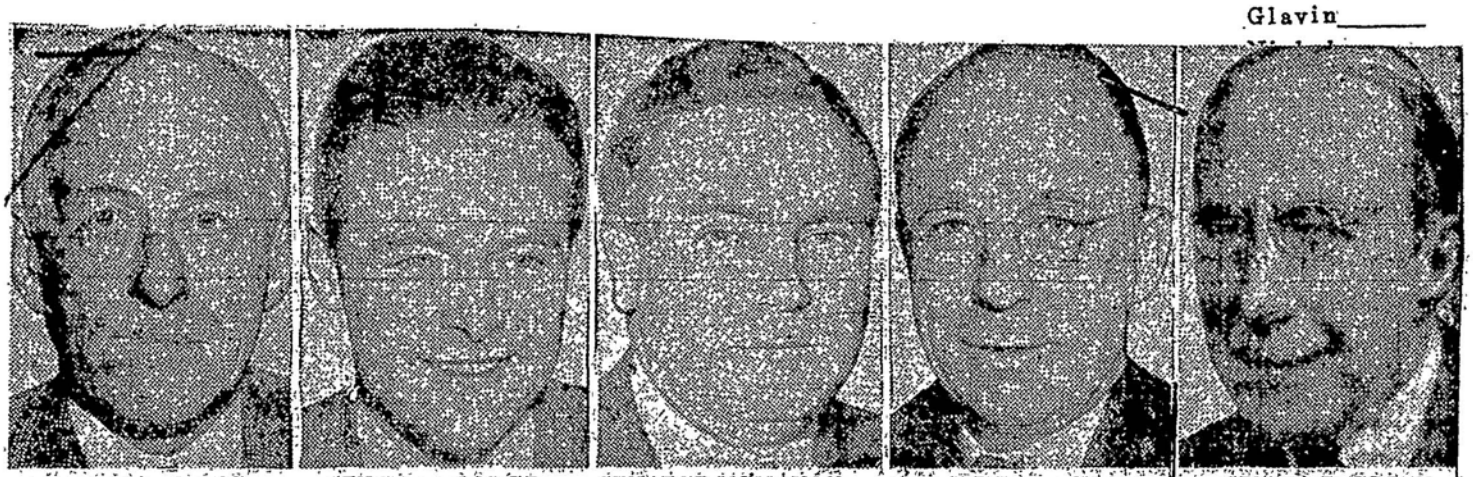

SENATOR TYDINGS. *SENATOR LODGE.* *SENATOR MCMAHON.* *SENATOR HICKENLOOPER.* *SENATOR GREEN.*

INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE—This Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee headed by Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, will investigate charges that Communists are employed in the State Department.

McMahon Says Public Wants Atom Control or No Soviet Pact

By the Associated Press

Senator McMahon, Democrat, of Connecticut, said yesterday his mail shows the American people want effective international control of atomic energy or "no agreement at all" with Russia.

Senator McMahon recently proposed in a Senate speech that the United States begin a $50 billion "peace offensive" of economic aid to other nations if agreements could be reached to control atomic energy.

This speech brought in a flood of more than 6,000 letters, Senator McMahon said.

"The tenor of these letters shows an awareness of the problem and thorough-going support of efforts to bring the arms race to an end in an effective manner," the Connecticut Senator said.

"They display a realization on the part of the people that we must have effective agreements and if we can't get them we had better have none at all."

Tass, the Russian news agency, recently quoted a Christian Science Monitor article saying that Americans are sending thousands of letters to Washington calling for an end to the arms race.

A favorable response to recent appeals of Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, for a world disarmament conference was reported by members of his office staff.

They said he had received letters from throughout the Nation and from abroad and added that almost all of them indorsed his proposal. They gave no estimate of the number of letters but called the mail response quite heavy.

Representative Elston, Republican, of Ohio, who, like Senators McMahon and Tydings is a member of the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee, said he has been receiving an increasing number of letters from people expressing fear that the "H-Bomb" might destroy civilization.

Another member of the Atomic Committee, Representative Durham, Democrat, of North Carolina, said letters from his constituents show concern about the Nation's defenses. Mr. Durham said none of the letters indicated support for a conference with Stalin.

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Washington MERRY-GO-ROUND

By Drew Pearson

(The author of this column is given the widest latitude. His views do not necessarily reflect those of the Mirror.)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24.—It appears the Administration's secret intelligence is tapping Senators' phones. Wire-tapping has increased under Truman, even more than during the war. Most of it is done by the Army or Navy. The FBI is careful to stay out.

It has been believed Senators' wires were sacrosanct, but here is what happened to Joe McCarthy, of Wis.:

He got a call from an office assistant, saying that the House Un-American Activities Committee had a "secret report" listing "400 names" of alleged subversives.

McCarthy phoned Rep. Nixon, of Cal., to ask about that, and did not mention the matter to another soul.

On the Senate floor, before McCarthy's speech about the State Dept., Sen. Lucas, administration spokesman, asked McCarthy about his "secret report" and "400 names."

"I never mentioned a secret report or 400 names," objected McCarthy.

"Yes you have," insisted Lucas. "We've got the clippings."

"But the only time I ever mentioned it," McCarthy snapped, "was over my private phone."

Lucas didn't reply.

SEN. JOE McCARTHY

SEN. SCOTT LUCAS

Telephone Trouble

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McCarthy's Charges Are No Red Herrings, Writer Declares

U. S. Envoy in Bern Named as Causing 'Queasy Feeling'

By Dorothy Thompson

The dogged accusations by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, that the administration harbors Communist sympathizers is indignantly denied by administration supporters, who challenge the Senator to name names.

The Senator has refused on the ground that publicity might embarrass the investigative agencies.

This column is willing to name a man who holds "an important listening post in Europe" and whose presence has caused some queasy feeling. The United States Minister to Switzerland is John Carter Vincent, who previously was director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs of the State Department. While in China, he was constantly under attack for his strong left-wing sympathies. It was during this time that the department saw the Chinese Communists as simple agrarian reformers and worked for a Chinese coalition government to include the Communists.

Employed under Mr. Vincent in the legation at Bern is an extremely dubious character, the Hungarian citizen, George Ottlik. Ottlik, during the earlier, short-lived Hungarian Communist regime of Bela Kun, was in the Hungarian diplomatic service, also in Bern. When Nazism began to grow in Hungary, he espoused its cause and as editor of the great German-language daily, Pester Lloyd, turned it into a Nazi sheet.

Headed Nazi Agency.

When Hungary was occupied by the Germans he became head of the Nazi press chamber, whose duty it was to keep the press in line. In short, in the world of journalism, he was Hungarian Nazi No. 1.

Just why these activities should recommend his employment in Mr. Vincent's legation poses a question. He is reportedly employed merely as a translator. But Switzerland is full of translators who, in the past, have rendered loyal services to the Western cause. It seems an odd combination—a minister with Mr. Vincent's views and an ex-Nazi.

The case of Prof. Klaus Fuchs has been allowed to quiet down. I do not think it should. It is charged that he began submitting atomic research information to Russia in 1945. That same year the Canadian government, put on the scent by the Russian cipher clerk, Igor Gouzenko, uncovered an extensive Soviet spy ring operating in Canada, and involving Fuchs' eminent colleague, Prof. Allan Nunn May. Canadian investigation revealed that a larger ring was operating in the United States. Prime Minister Mackenzie King passed on all information and personally discussed the subject with President Truman in Washington, when he visited there in November, 1945.

Worked on Fuchs Case.

One may certainly inquire what was done to trace down the Canadian leads in the four years that elapsed before the arrest of Fuchs. "Human Events" charges that "evidence justifying the arrest of Fuchs has been available for five years. But the FBI was not allowed to investigate atomic espionage until 1947 and, it is said, has been working on the Fuchs case for less than a year."

It is all very well for the President to denounce charges as "red herrings," but the wartime coalition with Russia did introduce Communists and Communist sympathizers into important Government posts. And no thorough housecleaning has ever occurred.

In times like these, American Government officials must not only be innocent of anti-American sympathies; they must be free even of suspicion of such sympathies.

Because there are not ungrounded reasons for suspicion, morale is extremely bad in our official and diplomatic agencies in many parts of the world (particularly the Far East) where junior officials distrust seniors and vice versa.

And morale is more important than possession of an H-bomb.

(Released by the Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

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Tydings to Head Senate Probe Of State Dept.

4 Others Also Named To Study Charges Reds Are Employed

By Cecil Holland

Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland today was named chairman of a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee to investigate charges that Communists are employed in the State Department.

Other members of the five-man investigating committee are:

Senators McMahon of Connecticut and Green of Rhode Island, Democrats, and Hickenlooper of Iowa and Lodge of Massachusetts, Republicans.

The appointments were announced by Chairman Connally after the Foreign Relations Committee discussed at an unusual Saturday morning session the investigation ordered by the Senate this week.

Result of McCarthy Charges.

The inquiry is a result of charges made by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin.

Senator Tydings immediately called a subcommittee meeting for Monday to make plans for the investigation.

"We will have a fair and complete investigation," the Senator said. "It will be neither a witch-hunt on the one hand nor a white-wash on the other."

He said the subcommittee will employ one or more staff experts, probably lawyers, to assist in the inquiry.

May Cost Up to $50,000.

Senator Connally said the Foreign Relations Committee adopted a resolution at the meeting this morning to authorize him to appoint the subcommittee. Another resolution authorized the committee to ask for sufficient funds for the expenses of the investigation.

Senator Connally said the cost may run from $25,000 to $50,000.

Five members instead of three were named to the subcommittee at the insistence of Republican members. The Senate Republican Policy Committee earlier in the day took the position that it should be a five-man subcommittee and not a three-member body as Democratic leaders had planned.

Senator Connally said he started out with an idea that three members could do the work "more efficiently and expeditiously" than a larger group. But, he added, that he "readily agreed" to the Republican suggestion for a five-man committee.

Secretary of State Acheson told a news conference yesterday that the department will co-operate "in every way" in the investigation of charges made by Senator McCarthy. But he reiterated that there is no one now employed in the department who has been found disloyal.

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The Senate Goes Too Far

Granting that the executive establishment always should co-operate with Congress in efforts to rid the Government of subversive elements, there is a limit to such co-operation. And the Ferguson amendment to the State Department inquiry resolution would project executive co-operation beyond reasonable and traditional limits.

In voting to have the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigate Senator McCarthy's sensational, though unsubstantiated, charges that Communists are on the State Department pay roll, the Senate approved Senator Ferguson's amendment to require production of confidential loyalty files bearing on the charges. The Michigan Senator declared there should be "a showdown once and for all" on the issue of giving congressional committees access to secret personnel records, including those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

It would be a good thing if there could be a conclusive showdown on this matter. There have been "showdowns" many times in the past, invariably ending with a positive "No" from the executive branch, but Congress does not want to take "No" for an answer. It is hard to see how the rejection could be made any more positive or final than on numerous occasions in this and previous administrations, however. President Truman and a number of his predecessors have tried to make it plain that it would be against the public interest to release certain information in departmental files and that, therefore, it will not be produced, even if subpoenaed.

Assuredly, it would be against the public interest to risk release of some of the data in the Government's loyalty files or at the FBI. As has been pointed out repeatedly, these records contain reports of rumors as well as facts—rumors which may or may not have some foundation. It would be a gross injustice to pass these rumors on to a congressional committee which might decide to make them public or some member of which might "leak" them to the public. Also, the papers contain names of confidential informants who should be protected against accidental disclosure. It is true that the Foreign Relations Committee is a highly responsible group, but the chances of such accidents are immeasurably increased whenever the files leave departmental safes.

It is because of these dangers that the President has instructed loyalty officials not to surrender confidential papers even upon "subpoena or demand." The policy is a sound one and should be adhered to now as before. Of course, the State Department should lend every possible assistance to the Senate in its inquiry, short of producing secret files. It will do so if it has nothing sinister to hide—but the burden will be on Senator McCarthy to prove his vague charges of a Red-infested State Department.

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Spreading Confusion

By Marquis Childs

McCarthy's Irresponsible Charges

FORTUNATELY, the American people have good nerves. They seem to be able to stand up under the jumping jitters from which a great many of their elected representatives are suffering.

Childs

During the past few weeks I have been in a dozen communities in various parts of the country. I think people are understandably confused and troubled. But they show a healthy resistance to the recurring waves of sensation and counter-sensation that emanate from men who should know better.

The latest example is Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. To broadcast vague charges about the State Department without supporting names or facts is merely to feed the atmosphere of suspicion and apprehension. It does not contribute to the security of the United States at home or abroad.

Of the four names mentioned by McCarthy in his Nevada speech, prior to the Senate blast, the only individual still connected with the State Department is John S. Service. Service was cleared by former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes after a false charge had been brought against him and he had been subjected to great humiliation. Both Byrnes and former Undersecretary of State Joseph Grew wrote letters to Service assuring him that there was no basis for the charge.

Reinstated and now assigned as consul to Calcutta, Service is on leave preparatory to going to India. He was requested for the Calcutta post, according to the State Department, by the American Ambassador to India, Loy Henderson. Henderson is one of the most consistently anti-Communist officers in the United States Foreign Service.

THE NAMES to which McCarthy repeatedly refers apparently come from a list of 108 that were originally raised by the Appropriations Committee of the Senate during the Eightieth Congress. Of the total, 44 were still on the State Department payroll. They were subjected, according to the department, to a most thorough loyalty check by the department's investigating system. Then they were also investigated and subsequently cleared by the top loyalty board of which Seth Richardson is chairman.

If the objective is to sabotage American foreign policy, then McCarthy and those who join in this kind of business are succeeding better than they realize. The impression it creates in countries in Europe and Asia that want to work with the United States is almost worse than the impression it creates here.

There was too much carelessness on security, and particularly during the war when this country was allied with the Soviet Union and in the immediate aftermath of the war. One cure is to strengthen present laws. The law on treason should probably be tightened; certainly the statute of limitations removed or greatly extended from the present three years.

Y AUTHENTIC information bout subversive individuals overnment should be given nce to the FBI. J. Edgar ver has repeatedly made it r that to spread such infor- on in the headlines makes FBI's task doubly difficult.

times like these there is an a responsibility on all pub- fficials to avoid the alarmist the sensational. Yet, ex- the opposite principl is to prevail.

epresentative Walter Judd o nesota went out to Oregon t e a Lincoln Day speech. In interview printed in the tland *Oregonian* he said that Pacific Northwest was ged "expendable" in national ense plans. He said that ey" have made plans to de d the Eastern half of the ted States, southeastern Can- and western Europe.

hen a reporter pressed him dentify "they," Judd was ive—he wasn't sure it was ident Truman, but it might been "political elements." the interview was printed hotograph of Judd smiling rily as though he had just n the people of the region happiest news in the world. he effect of such statements be imagined, particularly n it is a known fact that skan defenses are so weak to be almost nonexistent. s is not the way to make erica strong. It is the way to ead confusion and panic. If men in the Kremlin have sense of humor, which is nly improbable, they must be ghing at such responses to Soviet challenge.

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Full Probe Promised On McCarthy Charge Of Subversive Ring

Uproar Marks Speech; Senator Lists 81 Reds In State Department

By Cecil Holland

Charges by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin that a group of subversives are operating in the State Department were headed today for a full congressional inquiry.

Senate Marjority Leader Lucas said he would move to have the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigate the accusations.

He indicated this course after Senator McCarthy aired his charges in a five-hour Senate speech last night and said that 81 Communists have worked or now work for the department.

Senators Rounded Up Twice.

In an uproarious and acrimonious session that saw the sergeant at arms twice ordered to round up absent members, Senator McCarthy refused Democratic demands that he name those suspected of being members of what he described as "an espionage ring in the State Department."

In his racital of cases, the Senator charged:

1. A member of a Communist front organization who failed to get security clearance in the State Department turned up as a White House speech writer. He said this individual has a relative with a financial interest in the Daily Worker, Communist newspaper.

2. Two men and a woman make up a "big three" in directing the suspected spy ring in the State Department, and their ouster would break up their subversive operations.

Shadowing Described.

3. One of the trio is "one of our foreign ministers" who holds "one of the most important listening posts in Europe."

4. An individual now working in the office of an Assistant Secretary of State was shadowed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1946 and was found to be in contact with an espoinage agent. Senator McCarthy added that this person got State Department jobs for two communists who were later fired.

Senator McCarthy said the man he described as being a "foreign minister" had been shadowed and was found to have been in contact with a Soviet agent.

The Senator described the woman as a former top official of the department's Office of International Education, which handles the Voice of America broadcasts.

Ruby Paris

Senators Lucas, McMahon of Connecticut, Lehman of New York and Withers of Kentucky, all Democrats, demanded time and again that Senator McCarthy submit names. Senator Lucas shouted that the charges had "put a cloud" over the State Department and added:

"I want to get the honest-to-God Americans there out from under that cloud. The proper committee will ferret this out."

Senator McCarthy said he would give the names to an investigating committee. But he refused to disclose them otherwise unless President Truman lifted an executive order barring congressional committees from loyalty files. Senator Lucas said he could not commit the President on that point.

Senators Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican flor leader, and Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, and Mundt, Republican, of South Dakota, sought to have the Appropriations Committee make the investigation.

Rules Out GOP Demand.

An Appropriations Subcommittee is scheduled to begin consideration today of the department's budget. Senators Wherry and Ferguson said the department's funds should be withheld "until they clean out the Communists."

But Senator Lucas ruled out such an investigation in favor of one by the Foreign Relations Committee headed by Senator Connally, Democrat, of Texas.

Senator Lucas said he wanted public hearings. He charged that Senator McCarthy was seeking to make political capital out of his accusations that were first aired last week on a speech-making tour across the country.

Once Senator Lucas tried to break up the session with a motion to adjourn. But this lost by an 18-to-16 vote.

David Demaret Lloyd

John Carter Vincent

Hubert Pearl

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Date: FEB [illegible] 1950

Lucas Demands 'Red' Names

Says McCarthy Can Tell Senate Committee

By United Press

Senate Democratic Leader Scott W. Lucas promised today to obtain an early airing of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's charges of Communist infiltration into the State Department.

SEN. McCARTHY
81 anonymous cases

He said he would confer immediately with Chairman Tom Connally (D., Tex.) of the Foreign Relations Committee about an open hearing on Sen. McCarthy's charge that 81 Communists and fellow travelers have wormed their way into the Administration's top echelons.

He said Sen. McCarthy should be put under oath and compelled to identify the 81 cases he reviewed on the Senate floor last night. Sen. McCarthy has mentioned no names.

Sen. McCarthy told the Senate among other things that one person who failed to get a loyalty clearance at the State Department now is a speech writer in the White House. He also charged that there is a Red ring in the State Department headed by a subversive "Big Three."

GOT PROOF, HE SAYS

He said afterwards that he has no objection to revealing the identities of these individuals in open hearings before any Senate committee.

Sen. McCarthy said he could back his charges with proof.

Justice Wescott's statement to those 56 fidgety newspapermen from the big cities, imposing a ban on reporting the questions asked prospective jurors, was a request for co-operation. From another man it would have sounded bland almost futile. But coming from under those Wescott brows, it implied all kinds of unpleasant penalties for the offender.

As noted, the, everybody would behave nicely even without Judge Wescott peering down upon them with that almost benevolent glower with which he surveys the courtroom. For they are that kind of

termination to keep the circus sounds on the sidelines sternly muted.

Dibs

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JUL 7 1950

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
Final Edition
February 21, 1950

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M'Carthy Plans Cards For Anti-Communists

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin plans a new "card-carrying" movement, this one for "anti-Communists." He told reporters he is having cards printed which will certify that the bearer is a "card-carrying anti-Communist." They will be sent to people who have contributed money to his campaign against the State Department.

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End of Red Probe Seen As Tydings Committee Votes to Make Report

A possible quick windup of the Senate investigation of the McCarthy charges of Communists in the Government was seen today after the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee voted, 3 to 2, to make a report on its findings to date.

The vote in the investigating committee was strictly along party lines. Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, the chariman, and Senators Green of Rhode Island and McMahon of Connecticut vote dto make the report.

Opposed were the two Republican committee members—Senators—Hickenlooper or Iowa and Lodge of Massachusetts.

Would Be Interior Report.

Senator Tydings said it would be an interim report based on about 2 million words of testimony taken in private and public hearings, as well as findings from an examination of the loyalty files on persons accused of having Communist leanings.

Senator Hickenlooper disagreed and said the record of yesterday's closed hearing, at which the vote was taken, would not bear out the characterization of the report as a preliminary one. "It will be a report on which conclusions can be based," he added.

McCarthy to Push Action.

Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, whose charges set off the investigation last February, had this to say:

"If this means the windup of that whitewash operation, it's good news for the country. It leaves the way open for another committee interested in investigating Communists—instead of investigating those who expose Communists—to take over the inquiry."

He added he would continue his own inquiry, with the help of five investigators and would develop material in Senate speeches if the committee ends its inquiry.

At the closed session yesterday the Tydings committee also voted for contempt proceedings against Earl Browder, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Philip Jaffe for their refusal to answer questions put to them during the investigation. The recommendations now go to the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee and, if approved there, to the Senate itself.

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OK

Communists in the State Department

Stanley

ADD 2 LODGE

LODGE SAID ABOUT 800 WITNESSES--ROUGHLY 10 IN EACH CASE--WOULD HAVE TO BE SUMMONED BY THE SENATE COMMITTEE TO MAKE ANY KIND OF A RELIABLE FINDING. THIS HE DESCRIBED AS "IMPOSSIBLE."

HE WAS THE FIRST COMMITTEE MEMBER TO ANNOUNCE THE RESULT OF HIS FILE PERUSAL WHICH HAS EXTENDED OVER MANY WEEKS. THE FILES WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE COMMITTEE IN THE WHITE HOUSE CABINET ROOM ON MR. TRUMAN'S ORDERS AND THEIR AVAILABILITY ENDS SUNDAY NIGHT.

LODGE SAID THEY WERE IN AN "UNFINISHED, UNDEVELOPED STATE," AND THAT ALLEGATIONS WERE NOT FOLLOWED UP. "SOME ALLEGATIONS APPEAR ONCE AND YOU NEVER SEE THEM AGAIN," HE SAID. LODGE SAID THIS WAS TRUE BOTH OF FILES CONTAINING FULL FBI FIELD INVESTIGATIONS AND THOSE WITHOUT SUCH FBI CHECKUPS.

LODGE ALREADY HAS INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION TO TURN LOYALTY INVESTIGATIONS OVER TO A 12-MAN BI-PARTISAN COMMISSION. HE SAID HE WOULD PUSH THE MOVE AS A RESULT OF HIS FILE READING. SENATORS, HE MAINTAINED, JUST DO NOT HAVE THE TIME OR STAFF FACILITIES TO DO THE INVESTIGATIVE WORK REQUIRED FOR AN ADEQUATE INVESTIGATION.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TYDINGS, WHEN INFORMED OF LODGE'S POSITION--WHICH WAS EXPRESSED IN RESPONSE TO REPORTERS QUESTIONS--SAID LODGE, OF COURSE, WAS "ENTITLED TO HIS OPINION; MINE WILL BE IN WRITING.

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Revealed No Secrets: Service

Washington, June 22 (AP)—Career diplomat John S. Service acknowledged today that he told a figure in the Amerasia case what was in two messages from President Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek.

Service insisted he did nothing irregular. He said the information was old stuff, given out by high military authorities to newspapermen months before.

Also, he said, it had appeared in print, reportedly cleared for publication by President Roosevelt himself. The messages dealt with the President's suggestion for appointment of Gen. Joseph C. Stilwell to head all forces in China fighting Japan.

Service, requesting an open hearing, appeared before a Senate investigating committee to make a point-by-point denial of Sen. McCarthy's charges that he collaborated with Communists. He declared he strove to resist Communist domination of China, where he served for many years.

Service also asserted he was "innocent of the charges" in the 1945 Amerasia case. He was one of six arrested — and one of those cleared — after Federal agents turned up hundreds of government documents in raids on offices of the now-defunct Amerasia magazine, which dealt with Asiatic affairs.

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Bared 2 Secrets—Service

Diplomat Admits 'Indiscretion' At Senate Quiz on Amerasia

By JAMES LEE

WASHINGTON, June 22 (INS).—Career diplomat John S. Service admitted today that he gave one of the men arrested in the Amerasia stolen documents case the 'substance" of two secret wartime messages from the late President Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek.

Fighting to clear himself of the charge made by Sen. McCarthy (R.-Wis.) that he is a "poor security risk" with "Communist affiliations," the 40-year-old Service was testifying at an open session of the Senate Loyalty Committee when evidence concerning the messages was introduced.

Committee Chairman Tydings (D.-Md.), who previously had insisted on secrecy, threw open the hearing at Service's request. Tydings said he could not do otherwise when "a man's life and his reputation are at stake."

Admit Indiscretion

Service acknowledged that he became involved in the 1945 Amerasia case through "indiscretion." But he insisted that he never aided the Chinese Reds and in fact sought to "resist the domination of China by the Communists."

The immaculately-groomed foreign service officer, perspiring freely, but seldom raising his voice, made the admission about the Roosevelt-Chiang messages under questioning by Sen. Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa).

Service said he told Mark Gayn, a writer, about the messages. He insisted that he did not think they were secret. But Hickenlooper produced a photo copy of a document which he said was seized in an FBI raid on Amerasia magazine. The document included the FDR messages and bore this notation:

"This information is classified as top secret and was supplied by John S. Service."

Indentifies Document

Service freely identified the Amerasia document as "the text of notes taken by Mrs. Mark Gayn from a conversation I had with him (Gayn)—at breakfast."

He said he had given the material to Gayn for a magazine article on Gen. Joseph (Vinegar Joe) Stilwell, then U. S. Commander in the Far East.

Both Gayn and Service were arrested in the Amerasia case along with Philip Jaffe, editor of the now defunct magazine, Andrew Roth, then a Naval Intelligence officer, Emmanuel Larsen, then a State Department official, and Kate L. Mitchell, an editorial associate of Jaffe.

Jaffe and Larsen were fined in the case, Roth was indicted but not prosecuted, and a grand jury found insufficient evidence to indict Service, Gayn, and Miss Mitchell.

JOHN S. SERVICE
Admits Amerasia case "indiscretion."
(International Photo)

Senator Jenner
McCarthy

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Tydings Shuts Doors As Service's Ties To Amerasia Are Bared

Chairman Fears 'False Impressions' From Stories of Information Leaks

By WILLARD EDWARDS

An open Senate hearing into disloyalty charges against John S. Service, a 17-year veteran of the State department's foreign service, was abruptly ended last night after repeated disclosures of the official's connections with the Amerasia spy case of 1945.

Chairman Tydings of Maryland, ordered the hearing continued behind closed doors today, asserting that he didn't want "false impressions" to be given to the public.

Service had been confronted with a top-secret document bearing his name which was found in the raid upon the offices of Amerasia, a pro-Soviet magazine.

Quizzed on Leaks

He was also quizzed concerning an FBI report, based upon a dictaphone recording, that he gave military information on China to Philip J. Jaffe, editor of Amerasia, with the warning that "this is secret and must be handled carefully."

Then Attorney Robert Morris, representing the Republican minority, was given his first opportunity to cross-examine a witness since the Tydings subcommittee on foreign relations began functioning four months ago. A former naval intelligence official, noted as an authority on Soviet espionage, Morris had been barred by Tydings from participating in the questioning.

Morris delved into official State department reports by Service, discovered in the Amerasia raid, which advocated "sympathetic support" for Japanese Communists and declared that Chinese Communists had "democratic ends." He produced personal letters written by Service while Tydings complained that Service "is not on trial charged with a crime" and his right to privacy was being invaded.

Then Tydings Breaks In

Then Morris produced an address book taken by the FBI from Service and read the first two names in it. They were those of Eugene Vinogradoff, attache to the Soviet embassy in Chungking, and Gunther Stein, named as a Soviet spy in an Army report.

At this point, Tydings called off the open hearing. Service and his attorneys joined in protesting, but the chairman was adamant. He wasn't going to have a "one sided" story going out, he said, and the rest of the qu~~would be~~ in secret.

Service was not visibly perturbed during the nearly seven hours he spent in the witness chair. He calmly insisted he was innocent of any complicity in the theft of 1,700 confidential documents from government files.

The tall and slender diplomat was one of six persons arrested by the FBI on June 6, 1945. He was not indicted by the grand jury which handled the case. Only two of the six were prosecuted and received fines. Charges against the other four were dropped. The subcommittee is investigating charges that the Justice department whitewashed the defendants at the insistence of the State department.

Service was on his way to India to take an important post there when Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin named him as one of the pro-Communist clique in the State department. He was recalled for a new loyalty board hearing which is still pending.

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Just before the hearing was ended Morris asked Service if he was a member of the Communist party, receiving a denial, and then demanded:

"Have you ever transmitted secret military items to Jaffe?"

Service hesitated.

"I don't mean to quibble," he said, "but there must be a definition of terms. I have never knowingly transmitted secret military plans but in discussions it was customary to give writers, for their guidance, information which was in classified (secret) documents."

Morris demanded that testimony given the FBI at closed sessions concerning Service be read into the record so that he could cross-examine the witness on it. Tydings refused the request.

Secret Payer Presented

After Service completed reading a lengthy and detailed statement, which accused former Ambassador to China Patrick J. Hurley and McCarthty of making false charges against him, committee counsel Edward P. Morgan produced a photostatic copy of one of the documents seized in the Amerasia raid. Never before made public, it read:

"The Stilwell affair and Hurley's appointment.

"'This information, classified as top secret ("eyes only") is supplied by John S. Service. Special caution must be shown in the use of the two White House messages to Chiang Kai-shek whose text is given below.

"'The first message, paraphrased by Service on May 19, 1945, was:

"'The situation in China is desperate and calls for drastic steps. The President (Roosevelt) therefore suggests that all armies in China, including those of the Communists, be placed under an American commander. Although the President knows of Chiang's dislike for Gen. (Joseph) Stilwell, he nevertheless believes that Stilwell's experience and record make him the best man for the job.'

Second Message Offered

"About 10 days after the President's first message, another message arrived at Chungking. It gives a fair indication of Chiang's reply to the White House. The second message said in essence:

"'I am glad that you are in principle agreed to my suggestion for an American commander over all the forces in the China theater. Although, as you say, there are political factors which must be considered and there is also the important question of timing, I believe that the situation is so urgent that we should not delay; the political questions can certainly be solved. I agree with your suggestion for a high ranking political representative who can discuss the political and military matters and I am looking now to find such a man who can have your complete confidence.'

"Service is not sure who was responsible for the choice of Hurley but believes that Harry Hopkins as F.D.R.'s chief adviser, had his hand in the selection. Hurley arrived in Chungking in September a few weeks after Stilwell became a four-star general. At first Hurley was friendly with Stilwell but later went over to the Chinese view that Stilwell must be fired for the sake of Sino-American unity. Stilwell today believes that Hurley stabbed him in the back by strongly urging the President to recall Stilwell."

Service declared he had not given this paper to Jafee. He said he recalled a conversation in the home of Mark Gayn, a writer (another defendant in the Amerasia case who went free) in which he gave Gayn the gist of the document while Mrs. Gayn took shorthand notes. He offered the theory that Gayn turned the report over to Jaffe but said this was only an assumption.

Service insisted the information he gave Gayn was not secret at the time he gave it, in May 1945, eight months after the White House messages were sent. When he asserted that the "eyes only" marking on the dispatches was not a security classification, Sen. Lodge (R) of Massachusetts said it was one of the highest security labels possible.

Both Morgan and Sen. Hickenlooper questioned Service concerning an FBI report based upon dictaphone recordings taken in a Statler hotel room adjacent that occupied by Jaffe, central figure in the spy case. Jaffe now faces a Senate contempt citation for refusing to answer questions concerning his role in the case and whether he is a member of the Communist party.

Service had admitted giving documents to Jaffe on three occasions but again insisted, as in the case with Gayn, that these papers, although some of them were marked "secret," were no longer confidential. The FBI agents listened to a conversation between Service and Jaffe and the questions asked Service were based upon their report.

Service "Can't Recall"

"Did you ever say to Jaffe in his hotel room that 'the military information in these documents is secret or top secret and must be carefully handled'?" asked Hickenlooper.

"I did not give him military information in documents," asserted Service.

"Did you make that remark to Jaffe?"

"I do not recall it," said Service, cautiously. "In discussing the over-all picture of the situation in China, I may have made some statements for his use as background material but not for publication. I could not say we never discussed anything that was technically secret nor touched upon something of military significance. I expect we did."

Service said he first met Jaffe on April 19, 1945, less than two months before the arrests in the Amerasia case, and asserted he had never sent reports to Jaffe before that date. He was informed that a number of dispatches and reports, bearing his name, had been found in the Amerasia raid and insisted he could not explain how they arrived there. He said the documents he did give Jaffe were all returned to him.

Gave Memo to Jaffe

Service recounted various meetings with Jaffe, Roth, Gayn, Kate Mitchell, co-editor of Amerasia, and Emmanuel S. Larsen, the other five arrested, picturing himself as innocently providing information on China to these persons. He gave Jaffe only eight or 10 "personal memoranda" on his observations in China, he said, which had never been in official files.

The witness also said he was acquainted with Owen Lattimore, State department consultant, who has been named an espionage agent by McCarthy and Louis Budenz, former Communist editor. He spent a week end at the Lattimore home in Baltimore, just before the Amerasia arrests, in company with Roth and others, he said.

Asked if he knew Lauchlin Currie, former White House administrative assistant, Service said he appealed to Currie for "advice" following his arrest. Currie was named by Elizabeth Bentley, admitted Soviet agent, as one of her informants.

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Service Says China Charges Are Unfounded

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

State Department Diplomat John S. Service yesterday firmly denied, in general and in detail, the two basic accusations that have been laid against him: that he fostered a pro-Communist policy when he served in China, and that he was guilty of wrongdoing in the 1945 Amerasia stolen documents case.

The thin, youthful-looking career officer made his defense before a special Senate Subcommittee investigating the charge of Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) and the Amerasia affair. In a last minute change of plans, the hearings were opened to the press and public.

As they ended—seven hours of them—a major and new charge, made by imputation rather than directly, was still unsolved. It was the intimation, from the Republican subcomittee members' counsel, that Service had passed "military information" to Philip J. Jaffe, the editor of Amerasia magazine, the principal figure who was convicted in that case, and who has been reported as having had close Communist connections.

Service Flatly Denies It

Service denied flatly that he had ever given Jaffe any "secret military information" in any of the half-dozen contacts he had with him in April and May, 1945, just before he, Jaffe, and four others were arrested in the Amerasia case.

But the minority members' counsel, Robert Morris, referred pointedly to some FBI testimony and documents, produced before the subcommitte at an earlier, secret session. He asked to have this testimony or evidence made a part of the record in Service's hearing. From what he said about it, guardedly, it apparently suggested that Service had, indeed, given classified military data to Jaffe.

Subcommittee Chairman Tydings (D., Md.) refused Morris' request, on grounds that the evidence had come out at closed hearings and that he did not choose to put parts of secret testimony on the record, piecemeal. He said he waned the whole story that the FBI had to tell about the Amerasia case to come out at one time. He indicated that might be done later, when his subcommittee made its report.

Meantime, however, the matter Morris was pressing will be resumed, this time in closed sessions wtih Service, at 1:30 p. m. today.

Service Reads Statement

For the first part of the long day, Service read in a slow, low voice, an extensive prepared statement in which he took up, one by one, the various accusations made against him, dating back to the days when former Ambassador to China Patrick Hurley attacked him in 1945.

These were divided into two categories. One related to his activities and reports, as a State Department political adviser attached to American Army headquarters in China during the war. The second concerned his involvement in the Amerasia matter.

With respect to the first period, Service told how a major part of his duty was gathering political intelligence in China, especially from the Communists, and how all his extensive contacts with them—a matter of pride to him and not of apology—were on orders, and were "a basic and vital" part of his assignment.

Denies McCarthy Charge

He told how he was commended for the work he did and the reports he rendered by his two Army chiefs, Generals Stillwell and Wedemeyer. In answer to specific charges of McCarthy, and as a demonstration of his own position, he said:

"Senator McCarthy has charged that when Chiang Kai-shek was fighting our war, I sent back official reports to the State Department urging that we torpedo our ally, Chiang Kai-shek, and stating in effect that communism was the best hope of China.

"Actually, as a reading of my reports will disclose, such recommendations as I have made were designed to prevent the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's government and to resist the domination of China by communism."

"Senator McCarthy has charged that I have been in the Far East trying to turn the whole business over to Russia. Actually, as my reports written from China clearly indicate, I had a full appreciation of the dangers of Russian domination and sought means of preventing such domination.

"Senator McCarthy has charged that I am one of a dozen top policy makers in the entire Department of State on Far Eastern policy. Actually, I have never occupied a policy making position in the Department of State."

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Kennan Analyzed Data

The best testimony as to what his point of view was, and how well and objectively he did his work, Service argued, was certainly the memoranda he wrote while in China. Therefore, he said, when he recently appeared before a State Department Loyalty Board resurveying his case, he had those memoranda produced and analyzed.

The analyst was George F. Kennan, councillor of the department and by general repute the Government's foremost expert on Communist theory and practice. Kennan reviewed all the documents Service wrote in his three years in China, more than 125 of them, and testified to the loyalty board.

"I find no evidence that the reports acquired their character from any ulterior motive or association or from any impulse other than the desire on the part of the reporting officer to acquaint the department with the facts as he saw and interpreted them.

"I find no indication that the reports reported anything but his best judgment candidly stated to the department.

Not From "A Closed Mind"

"On the contrary, the general level of throughtfulness and intellectual flexibility which pervades the reporting is such that it seems to me out of the question that it could be the work of a man with a closed mind or with ideological preconceptions, and it is my conclusion that it was not."

In questioning Service, Morris sought to make the point that Service had in his possession various statements of Chinese Communist leaders showing they were clearly linked to the Kremlin, whereas Service had reported that the Chinese Communists had an independent orientation and would look to America, not Russia, for materi l help.

Service contended that some of

Associated Press Photo

JOHN S. SERVICE
. . . explains Amerasia link

the leaders' statements were sheer pro forma vows of fealty to Russian communism, and some were dated very early in Chinese Communist history, when they were indeed bound to the Kremlin.

The argument was involved, and the Senators appeared to be left with a choice between Morris' analysis that Service perpetrated slanted, inaccurate reports, and Kennan's judgment that Service's reporting was objective.

Cites Defense by Byrnes

Service also dealt with charges against him by Hurley, which he answered with an equally vigorous public defense that former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes made of him five years ago when Hurley sounded off.

To charges by Emmanuel S. Larsen, a former State Department employe who was fined for his part in the Amerasia matter, Service produced recent loyalty board testimony of Larsen admitting he had no evidence. Larsen had said in the past that Service tried to sabotage Hurley and did not like him.

Senators appeared more interested in the second set of charges against Service, those relating to Amerasia.

Jaffe Had U. S. Documents

This was a case in which Jaffe, as editor of the now defunct magazine, was found to have amassed some several hundred classified Government documents. Many were passed to him by Larsen. Some were copies of Service's own reports, but these Larsen had admitted he supplied.

The three men were arrested June 6, 1945, along with Kate Mitchell, Jaffe's co-editor; Mark Gayn, a free-lance writer and associate of Jaffe, and Navy Lieut. Andrew Roth, who seemed to have been the man who introduced Jaffe to many of his Washington contacts.

A grand jury voted unanimously against indicting Service. But the question the subcommittee wanted to have answered was what were Service's relations with Jaffe and the others and what information he supplied. The FBI, which kept Jaffe under surveillance for weeks before the arrests, had found Service in about half a dozen contacts with Jaffe.

Yesterday, Service insisted he had done nothing wrong nor irregular. He said he was introduced to Jaffe after his return from China by Roth, and though him to be simply a journali specializing in Far Eastern matter running a small, special-intere magazine.

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Job Was to Aid Writers

Part of his job, informal but recognized, was to aid writers and reporters and to give them proper and accurate background material, Service said. So he showed Jaffe a memorandum he wrote on a Chinese Communist presentation of their own position. Later, he let Jaffe borrow eight or ten of his other memoranda which he considered it would be appropriate to allow Jaffe, as a writer on China, to see."

Service insisted these documents were purely reportorial and contained no military or other secrets and no classified material on American policy or position.

Service pointed out that the first, secret, raid on the Amerasia offices was made while he was in China, and that it demonstrated "that whatever channels Jaffe had for obtaining official documents were already in existence and functioning very well, indeed." For the raid showed that there were masses of secret Government documents in Jaffe's office.

Next, Service said, it appeared that the FBI testified that it had notified the State and Navy Departments it was ready to make the arrests, and was satisfied it had solved the case, just six days after Service returned from China, before he had even met Jaffe. Hence, Service said, "I could not possibly have been one of those suspected at that time."

Admits Indiscretions

Service readily admitted that his giving his memoranda, and his conversations with Jaffe were indiscretions. He said he had suffered for them for five years.

Republican subcommittee members, Senators Hickenlooper (Iowa) and Lodge (Mass.), pounded him with questions on two points:

Had he devoted as much time and attention to other journalists as he had to Jaffe?

Why had he always gone to Jaffe's hotel, or office, or apartment, and why had Jaffe only once come to his, Service's, office? Did not reporters seeking information from an official come to the official and not vice versa?

Service answered that he talked to and spent much time with many writers on Fortune, Time, Newsweek and other magazines, and that he met with many of them outside his office, at lunch or at their homes.

McCarthy Makes Notes

Senator McCarthy, who lashed at Service in the first speech he made, when he touched off the current investigation of Communists in Government last February, sat behind subcommittee members yesterday, making notes while Service talked.

He told a reporter, "Service said he gave information to Jaffe, but he thought he was just giving background information to an authentic journalist. He would have to be pretty naive to have fallen for that."

Lodge and Hickenlooper also wanted to know by what right did Service show to Jaffe documents that had been given security classifications. Service replied that he had done the classifying, that the documents were copies of his memoranda, and that he had enough knowledge of the facts to know when they could be disclosed, after a lapse of time and events. This was properly a matter within his judgment and authority, he declared.

F. D. R. Messages to Chiang

Service was questioned at length about one of the documents seized in the Amerasia offices at the time the arrests were made. It identified itself as a summary of an account Service gave of two top secret "eyes only" messages from President Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek, relating to unifying the Chinese Army command under General Stillwell.

Service said he assumed the document was written from notes, probably taken by Mrs. Gayn, during a conversation he had with her and her husband. He said he had felt at liberty to talk about the messages, then 10 months only, because the facts had taken place, and because the background had already been published, particularly in an article six months earlier.

It was a sensational scoop by the New York Times' China correspondent, Brooks Atkinson. Service said he was informed that President Roosevelt himself had permitted the release of Atkinson's dispatch because it was factually accurate.

Never Gave Military Secrets

To the questions on whether he ever passed military information to Jaffe, and whether he had cautioned Jaffe not to reveal or make use of it, Service appealed for a clearer definition of terms.

He never gave Jaffe military secrets, he was sure. He said that it was impossible to talk about China then without talking about the military situation. But he insisted he had no knowledge of American military plans or secrets.

To a hint that the subject might have been prospective American landings in China, Service replied that though the topic was in the air—Admiral Nimitz had mentioned at a press conference the need for such a landing—he, Service, did not know "if, when or where" any landing was to be made.

He may have cautioned Jaffe about not using certain information, Service speculated, but if so, it was only in accordance with usual practice of an official talking to a journalist, giving him some information for his own guidance, but not for publication.

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"Very Fine Job"

Peurifoy Indorsed by Sen. Bridges

Republican Senator Styles Bridges yesterday criticized the methods of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) in pressing charges, but said McCarthy's objective is praiseworthy.

Bridges, of New Hampshire, sharply differed with McCarthy on another point by calling John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Undersecretary of State, "a very able man who has done a very fine job."

McCarthy bitterly assailed Peurifoy in a speech last week, accusing him of offering favors to an investigation witness. This drew denials from both.

Bridges' discussion of McCarthy's feud with the department came as McCarthy demanded that Senate investigators question career diplomat John S. Service about the 1945 Amerasia secret document case at a public hearing instead of behind closed doors.

That case, which involved alleged theft of a big batch of confidential Government papers, is being investigated by a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee as part of its general inquiry into McCarthy's charges. The committee has summoned Service, who was arrested in the case and then cleared, to a closed meeting Thursday.

Bridges told a television audience (NBC) he has tried to steer clear "of McCarthy's technique of making charges," but he feels the department has a number of questions to answer regarding its security setup.

Bridges called McCarthy "A very sincere man" with a "very wonderful war record," and said he should be commended for trying to get rid of any Communists in the Government. Bridges added that if he were in McCarthy's shoes, "I think I would have adopted different methods."

Bridges had warm praise, too, for Dr. Conrad E. Snow, head of the State Department's loyalty board, who also has drawn McCarthy's fire. Snow, said Bridges, is "doing a very fine job."

Bridges said, however, that both Snow and Peurifoy have sometimes been overruled by their superiors in the department.

Asked why there has not been more open Republican support of McCarthy in the Senate, Bridges said there is a general feeling that McCarthy is "on the right track" but that some Republicans "definitely question his methods."

In calling on Senate investigators to hear Service at a public session, McCarthy said:

"The time for secrecy and cover-up in the Amerasia case ended a long time ago. There is absolutely no excuse for trying to bottle up Service's testimony on this important matter."

Service, veteran Foreign Service officer, was arrested along with five others in 1945 after Federal agents turned up hundreds of secret Government documents in the New York headquarters of Amerasia magazine, and elsewhere. Two were fined for conspiracy to obtain illegal possession of Federal papers. The others went clear.

Service was cleared and returned to duty in the State Department. Amerasia Editor Philip Jaffe pleaded guilty and was fined $2500. Former State Department employe Emmanuel S. Larsen pleaded no defense and paid a $500 fine.

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McGrath to Act Soon on Baring Amerasia Data

Promises Decision On Grand Jury Plea To Inform Public

By the Associated Press

Attorney General McGrath said today the Justice Department will decide soon whether to make a full report on the 1945 Amerasia case as recommended by a Federal grand jury.

Mr. McGrath's comment to a reporter came after a week end bristling with new developments involving the charges of Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, that the State Department harbors Communists and Communist sympathizers.

A key part of those charges, Senator McCarthy has said, concerns the five-year-old episode in which six persons were arrested after the FBI had found hundreds of secret Government documents in the offices of the defunct magazine Amerasia.

Republicans Blast McCarthy.

These were the developments:

1. Three more Republicans joined those party members who have criticized Senator McCarthy's methods in attacking the State Department. The three—Govs. Earl Warren of California and James H. Duff of Pennsylvania, and Senator Bridges of New Hampshire—also had some criticism of the way Democrats have handled the Communist-in-Government issue.

2. An official transcript of testimony taken by the Senate Committee investigating Senator McCarthy's charges showed that Amerasia defendant Emmanuel S. Larsen spoke of former Navy Lt. Andrew Roth as a "real Communist" and "the principal conspirator" in the case.

3. Senator McCarthy demanded that the Senate inquiry group open its doors to the public when it takes testimony Thursday from State Department consular official John S. Service—another of the six accused in the Amerasia episode five years ago. The committee plans to hear Mr. Service, as it has other Amerasia witnesses, behind closed doors.

The State Department accused Senator McCarthy of deliberate distortion of the public record" in saying that Dean Acheson—now Secretary of State—had helped create a Red Poland by approving a $90 million loan to that country in 1946.

Meeting Sought by Spellman.

5. Officials disclosed that Cardinal Spellman had sought the meeting he had Friday with Deputy Undersecretary of State John E. Peurifoy—possibly to discuss United States representation at the Vatican. Mr. Peurifoy denied speculation that he had initiated the meeting so he could ask the Cardinal to "call off" Senator McCarthy.

Attorney General McGrath discussed the grand jury's action with a reporter after returning from a trip to the West Coast.

He said he had not had a chance to make a careful study of the jury's views.

"But I intend to discuss the matter with officials in the department at the first opportunity I have," Mr. McGrath said.

In Congress, Senator Knowland, Republican, of California, said the Justice Department "would be well advised" to follow the grand jury's suggestion for a statement on the case, accompanied by a description of the Government papers which figured in it.

Dewey's Reaction "Mixed."

Govs. Warren and Duff expressed their criticism of Senator McCarthy's methods in separate interviews at the Governors' Conference at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. Both accused Senator McCarthy of failing to furnish evidence supporting his charges.

"I personally don't like to see blanket accusations made against groups of individuals or individuals standing alone," Gov. Warren said. "No good can come out of such charges unless there is the intention to prove such statements and accusations in accordance with our laws and democratic processes."

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York, also at the conference, said without elaboration that his reaction to the McCarthy charges is "mixed."

Bridges Criticizes Methods.

Senator Bridges made known his differences with Senator McCarthy on a television broadcast yesterday. He called the Wisconsin Senator's aims praiseworthy, but added:

"I think I would have adopted different methods."

All three men pointed some of their criticism at the opposition party. Gov. Duff said he feels the administration hasn't "come clean" with all the facts about subversives in government. Gov. Warren criticized Democrats on the Senate inquiry group indicating he believes they have not been entirely objective in their investigation. Senator Bridges commented that the State Department has a number of questions to answer on its security setup.

None of the three referred specifically to the Amerasia case, which in recent weeks has become the main object of attention in connection with Senator McCarthy's charges.

Larsen, a former State Department employe who was one of the leading figures in the case, testified before the Senate committee June 5 and 6. Copies of his testimony were obtained over the week end by some newsmen.

Brief Phone Interview Cited.

In it, Larsen said he based his description of Lt. Roth as a "real Communist" on "his presence right now with Ho Chih Minh, the Communist leader in Indo-China."

Lt. Roth is now in Europe after spending several years as Far Eastern correspondent for The Nation magazine. Editor Freda Kirchwey said she had covered both sides in the Indo-China struggle about two years ago, but she said his only contact with Ho Chih Minh was through a telephone interview of a few minutes duration which Lt. Roth arranged while in Indonesia.

Senator McCarthy, in a new attack on the Senate investigating committee, accused it yesterday of "trying to bottle up Service's testimony" on the Amerasia case by holding its hearings behind closed doors.

"The time for secrecy and cover-up in the Amerasia case ended a long time ago," he said.

Chairman Tydings of the committee said in a radio broadcast that pertinent information on the case will be made public when the inquiry is completed. He added:

"All I want to do in this case is to make a fair, square, complete job of investigating—neither witch-hunting nor whitewashing, let the chips fall where they may.

"There are some people who want me to witch-hunt. There are probably some who want me to whitewash. As far as I can govern it, I shall do neither."

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Making McCarthy Look Bad

SPEAKING OF POLITICS, we must note that the Truman Administration is having one whale of a hard time making McCarthy look bad.

To make McCarthy look bad is a **must** for the Trumanites because of the creeping realization among the people that the fiery Senator from Wisconsin, despite an occasional tendency toward a wild pitch, has something.

That realization among the people is not good for Trumanite chances in the Fall congressional elections.

So Dean Acheson's State Department was stung into whipping up an aggrieved reply to McCarthy charges that Acheson, himself, in 1946, as Acting Secretary of State, pushed and approved a loan of $90,000,000 to Poland, then already in the grip of the Communists.

The State Department pooh-poohed McCarthy. It said that in 1946 the department *"still had hopes that the Mikolajczyk government, then in power in Poland, might be saved from Russian domination."*

A plausible-sounding explanation—except that there are two people who know the record—Mikolajczyk, now a refugee from Communist Poland, and Arthur Bliss Lane, our former ambassador to that country.

Mr. Mikolajczyk says the government ruling in Poland at the time was "certainly not" a Mikolajczyk government; he was just a member; the Communists were seizing power; they dominated economic policies. He soon had to flee for his life.

Mr. Lane says the State Department reply to McCarthy is "ridiculous." He was on the scene at the time. He was dismayed at the $90,000,000 loan. He had advised Washington that it would be taken as acquiescence to the Communist policies of the Warsaw regime. Yet he received cables signed "Acheson" informing him he was overruled, and the loan would be granted. It was.

The more the Trumanites try to fan out McCarthy's fire, the better it seems to burn.

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McCarthy On "Payoffs"

That illustrious author and housing expert Joseph McCarthy, in his spare time a United States Senator from Wisconsin, has accused John E. Peurifoy, employed full-time as Deputy Undersecretary of State, of arranging a secret "payoff" for a witness in the investigation of alleged Communists in the State Department. The witness in question, Emmanuel S. Larsen, who represents himself as a full-time author, otherwise unemployed, says the Senator's statements are "complete lies"—an evaluation made so frequently in the past about other McCarthy statements that it has become a kind of cliche which a high-priced author like the Senator would probably deplore.

Senator McCarthy must be ranked as one of the highest-priced authors of our time, or any other time. That $10,000 paid to him for a little brochure on housing by the Lustron Publishing Corp.—which used to build prefabricated houses on the side until it went broke through no fault of Senator McCarthy—puts him right up in a class with such literary figures as the Duke of Windsor or Joe Louis. In fact, his take as a writer compares favorably with that of his fastidious colleague, Senator Styles Bridges, who accepted a salary of $35,000 a year for serving as a trustee of the United Mine Workers pension fund while drawing compensation as a United States Senator.

Of course, such versatility is nothing new with Senator McCarthy. He held on to a Wisconsin judgeship while campaigning for the Senate, despite a provision in the Wisconsin constitution forbidding judges to seek political office. Any author as high-priced as Mr. McCarthy certainly ought to know what the word "payoff" means.

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Forrestal's Role in Amerasia Case Disclosed in Diary; Notes Show He Tried Only to Aid U.N. Talks

Secretary Sought To Notify Truman Of Arrest Plans

By Cecil Holland

Information has been found in the secret personal diary of the late James V. Forrestal dispelling the mystery of who reportedly sought to delay arrests in the 1945 Amerasia magazine case, it was learned today.

The material will confirm reports that it was Mr. Forrestal himself, then Secretary of the Navy, who intervened in the case to be sure that President Truman was fully informed of the matter and not, apparently, with any intention of delaying the arrests.

Gold to Be Returned to Brooklyn if He Wants Trial. . . . Page A-3

The data, it is expected, will be made available Monday to the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee looking into the Amerasia case as part of its investigation of charges of communism in the State Department.

Feared Truman Embarrassment.

It will show:

1. Mr. Forrestal acted on his own initiative and from the highest motives since he feared arrest at that time in the alleged theft of classified Government documents would "greatly embarrass" President Truman in his dealings with Russia during the critical days during which the United Nations was being established at the San Francisco Conference.

2. Mr. Forrestal telephoned FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and urged him to have Tom Clark—then in charge of the the Justice Department's Criminal Division and now a Supreme Court justice—see that the President was "in full information of all the facts in the matter as well as their implication."

3. That Mr. Forrestal said he directed James K. Vardaman, then the White House naval aide, "to see that the President was informed on the matter."

Informed of the notes in Mr. Forrestal's papers, Mr. Vardaman, now a governor of the Federal Reserve Board, stood by his emphatic statement earlier in the week that he "had nothing what-

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Senator Joseph C. McCarthy

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ever to do with this case at any time."

Vardaman Knew of Diary.

Mr. Vardaman said he knew about the diary before he made his statement and that, owing to other activities in which he was engaged at the time, Mr. Forrestal could not have taken the matter up with him.

Mr. Vardaman's name was brought into the Senate inquiry this week when Brig. Gen. Julius Holmes, Assistant Secretary of State at the time, testified he seemed to recollect that Mr. Vardaman had acted to obtain a delay.

The committee also has received testimony from Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney, chief of the Justice Department's criminal division, that it was Mr. Forrestal who intervened in the case.

References Found in Notes.

The references to the Amerasia case, baffling and mysterious for five years, were found in diary notes among Mr. Forrestal's papers in New York.

They showed that Mr. Forrestal acted in the case after being informed on Monday, May 28, 1945, by one of his special assistants, Maj. Mathias F. Correa, that arrests were scheduled to be made two days later, including a lieutenant in naval intelligence.

In a May 28 entry Mr. Forrestal said:

"Maj. Correa reported to me that the Department of Justice had evidence to the effect that Lt. Andrew Roth had been furnishing confidential and secret documents to a man named Jaffe, head of a publication named Amerasia in New York City. Jaffe has had intimate relationship with the Russian Consul in New York.

Other Departments Involved.

"Other departments of the Government involved are the Office of Strategic Services, the State Department and the Foreign Economic Administration.

"Maj. Correa reported that it was proposed that Lt. Roth should be taken into surveillance (Mr. Forrestal apparently meant to say 'custody') Wednesday. He said the FBI thought that unless speedy action were taken important evidence would be dissipated, lost and destroyed.

"I pointed out that the inevitable course of such action now would be to greatly embarrass the President now in his current conversations with Stalin because of the anti-Russian playup the incident would receive out of all proportions to its importance. . . .

"I asked Capt. Vardaman to see to it that the President was informed in the matter and I then called Mr. Edgar Hoover and suggested that he advise Mr. Tom Clark and have him also see that the President is in full information of all the facts in the matter as well as their implication."

The discovery of the information in the Forrestal papers became known as Senators Knowland of California and Brewster of Maine, both Republicans, were demanding that the Senate subcommittee subpoena the diary to see if it would shed any light on the mysterious and hotly-disputed case.

The personal papers of Mr. Forrestal have been kept secret since he died last year in a plunge from an upper floor of the Bethesda Naval Hospital shortly after retiring as the country's first Secretary of Defense.

The question of who intervened in the Amerasia case, and why he did, has had only an indirect importance in the Senate investigation because President Truman, when informed of the suggested delay, himself countermanded the order and directed a full and vigorous prosecution of the case.

Apparently Delayed Arrests.

Mr. Forrestal's action in the case, the diary showed, was made on May 28, two days before scheduled arrests, and apparently delayed action until the matter came to the attention of Mr. Truman.

The matter was brought directly to the President's attention by Gen. Holmes, now American Minister in London, who was then handling the Amerasia matter for that department.

On June 2, 1945, Gen. Holmes took the unusual step of going to the White House and personally laying the matter before the President.

The President ordered the Justice Department to proceed with the case and the FBI made the arrests on June 6, 1945—nine days after Mr. Forrestal had sought a delay.

Six persons were arrested on charges of a conspiracy to obtain illegal possession of Government documents.

They were Roth, the naval lieutenant; Philip Jaffe, editor of the obscure magazine devoted to Far Eastern affairs that has since

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ceased publication; John S. Service, veteran State Department career officer; Emmanuel S. Larsen, another State Department employe; Kate Mitchell, co-editor of the magazine, and Andrew Gayn, a writer.

A grand jury here refused to indict Mr. Service, Miss Mitchell and Mr. Gayn. Jaffe subsequently pleaded guilty and was fined $2,500. Larsen pleaded no defense and was fined $500 and charges against Roth were dropped.

The matter was investigated by a House Judiciary subcommittee in 1946 and its long-sealed testimony was made available only recently.

Truman Pushed Case.

It showed that an FBI agent had testified that on May 31, 1945:

"The Department of Justice advised the bureau that any prosecution in connection with this matter was to be held in abeyance until the conclusion of the San Francisco Conference."

Later, the FBI agent testified, "the President called the bureau and stated he wanted action taken on the case as quickly as possible, and wanted it to be vigorously followed."

The disclosure of this testimony brought immediate Republican demands for a full inquiry into this phase of the case to determine who sought the delay. There were some suggestions that a "pro-Communist" group within the State Department had sought to hold off the arrests.

It is expected that the Forrestal notes will be laid before the Senate subcommittee at a session on Monday for which Jaffe has been subpoenaed.

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Fire Acheson For Aiding Reds, McCarthy Urges

MILWAUKEE, June 9 (AP). Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin loosed a bitter new blast at Secretary of State Acheson today. He demanded again that Acheson be fired immediately.

Referring to him as "the red dean of fashion," McCarthy declared that Acheson had "worked on the team of world strategy to create a Red China and a Red Poland" and "should be removed from the high command of our foreign policy at once."

Keynote Address

McCarthy spoke out in a speech prepared as the keynote address of the Wisconsin Republican State convention.

Acheson, he said, is at the forefront of what he called the Truman administration's policy of "war-mongering abroad while it permits the enemy within our gates to operate with impunity."

"You can condemn communism in general terms," the Wisconsin senator declared, "in the Acheson manner with a lace handkerchief, a silk glove and a Harvard accent, if you please.

"But you can't fight Communists in that fashion. I know of not one single reason why Communists should be handled with kid gloves. They don't use kid gloves or powderpuffs on us."

Raps Loan to Poland

McCarthy devoted a large part of his speech to criticism of a $90,000,000 American loan to Communist Poland in 1946, at a time when Acheson's former law firm was handling Poland's business in this country. Acheson was then undersecretary of state.

"Fifty million of that $90,000,000 went to equip and arm the Communist army and the dreaded U.B.—the Communist secret police just then being set up in Poland," McCarthy said.

"It was Mr. 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. It was Mr. Acheson who helped put uniforms on the masters of prostrate Poland."

McCarthy renewed his charges against Far Eastern affairs authority Owen Lattimore, ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessup—and the Senate foreign relations subcommittee which is looking into all of his accusations, under the direction of Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland.

He said the Tydings group is "whitewashing" its investigation.

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Stopped FBI Arrest of Six, Says Holmes

Senate Probers Call Former Naval Aide

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Senate investigators were told yesterday that James K. Vardaman jr., formerly President Truman's naval aide, was the government official who sought to halt arrests of six persons in the notorious Amerasia espionage case of 1945.

Vardaman, now a member of the federal reserve system board of governors, was summoned for questioning by the Senate foreign relations subcommittee, headed by Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland, which had heard testimony involving him.

Holmes Identifies Him

Julius Holmes, U.S. minister to London, was the witness who identified Vardaman. He was a brigadier general and an assistant secretary of state in charge of security matters at the time of the Amerasia scandal.

Holmes' identification was not positive but he said it was his "best recollection" that it was Mr. Truman's naval aide who issued a temporary stop order in the case just when the FBI was ready to arrest six persons.

Vardaman, contacted by subcommittee investigators, immediately offered to testify tomorrow. He is said to have stated that he had no recollection of playing any role in the case.

Tydings Clamps Lid

Tydings had earlier clamped a censorship lid on the Holmes testimony. Before going into the committee room, Holmes told reporters that the person responsible was "not in the State department." He was then asked if it was a White House official and declared he would not talk until after he had testified.

When he emerged from the closed session, Holmes said he had been ordered by Tydings not to discuss his testimony. Asked if the responsible official was David K. Niles, White House assistant in both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, he said it was not Niles.

Early in 1945, an office of strategic services agent raided the New York offices of Amerasia, an obscure magazine of pro-Soviet sympathies and discovered hundreds of secret government docu-

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THESE DAYS

By George Sokolsky

ROBERT M. HITCHCOCK'S testimony before the Tydings committee must stimulate wonder as to what were the purposes of Francis Biddle, who was attorney general when the "Amerasia" case began, and why Mr. Hitchcock and his associates acted as they did.

Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that a spy can go to the State and other departments and steal 1,700 documents, some of the most secret nature, and that nothing can be done about it if the agents of the OSS and the FBI entered the premises where the documents were found without a search warrant.

Yet, this question arises: The OSS raid occurred on March 11, 1945. Maybe no court case could be made out of that because Frank B. Bielaski did not have a search warrant. However, the Bielaski seizures are not among the 1,700 documents we are now talking about. Those were seized by the FBI in June.

WHY WAS it not possible for the Department of Justice to get a search warrant between March and June? What held up due process of law in an espionage case for three months?

Let us go further. Mr. Hitchcock testified:

"The FBI, in connection with the arrest of Jaffe and Kate Mitchell at the Amerasia offices, had seized several hundred papers, many of which were clearly the property of one or more government agencies, most of them of the State department.

"Many others of the seized papers later were clearly established to be copies of similar records. The bulk of them were classified, as, for example, restricted, confidential, secret, etc."

Maybe those documents could not be used against Jaffe and Kate Mitchell, but they did involve others, among them Roth, Service and Larsen. Certainly, once the Department of Justice saw the documents, these others were involved. They could be held under the law for information gained in this manner.

Similarly Hitchcock said:

"In (Mark) Gayn's apartment, when he was arrested, the FBI seized 60 items, of which 22 were federal communications commission reports or copies pertaining to interrogation of Japanese prisoners of war. About 20 were typewritten copies of State department papers, and 18 were correspondence or papers which were wholly personal.

"Copies of some of the items found in Gayn's apartment were found in the Amerasia offices. When Gayn was arrested, he made a statement that he knew some of the material seized was not generally available to the public.

"He said he intended using it for background and no other reason. When he was asked where he got it, he said that in some instance he did not recall, and that in others, as a reputable newspaperman he could not disclose the sources."

THAT, of course, raises a very curious issue. We, of the press, hate to disclose confidences, although many of us have learned to refuse to receive confidences from certain types of politicians as involving participation in matters a gentleman should avoid.

However, can a newspaperman hold to the position in time of war that he has a right to be the recipient of files stolen or taken, whichever he chooses, from the government without personal responsibility for their possession?

Gayn finally admitted that he received the FCC reports from the New York office of the OWI; that George Edward Taylor and Elizabeth Downing (Barker by marriage) gave them to him.

ONE of the major difficulties with Hitchcock's testimony is that the documents he testified about do not describe accurately the 1,700 now in the possession of the Tydings committee, some of which were disclosed by Senator Hickenlooper to Bert Andrews of the New York Herald Tribune.

Did Hitchcock, as the prosecuting attorney, read the 1,700 documents or did he accept the word of Service, Jaffe, Gayn, Mitchell and Roth concerning them? As these documents are being published, the discrepancy between their actual character and the attempt of Mr. Hitchcock to minimize them is startling.

ACCORDING to Mr. Hitchcock, Kate Mitchell, when she was arrested, said "that she knew the source of (some documents) but refused to divulge it. Later she told us and the grand jury that it was her understanding that Jaffe obtained them from Larsen."

Mr. Hitchcock could have made a case had he pursued it. The question of public concern is: Why was the case not pursued?

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McGrath Can't Alibi This

The last defense for the Amerasia scandal has now been exploded by Senator Homer Ferguson, (R) of Michigan, and so completely that anybody can see and understand the whole thing.

Homer Ferguson

J. Edgar Hoover

See the Congressional Record for June 2, 1950, pages 8098-8104, inclusive, for the detailed facts.

There, Senator Ferguson sets forth a precise and compelling analysis of the attempt by the Truman Gang to smear J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI in order to excuse their own mishandling of a serious and important crime against the United States in time of war.

In excuse for the way the Amerasia evidence was used, the present U. S. Judge James P. McGranery, then an assistant attorney general in the Justice Department, said to a House committee in 1946:

"If we had not handled it in that way I do not think we would have had any case at all. None of the evidence was obtained in a manner in which we ordinarily would have obtained it. It was very clumsily handled."

What was the Amerasia evidence? It consisted of some 1,700 government documents, and by now the attempts to say the documents were "unimportant" have been so thoroughly exposed there is no present need to run through the facts again.

The evidence also concerned the comings, goings, meetings and movements of some six persons arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1945, on charges of conspiracy to violate the espionage laws of the United States.

Of the people arrested, two held important positions in the State department, one was an officer in the United States Navy and all had connections of importance throughout the Truman administration.

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It is obvious that the FBI's operations in this matter were carried out under J. Edgar Hoover's personal direction. Mere field agents do not rush out and arrest government employes in the midst of a war on charges of conspiring to violate the espionage laws. That kind of thing involves the highest order of preparation and skill of handling.

Fixed From The Start

More than that, Hoover's chief assistants have since testified on the point. They prepared for the Amerasia arrests with the greatest care and precision.

Yet what happened? No sooner were these people arrested than the charge was reduced—not by the FBI but by the Department of Justice which has the oath and obligation to prosecute evidence handed to it by the FBI—down to one dealing with conspiracy to embezzle and mutilate government documents.

Right there, the thing begins. Why did the Department of Justice reverse the field on the FBI, which had made the arrests and sworn out the warrants and booked the prisoners?

And on from there, as all the world now knows, the case was watered and watered down from a high and serious espionage matter to a mere business of putting small fines against two people.

Why? Mr. McGranery's excuse is that the evidence was "very clumsily handled."

* * *

The Alibi Exploded

Senator Ferguson has shot that story as full of holes as a Swiss cheese. Lawyers, who delight in seeing a masterly technical analysis of precedent and rules of law, will enjoy reading his dissertation.

He produces the famous work *Wigmore on Evidence*, section 2184a. He quotes from controlling Supreme Court decisions, such as *Parts Manufacturing Co., v. Lynch*, and *Silverthorne Lumber Company, Incorporated v. United States*, just to cite a couple, and on and on through the rest, in full exposure of the alibi for what it is.

He quotes D. Milton Ladd, assistant director of the FBI, who testified under oath:

The federal bureau of investigation secured no documents through any means during the course of this investigation except incident to arrest. They were all legally obtained.

Everybody knows perfectly well Mr. Ladd is telling the truth. And that anybody would be foolish, if not worse, to try making it appear otherwise. The Amerasia evidence was a major undertaking of the FBI. To suggest that J. Edgar Hoover would flub the technical necessity to get his evidence so it would stand up in court, is to talk rot.

You can't alibi this Amerasia scandal, Attorney General McGrath. You may as well come on out with the nasty truth and get done with it.

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Vardaman Issued 'Gag' Order In Amerasia Case, Probe Told

Stopped FBI Arrest Of Six, Says Holmes

(Continued from First Page)

ments stolen from the State department and other federal agencies.

Enough Evidence Gathered

The FBI took over the case and on May 30 the Justice department and the FBI agreed that enough evidence had been procured to justify the arrest of the editor, Philip C. Jaffe, and five others, including two State department officials.

But on May 31, the Justice department advised the FBI that any prosecution was to be held in abeyance until the conclusion of the San Francisco conference then drafting a United Nations charter. Testimony by an FBI agent before a House committee, recently revealed, was as follows:

"I understand that some of the men who were connected with the San Francisco conference were of the opinion that a prosecution of this case at that particular time might cause friction at the conference and it was felt it should be postponed until a later date. The attorney general was advised of that fact."

Credited to State Dept.

Since all persons connected with the San Francisco conference were State department officials, led by Secretary Stettinius, this testimony indicated that the State department was responsible for the hold-up order.

The Holmes denial appeared to eliminate Alger Hiss, a State department official who was secretary general of the San Francisco conference. Hiss is appealing a

JAMES K. VARDAMAN JR.
Named in Probe

five-year prison sentence imposed for perjury to conceal the theft of State department papers.

On June 2, Holmes informed President Truman personally of the "hold in abeyance" order from San Francisco. The president immediately ordered prosecution of the case and the six persons were arrested June 6. But undercover pressures again intervened. Charges against four of the defendants were dropped and two were fined.

The subcommittee put into its record yesterday a statement from Joseph C. Grew, State undersecretary at the time of the Amerasia case, which appeared to dispose of Justice department contentions that the FBI "clumsily handled" the gathering of evidence, thus impeding a successful prosecution.

Caused Grew to Wonder

Grew stated that he was informed by Holmes that six persons were involved in a stolen documents case. He asked if the FBI believed it had a complete case and if the Justice department believed the evidence was sufficient, virtually to assure a conviction. He was given an affirmative answer on both counts and acceded to the arrests.

Grew informed the subcommittee he thought it extremely strange that the "air-tight" case ended with only a guilty plea by Jaffe and a fine of $2,500 and a $500 fine for Emanuel S. Larsen, State department employe, who presented no defense.

Grew said he had not asked what persons were involved and learned their names only after the arrests had been made. He resigned from the State department in August, 1945, while the Amerasia case was still pending. Left wingers boasted they had "forced" Grew out of the department.

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Witness Names Vardaman in Amerasia Case

Former White House Aide 'Never Heard' Of Case in 1945

By The Associated Press

James K. Vardaman, one-time naval aide to President Truman, reportedly was named to Senate investigators yesterday as the man who may have tried to delay prosecution in the 1945 Amerasia secret documents case.

Vardaman quickly and emphatically denied it. He is now a member of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors.

"I had just come back to this country from the initial assault on Okinawa when the Amerasia case first broke," Vardaman told the Associated Press.

"I'd never heard of the case, and I never discussed it with anyone at the White House or anywhere else. I didn't know a thing about it. Mine was purely an administrative job of running the war map room in the White House."

Holmes Called Informant.

Authoritative informants said Brig. Gen. Julius Holmes, an assistant Secretary of State at the time of the Amerasia arrests, told a Senate inquiry committee today his best recollection is that Vardaman asked that the prosecution be delayed.

Holmes also testified that as soon as President Truman heard of the delay maneuver, he quashed it and ordered vigorous action in the case.

"I never heard of Holmes," Vardaman told a reporter tonight. "Under no stretch of White House policy would such a case have been referred to my office.

"It might have been referred to the chief of staff, but not to me. I never discussed it with Admiral Leahy (the President's personal chief of staff during the war) or anyone else."

In view of Holmes' testimony yesterday the committee has arranged to hear Vardaman at a session behind closed doors Friday.

Holmes told newsmen today that the FBI had developed a "good case" in the Amerasia episode, but he said—without naming the individual—that someone in the Government put in a go-slow order on the prosecution.

President Truman countermanded the delay order, Holmes said, and called for vigorous action in the case.

Holmes was an assistant Secretary of State under the late Secretary Edward R. Stettinius, jr., at the time of the Amerasia arrests in June, 1945. He is now United States Minister to London.

The general refused to say who issued the go-slow order, but he told newsmen:

"It was not anyone in the State Department."

"Was it anyone in the White

Tydings Action Assailed By Young Republicans

The Young Republican Club of Montgomery County met at the Bethesda County Building Monday and adopted a resolution condemning Senator Millard E. Tydings "failure to carry out the spirit and intent of the Senate Resolution to investigate communism in the State Department."

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House?" a reporter asked.

"I would rather not say," he replied.

Holmes testified at a closed session of a Senate investigating committee.

The committee, headed by Chairman Tydings (D., Md.), has revived the Amerasia case as part of its inquiry into charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.).

McCarthy has contended the Amerasia case, involving the alleged illegal removal of hundreds of secret Government documents, is the key to his general charges of a Red network in the department.

The Senator and some of his Republican colleagues have claimed there was a "cover-up" of the Justice Deparment's failure to win prison-term convictions in prosecuting the case. Only two of the six persons arrested by the FBI paid fines; the others were cleared.

"The committee has sealed my lips," Holmes said after testifying. However, he clarified two points.

Asked whether the delay order came from David K. Niles, a presidential aide, Holmes answered: "So far as I know, it was not."

He also ruled out Alger Hiss as the source, repeating that it was not issued by anyone in the State Department.

Hiss, a former top-level State Department official, was convicted several months ago of lying when he swore he had never leaked State Department secrets to a Soviet spy ring courier.

At the time of the Amerasia arrests, Hiss was Secretary General of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

Last week Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.), said it was "reasonable" to suspect that Hiss had tried to stall the prosecution of the Amerasia suspects.

The committee disclosed secret testimony by former Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew on May 20. It closely paralleled Holmes' version.

Grew recalled that he was acting Secretary of State at the time of the Amerasia arrests.

He said Holmes asked authority to bring about the arrest of those involved. Grew said that as he recalled it, Holmes told him he had consulted the State Department's legal adviser who said the FBI had a "good case."

Holmes confirmed to newsmen yesterday that in his opinion the FBI did have a good case.

Grew also touched on a contention by Senator McCarthy that he (Grew) was forced out of the State Department in the wake of the Amerasia case by "leftist pressure groups."

Grew told the committee:

"In this regard, I can say categorically that I was not forced to resign. For some time I had desired to retire. The war was over, I was past the retirement age, and I was facing the prospect of a major operation."

He said that when James F. Byrnes became Secretary of State, succeeding Stettinius, he renewed his request to retire "and Secretary Byrnes agreed."

In his comment to reporters, Holmes confirmed the testimony given by FBI Agent Myron Gurnea before a House Judiciary Subcommittee during its probe of the Amerasia case in 1946.

Gurnea told the House group:

"On May 31, 1945 (a week before the Amerasia arrests), the Department of Justice advised the FBI that any prosecution in connection with this matter was to be held in abeyance until the conclusion of the San Francisco (U. N.) conference."

Gurnea said he understood that some of the men connected with the San Francisco Conference didn't want the Amerasia case prosecuted at that time because it might cause friction.

Holmes told reporters yesterday he went to President Truman when he got wind of the go-slow order, but he refused to say whether he told Mr. Truman who gave the order.

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NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS

By ERNEST LINDLEY

New 'Jury' on McCarthy Charges Can't Entirely Relieve Tydings Body

It became evident some time ago that the Tydings subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges could not make a report which would be universally accepted. The Democratic members got off to a bad start by jumping on "Jumping Joe." They felt justified in doing so because they knew that McCarthy's original charges of Communist infiltration into the State Department were based on three and four-year-old information. Since then all the individuals on those old lists who remained in the Department had been subjected to new loyalty examinations, including full FBI investigations. The general public did not know this, however. Instead of exploding the McCarthy charges, the Democrats managed to give the impression that they were neither judicious nor determined to get to the bottom of his charges.

Senator Tydings, in particular, strengthened this impression by what he said on a few subsequent occasions. He talked too freely and, on two or three occasions, imprecisely. Few if any members of the Senate doubt that Tydings would fearlessly expose wrongdoing or serious laxness if he found them. But at a distance he has to some extent prejudiced his position as an investigator and judge.

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A unanimous report by the Tydings committee probably would overcome all charges and suspicions of a "whitewash." But there has never been more than a remote prospect of a unanimous report. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., one of the two Republican members, has shown a judicial reserve toward the McCarthy charges. The other Republican, Senator Bourke Hickenlooper, is the man who a year ago charged the Atomic Energy Commission with "gross maladministration." The ensuing investigation indicated that Hickenlooper had been guilty of gross exaggeration. But most of his Republican colleagues on the investigating committee—the Joint Atomic Energy Committee—joined in a minority report which found enough to criticize in the AEC to rescue Hickenlooper. Republicans believe that Hickenlooper would do at least as much for McCarthy.

The evidence concerning McCarthy's original charges is—or should be—in the files of the 81 present or former State Department employes which the President belatedly made available to the Tydings committee. Some of these loyalty review files are voluminous.

Tydings is willing to—and probably will—report his own conclusions concerning these files to the Senate. But he became convinced some time ago that it was impractical to persuade all five members of the committee to take the time necessary to study these files and reach firm verdicts. He realized, also, that nothing less than a u n a n i m o u s report—w h i c h seemed beyond the realm of possibility—would settle the controversy.

The appointment of an impartial board of outstanding private citizens to review these cases was therefore logical. Such a board is probably the only kind whose conclusions would be almost universally accepted.

Such a board cannot relieve the Tydings committee of all of its responsibilities, however. McCarthy has made supplementary charges which require investigation, some of them involving individuals outside the State Department and even outside the Government. These will leave the Tydings committee with plenty of work and trouble even after it has been relieved of the job of reading and weighing scores of thousands of pages in the loyalty review files.

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Reds Are Still There—M'Carthy

At Least 3 Spies In State Dept., He Says

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A secret FBI report, listing 20 Soviet agents in the State department in 1946 of whom at least three still hold office, shocked the Senate yesterday.

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, presented the evidence from a restricted document. The impression made was so profound that Sen. Ives (R) of New York, a bitter critic of the Wisconsin senator's methods, was moved to utter what amounted to a public apology.

McCarthy had stressed in his presentation that he was giving an FBI report which could not be denounced as a "McCarthy smear." When he had finished, Ives, who joined only last week in a statement by seven G.O.P. senators denouncing "political smears" in the Communism inquiry, arose to announce:

"I commend the senator from Wisconsin for his excellent presentation and constructive approach. I've had occasion to be slightly critical of him in the past but I feel very strongly that all subversive elements must be weeded out of the government. I offer my full cooperation."

Sen. Knowland (R) of California, declared that the new evidence was "so startling that it may lay a foundation for far more serious proceedings."

McCarthy produced a 106-page report labeled "Investigation of State Department Personnel Security" which had been prepared by a security officer in 1946. This document referred to a detailed chart compiled by the FBI which carried the following tabulation of Communists:

Agents, 20; Communists, 13; Sympathizers, 14; Suspects, 77.

Classifications Explained

Agents were defined as men engaged in espionage. Communists were individuals who, the evidence indicated, were members of the Communist party. Sympathizers were defined as men whose associations and indication indicated a pro-Soviet attitude. Suspects were those on whom information available indicated the need for investigation.

The date of this tabulation on a photostatic copy made public by McCarthy was May 15, 1947, but McCarthy said his information indicated this was a stenographic error and the year was actually 1946.

On July 12, the report further showed, about two months later the number had been reduced to the following: Agents, 11; Communists 10; Sympathizers, 11; Suspects, 74.

McCarthy said the report was apparently ignored and the FBI never again made such a tabulation. His own investigation showed, he said, that at least three of the men listed as "agents" were still in the State department and were among the disloyalty cases he presented to the Senate four months ago.

"I am not giving names," said McCarthy. "If I gave them to the Senate foreign relations subcommittee (headed by Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland which has been probing the McCarthy charges) the names would be leaked out and there would be talk of another McCarthy smear.

"I demand that the Tydings subcommittee subpeana this FBI chart at once so that it may obtain the names of all those listed. There may be many more than three persons still in the State department and others may have obtained government employment elsewhere.

"This information has never been brought to the Senate or the American people. It is part of the record which has been hidden by Mr. Truman.

"The FBI in this instance performed a function which, as far as I know, it have never performed since. It is a fact-finding body. But it must have been so tremendously disturbed at the time that it sent to the State department this detailed report. It met with such little favorable activity on the part of the State department that it never submitted a like chart since that date.

Only 18 Removed

"The FBI chart shows there were 124 agents, Communists, sympathizers and suspects in the State department in 1946. In a two-month period, only 18 were removed, leaving 106 on the pay roll. The least that could have been expected of the State department was that it would at least suspend all those men, pending a complete and thorough investigation.

"It is understandable that the FBI became disgusted when the State department failed to discharge Soviet agents named by the bureau.

"I can tell the Senate that at least three of the agents are still holding high positions in the State department. I am not calling them Communists agents. The FBI has done so. But the three men have also been named by me to the Tydings subcommittee on evidence secured before I had obtained this FBI report.

"I hope to be able to give the Senate a complete picture of how many of the total of agents, sympathizers and Communists are still in the government. I think it is reasonable to insist that the subcommittee subpena this FBI chart and check on all those named. They cannot dispose of this one as a McCarthy smear. The proof was not dug up by me but the FBI. I don't think the FBI is indulging in irresponsible smears."

Some Communists Shifted

The report stated that a number of the State department Communists had been shifted from the foreign economic administration, the office of war information, and the office of strategic services after the war ended. McCarthy remarked that Owen Lattimore, a State department consultant, had been a top officer in the OWI.

"This is by far the most significant evidence yet presented to the Senate," declared Sen. Knowland. "The Tydings subcommittee will be derelict in its duty to the people and the Senate if it does not subpena the complete FBI report immediately. If it does not, then the country will know that it is engaged in a whitewash and a cover-up."

"The whole thing could be cleared up if Mr. Truman would open all the files," said McCarthy. "If it were not for some very loyal people in the government departments themselves, I would not be able to get this much evidence. But I will continue the fight until this Administration rids itself of dangerous individuals or until there is a different Administration."

Loyalty Board Discussed

"Were these three individuals cleared by loyalty boards?" asked Sen. Douglas (D) of Illinois.

"I presume they were, like Alger Hiss and William Remington," said McCarthy. Hiss has been convicted of perjury to conceal espionage. Remington is now under investigation by a New York grand jury which is reported about ready to make a decision.

"I understand the President now intends to appoint a sort of superloyalty board," continued McCarthy. "He needn't do that. All he neds to do is call in FBI Director Hoover and the heads of Army and Navy and other intelligence agencies, who have access to the files and ask them to give him a report.

"If he insists on a civilian board, let him appoint men like Judge Harold Medina (who presided at the trial of the 11 Communist leaders) or David Dubinsky, who has a great record for fighting communism, not some gentlemen of high-sounding reputation who know nothing about communism."

Last night the State department issued another of a series of statements in which it has attempted repeatedly to discredit McCarthy.

Charges Called "False"

The statement sought to show that the FBI had no connection with the chart of Communist agents, and characterized as "absolutely false" McCarthy's evidence that three of the agents still work for the State department.

"Sen. McCarthy based his charge on the completely erroneous belief that the FBI prepared a chart referred to in the photostated document," said the statement, issued by Michael J. McDermott, department spokesman. After asserting the FBI had informed the department it had not prepared such a chart, McDermott admitted security officers of the State department itself had prepared such a chart "as a basis for further investigation."

In denying the mentioned agents still work for the department, McDermott made a sweeping qualification, saying ". . . except those whose loyalty has since been thoroughly checked . . . under the President's loyalty program."

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New Group Is to Study Loyalty Files

President Truman has decided to name a group of distinguished citizens to study the charges of Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) that there are Communists in the State Department.

An official statement on the make-up of the group, and an explanation of its task, probably will be issued by the White House today.

Mr. Truman, according to those who ought to know, has no intention of appointing a "super-board" to look into McCarthy's charges. The distinguished citizens he asks to serve probably will be added temporarily to the Loyalty Review Board headed by Seth Richardson, Republican lawyer, who was Assistant Attorney General in the Hoover Administration.

They would be asked to make a study of the files of 81 persons against whom McCarthy has made charges.

Among those who have been under consideration are Admiral Chester Nimitz, USN (ret.); Judge John Patrick Higgins, Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court, and Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina, presiding judge of the Fourth Circuit United States Court of Appeals.

Others also have been under consideration, and reporters were warned not to go out on a limb with respect to those three.

Senator McCarthy made his charges about Communist spies operating in the State Department back in February. The Senate promptly ordered its Foreign Relations Committee to make an investigation of the charges, and a subcommittee of that committee headed by Senator Tydings (D., Md.) was given the assignment.

Tydings and other members of the committee have been going to the White House to study the much-talked-about "81 files." It has been slow going, however, and about the best they have been able to do is to go over one file a day.

About two weeks ago, on one of his visits to the White House, Tydings proposed to Mr. Truman that he name a nonpartisan group of distinguished citizens and ask it to make a detached study of all the evidence in the controversy. This, he and his colleagues felt, would take the matter out of the political heat generated by Senator McCarthy's charges.

At about this same time, The Washington Post suggested in an editorial, "The Road Back to America," that the President create a Commission on National Security. This commission would make a survey of the major aspects of national security, including "the internal menace of the fifth column."

Mr. Truman, asked for comment on The Washington Post editorial at a news conference, said he saw no reason for a super-government in the United States—that he was trying to run the Government under the Constitution.

The Washington Post, in another editorial the following day, said:

"There is undoubtedly room for difference of opinion as to the proper scope of a Commission on National Security—even as to the wisdom of establishing such a commission at this time. But to say that such a commission would constitute a sort of supergovernment not contemplated by the Constitution is tantamount to saying that the President may not in a period of crisis seek the advice and assistance of his fellow Americans."

The Chief Executive, from all indications, has been loath to set up any new machinery because of his faith in the job being done by Seth Richardson and other members of the Loyalty Review Board.

In a speech before the Federal Bar Association here on April 24, Mr. Truman praised the members of the Loyalty Review Board, and pointed out that it was made up about half and half of Republicans and Democrats.

The President, in that same speech, said that thanks to the loyalty program, not a single person adjudged to be a Communist remains on the Government payroll. He invited anybody who knew of a Communist in the Government service to give his information to the Attorney General.

Senator Tydings called at the White House yesterday afternoon, presumably to talk to Mr. Truman about selection of the citizens who are to check on Senator McCarthy's charges about the State Department.

Tydings went in and out of a side door of the White House, with the result that reporters waiting in the lobby had no chance to talk to him.

White House Press Secretary Charles G. Ross declined to throw any light on the Truman-Tydings conference, answering all questions with a "No comment."

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New Group Is to Study Loyalty Files

President Truman has decided to name a group of distinguished citizens to study the charges of Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) that there are Communists in the State Department.

An official statement on the make-up of the group, and an explanation of its task, probably will be issued by the White House today.

Mr. Truman, according to those who ought to know, has no intention of appointing a "super-board" to look into McCarthy's charges. The distinguished citizens he asks to serve probably will be added temporarily to the Loyalty Review Board headed by Seth Richardson, a Republican lawyer, who was Assistant Attorney General in the Hoover Administration.

They would be asked to make a study of the files of 81 persons against whom McCarthy has made charges.

Among those who have been under consideration are Admiral Chester Nimitz, USN (ret.); Judge John Patrick Higgins, Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court, and Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina, presiding judge of the Fourth Circuit United States Court of Appeals.

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Van Beuren Is Called Before Tydings Group

By the United Press

Archbold Van Beuren, wartime security chief of the Office of Strategic Services, was ordered yesterday to appear before Senate Communist investigators Wednesday for questioning about the Amerasia stolen secrets case.

The decision to call him was announced by Chairman Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.) after the investigators had spent some time questioning Immanel S. Larsen, one of two men fined in the mystery-shrouded 5-year-old affair.

Associated Press Photo

EMMANUEL S. LARSEN

. . . To be quizzed again.

Tydings refused to reveal details of Larsen's testimony but said he will be recalled today. He said Van Beuren, who has been quoted as criticizing the committee's methods, will be questioned behind closed doors.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.), who claims the case is the "key" to his Red charges against the State Department, said Van Beuren wrote that the committee decided not to call him after learning he would not discredit the testimony of former OSS agent Frank Bielaski.

Bielaski, who already has been before the committee, led the first raid on the New York offices of the magazine Amerasia in 1945. The raid turned up hundreds of secret diplomatic and military papers and eventually led to the arrest of six persons.

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Amerasia Got F.D.'s China Plan

to Make Stilwell Boss

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Senator Joseph McCarthy

The controversial "eyes only" Amerasia document, which last week sent the Justice Department into a tailspin, revealed a top secret wartime plan of President Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek to put an American commander in charge of all China's armies.

It was to be a drastic step, the document disclosed, and was to include the Communist troops as well as the Nationalist. The President's choice was Lieut. Gen. Joseph Stilwell.

But the plan fell thru. A few months later, Gen. Stilwell was relieved of his post of American commander at Chungking.

The Scripps-Howard and other newspapers last week listed the "eyes only" document as one of five positively identified as stolen from Government files in the Amerasia case.

Whereupon, James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General, announced that nothing even "remotely resembling" them could be found in the Amerasia exhibits.

On Friday he backtracked. But the "eyes only" exhibit, Mr. McInerney insisted, was simply a personal memorandum, bearing no security classification.

He added, "From its appearance it may have been prepared by a newspaperman."

"TOP SECRET"

The exhibit, confiscated by the FBI and now in the Justice Department's Amerasia file, it was learned today, was a one-page report headed:

"This is top secret for eyes only. Particular caution must be given to the two paragraphs below."

These paragraphs quoted two messages from President Roosevelt to the Generalissimo.

There was nothing to show who wrote the report, nor to whom it was addressed "for eyes only"—a special secrecy designation intended to protect the contents from all intermediaries.

The report quoted John Stewart Service, then the State Department's political adviser to Gen. Stilwell. Mr. Service, altho cleared twice before, recently was recalled from foreign service to answer questions personally before a loyalty board.

Early in July, 1944, according to the report, Gen. Stilwell received a top secret message from the White House to be conveyed to Chiang.

SERVICE TRANSLATED

It was delivered to the Generalissimo's home by Brig. Gen. B. F. Ferris. To avoid a garbled translation by Chiang's interpreters, Mr. Service went along to do the translating.

Upon their arrival, the two Americans asked Chiang to exclude everyone else from the room. He complied. Chiang listened in silence, then said he would reply thru his own channels.

The message said that the situation in China at that time was desperate and called for drastic action. The President, therefore, suggested that all armies in China, including the Communist armies, be placed under an American commander.

The message went on to say that altho the President knew of Chiang's dislike for Gen. Stilwell, nevertheless the President believed that Stilwell's experience and record made him the best man for the job. The message also said the President was prepared to Gen. Stilwell the necessary military rank to assume that command, and would make him a four-star general.

—News-Acme

Emmanuel S. Larsen shields his eyes against the glare of the photographers' flashguns as he tells reporters nothing about his session with the Tydings sub-committee. He is being questioned again today.

Chiang transmitted his reply thru H. H. Kung, then heading the Chinese delegation to the monetary conference at Bretton Woods. Ten days after the first message was received a second arrived in Chungking from President Roosevelt. It obviously was an answer to Chiang's reply to the first.

In the second message the President said he was glad that Chiang agreed in principle to the suggestion for an American commander over all forces in the Chinese Theater. He said that altho there were political factors which had to be considered, there was also the question of timing. The message said the situation was so urgent that the matter should not be delayed, and that President Roosevelt agreed with Chiang's suggestion for the appointment of a high-ranking political official with whom Chiang could confer on all matters, including military. The message added that the President was looking for a man in whom Chiang could have confidence.

HURLEY ARRIVES

Two months later, in September, 1945, Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley arrived in Chungking as U. S. ambassador.

The "eyes only" report quoted Mr. Service as not sure who suggested Gen. Hurley's appointment. Mr. Service believed, however, said the report, that the suggestion came from Harry Hopkins.

Subsequently, Gen. Hurley returned to Washington and charged that Mr. Service had sabotaged America's China policy.

So the "eyes only" document, to date, leaves two questions unanswered:

1. Who wrote the report?
2. For whose "eyes only" was it intended?

The fact is that it found its way into the Amerasia files. And the aim of Amerasia magazine was to mold American opinion in favor of a Communist China.

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Ex-OSS Official Will Testify Tomorrow in Amerasia Case

Van Beuren Subpenaed by Tydings After McCarthy Charges Whitewash

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A wartime intelligence chief, who has assailed the methods of Tydings subcommittee investigators, was summoned yesterday to testify about the Amerasia stolen-documents case.

Chairman Tydings of Maryland of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee, announced that Archbold van Beuren, former intelligence chief of the Office of Strategic Services, will be questioned at a closed session tomorrow.

Interviewed by Probers

Van Beuren previously had charged that two members of Tydings' staff had interviewed him May 23 in an apparent attempt to induce him to discredit the testimony of Frank Bielaski, former OSS agent, who led the first raid in 1945 upon the offices of Amerasia, a New York City magazine. Bielaski discovered stolen government documents which eventually led to the arrest of six persons, including two State department officials.

When van Beuren refused to contradict the testimony of his subordinate and offered instead to amplify it, the Tydings agents said he would not be called as a witness, he revealed.

Tydings' decision to call van Beuren followed the assertion of Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin that Tydings' investigators were abusing and intimidating prospective witnesses to bring about a whitewash. The announcement represented another retreat by Tydings in the face of a McCarthy challenge.

Talks With President

Tydings spent a half-hour with President Truman at the White House, presumably discussing appointment of a proposed three-man commission to take over the work of the Tydings group. Both were silent on any decisions reached.

Tydings was said to have repeated to the President what he has told his friends—that reaction to the work of the subcommittee has been so bad that its eventual report already has been discredited in the public mind. Some method must be devised to take the heat off Tydings and Sen. McMahon (D) of Connecticut, both up for re-election, Mr. Truman has been informed.

Adm. Nimitz has been mentioned as being considered by the President to head this "non-partisan" commission. Nimitz has been awaiting the adjustment of conditions in India to take a post as United Nations plebiscite administrator for Kashmir.

McCarthy meanwhile announced he will again talk on the Senate floor today about communism in the State department and promised he will disclose a hitherto secret document which will "shock both sides of the aisle."

Larsen to Tell "All"

The Tydings subcommittee at an executive session grilled Emmanuel S. Larsen, one of the six persons arrested in the Amerasia case. Larsen pleaded "nolo contendere," not contesting the charges, and was fined $500. Philip C. Jaffe, editor of Amerasia, was fined $2,500 on a plea of guilty and the four other cases were dismissed.

Larsen told a reporter he was going to "tell all the facts in the case whether they like it or not." He has charged that there was "a mysterious whitewash of the chief actors" in the espionage case.

"There was a well-organized and successful campaign inside the State department to shift America's Far Eastern policy to a pro-Soviet line," declared Larsen who was China expert for the State department until his arrest. He contended he was induced to make his plea by Jaffe who paid his $500 fine and gave him $2,500 extra to cover his legal expense.

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New Line of Attack

Senator McCarthy, who is versatile if nothing else, is attacking from a new direction. He now says that the Tydings committee, backed by "all of the power of Washington bureaucracy and its combined highly paid press staff," may yet convince him that it is hopeless to force acceptance of further proof in support of his charges against the State Department. The Wisconsin Senator leaves the impression, however, that he is no quitter and that he is in this fight to the last witness.

This is indeed a new role for the embattled Senator. Here is a man who has made specific accusations which, if true, are of first importance. He has said that he has a list of 57 card-carrying Communists who are now in the State Department. And he has also said that he is willing to rest his whole case on the accuracy of his charge that Owen Lattimore is the top Communist espionage agent in this country.

The Senator has failed, however, to produce a shred of evidence to support either charge. In four months he has not named one, to say nothing of 57, card-carrying Communists in the State Department. And yet he has the gall to ask the country to believe that the fault lies not with him, but with the Tydings committee. Having failed, and probably being unable, to come up with any proof in support of his really serious charges, he takes a new stand on the line of the Amerasia case, which, for better or worse, was handled five years ago, and shouts from the housetops that the committee will not listen to his proof.

This is what the military men would call a disengaging maneuver. The Amerasia case has its importance, and Senator McCarthy should and undoubtedly will be given full opportunity to present any evidence bearing on it which he may have. But what may have been done, or not done, in the State Department five years ago is of secondary concern. The most important of the matters raised by Senator McCarthy is whether, as he implies, the State Department continues in 1950 to be a nest of Communists. That is the major count in his indictment, and, having made the charge, he should not be permitted to slide out from under it.

This is the consideration which lends force to Senator Thye's suggestion that the Senate Republicans should take a "responsible position" on the McCarthy charges. Heretofore the Republicans have refused to take any position. That is an attitude which leaves the impression that they hope to enjoy the benefit of any political advantage which may flow from the McCarthy performance without assuming any responsibility for what he says and does. That may be "practical politics," but it is not an admirable brand.

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SECOND SECRET AMERASIA REPORT BARED

Data Reveals Red Inside On China Policy

State Dept. Trusted Friend of Commies

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The contents of a second secret document in the Am[erasia] scandal, hidden from the public by the Truman administration and the Jenner subcommittee, was made known to this paper yesterday.

It reveals that the State department in 1944 trusted Agnes Smedley, twice accused of espionage by U. S. authorities during a 20-year career working for the Soviet Union in China, as a reliable source of information on conditions in China.

A bulky report by Miss Smedley, who died last month in London at the age of 56, was one of the 1,700 papers stolen in 1945 from government files and discovered in the offices of Amerasia, a New York City magazine which has been described as a channel for transmitting American secrets to Moscow.

Views Detailed

It details in great length her views on China, her proposals for assistance to Chinese Communists, her program for building up the Soviet guerrillas against the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek, which was an ally of the United States.

The extent of pro-Russian influence in the State department at that time was indicated by a notation that Miss Smedley was regarded as a reliable informant.

The document thus followed closely the line taken in a cable sent in July, 1944, to the American embassy in Chungking under the name of the then State secretary, Cordell Hull, which outlined a policy advocated by Amerasia for building up the Communists in China.

The existence of the Hull-to-Chungking cable was denied by the Justice department, but confirmed by the State department, which added there was no indication that Hull either saw or signed it.

Pal of Russ Spy

This cable and the Smedley report were provided for American officials in the Far East at the time when Earl Browder, head of the American Communist party, according to his testimony, never contradicted by the Administration, was supplying information received from Chinese Communists to the late President Roosevelt. Browder recently told a Senate committee that he was entirely satisfied with the State department's policy during the 1942-1946 period. The loss of China to the Red armies followed four years later.

When an unidentified State department official informed the

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2d of Amerasia Stolen Papers Bared to Public

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U. S. foreign service that Agnes Smedley was a trusted source of information, government files contained the information that she was an admitted associate of Richard Sorge, the notorious Russian spy, hanged by the Japanese after his operations as head of a wide-flung espionage ring in China and Japan had been exposed.

Toward the end of the first World war in March 1918 Miss Smedley was arrested in New York City for violating the federal espionage act as an agent for the Indian Nationalist party. She spent several weeks in jail and the charges were then dismissed.

In 1928 she went to China as a correspondent for the German newspaper Frankfurter Zeitung and immediately became known as "one of the most energetic workers for the Soviet cause in China," according to an intelligence report.

She was one of the first to write that Chinese Communists were really not Communists, but "local agrarian revolutionists, innocent of Soviet connections," a hoax which was part of the official Communist party line.

On Feb. 10, 1949, the United States Army made public a 32,000-word report on the Sorge spy ring in which Miss Smedley was named as a comintern agent. She denied this charge and threatened to sue Gen. MacArthur for libel. On Feb. 18 Col. George S. Eyster, deputy chief of the Army public relations division in Washington, stated that the Army had no proof to back the charges that Miss Smedley was a member of the spy ring.

Friendship Admitted

Miss Smedley admitted knowing both Sorge and Ozaki Hozumi, the top men in the spy ring, both of whom were executed. The Army report said she was the go-between who brought the two men together. She declared that the two men were "excellent sources of information" whom she used in her writings.

Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, chief of Gen. MacArthur's intelligence staff, protested that the release of the spy report by Washington authorities had been against the wishes of Gen. MacArthur. But he added that he differed "emphatically from those who belittle the documentation supporting the report, which is voluminous and has not been published."

Willoughby said he would waive any immunity to libel action if Miss Smedley wanted to sue him, and her attorney, O. John Rogge, a former assistant attorney general, promised to sue. Miss Smedley went off to England where she died while writing the life of Gen Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Chinese Communist army.

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How McInerney Backtracked on Amerasia Theft

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Senator Joseph McCarthy

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Mr. Mac Takes Another Look

and Finds That Stolen Amerasia Papers Contained Secrets After All

By SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPERS (See editorial on Page 10, and James Daniel on Page 11.)

The Justice Department did an about face today and admitted that the stolen Amerasia documents contained secret military information.

Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney retracted his previous denial, altho he did not do so specifically.

This newspaper and others published the nature of the contents of five of the stolen documents Wednesday. They included the wartime disposition of 25 U. S. submarines in the Pacific, a cable from the State Department to Chungking, China, and a report of "eyes only" messages from President Roosevelt to China's Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Mr. McInerney said Wednesday that he had studied all of the Amerasia documents—which were recovered in 1945 by the FBI in a raid on Amerasia's office—and that the contents of none of them "remotely resembled" those described in the newspaper accounts and confirmed by Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (R., Ia.).

"If there were anything in them like that, I would have known about it," Mr. McInerney said Wednesday.

His about face yesterday followed disclosure by the State Department of the existence of one of the documents — the so-called "Hull" to Chungking cable. In it, the attention of the U. S. Embassy in Chungking was called to an article in the pro-Communist Amerasia magazine.

A few hours after the State Department's disclosure, Mr. McInerney admitted of the existence of three of the five papers. His explanation of his erroneous denial was that the documents weren't actually original Government documents — but copies of speeches, or reports, or personal notes.

The information on the location of the 25 submarines, he said, was contained in notes on a wartime speech by former Ambassador Joseph C. Grew. The speech was made before State Department personnel, he said.

Mr. McInerney said he believed that the notes were made by Emanuel S. Larsen, a former State Department worker. Larsen was among the six arrested in 1945 in the Amerasia case. He pleaded no defense and was fined $500.

Mr. McInerney also said there was found a personal memorandum among the Amerasia documents which refers to the "eyes only" messages—those to be read only by the person to whom they were addressed. But the Assistant Attorney General said the memorandum was not a "Government document."

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McINERNEY BACKTRACKS

THE Amerasia cover-up is beginning to crumble.

Three days ago, Assistant Attorney General McInerney said that "nothing resembling" the top secret documents described in this and other newspapers were in the Amerasia files.

Yesterday, Mr. McInerney, after the State Department had revealed the existence of one of the documents, took a second look.

He confessed that he had found three of the five secret papers listed. But they weren't really "documents," said Mr. McInerney. They were just reports. Or personal notes. Or memoranda. Yet Mr. McInerney admitted they contained the information described in the newspapers.

How technical can you get?

If a document—pardon us, a report—of a private talk by Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Grew divulges that 25 submarines were in the Tsushima Strait at a certain time, what does it matter that it was not an official Navy Department "document"? All that matters is whether the subs were there, and whether this information in unauthorized hands could have endangered the lives of the submariners.

If a document—again pardon us, a memorandum—marked "top secret—eyes only" tells of two wartime messages from President Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek, the only thing important is whether at that crucial stage of the war such a paper should have been passed around to anyone except for those officials to whom it was addressed for their "eyes only."

Next step now, it seems to us, is to open up all the Amerasia files.

For the last five years, no one has known about, or had access to, those files, except the defendants who were let off with light fines, or not prosecuted at all, and the prosecutors who didn't prosecute, and perhaps the more important folks who put in the fix. It's about time this information was revealed to all citizens, including the men who at the time this was happening were risking their lives in the Pacific war.

If the Tydings committee isn't ready to undertake a full disclosure, it had better turn over the job to a non-partisan commission which will.

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New Blast at Truman By McCarthy Spurs Communist Dispute

President Criticized For Refusing to Make All Files Available

By Cecil Holland

The months-old partisan controversy over charges of communism in the Government continued undiminished today in the wake of bitter criticism of President Truman by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin.

Brushing aside a repudiation of his tactics by seven Republican colleagues, Senator McCarthy yesterday accused President Truman of defending "the vicious vested interests" of Communists by refusing to make available all Government loyalty files on persons he has charged with being pro-Communist.

In a Senate speech, the Wisconsin Republican made it clear he plans to continue his attacks despite a statement by Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine and six other Republican Senators that "certain elements" of the Republican Party have resorted to "fear, bigotry, ignorance and smear" in hopes of selfish political victories.

Galleries Almost Empty.

Senator McCarthy put a 4,000-word speech in the Congressional Record and then discussed parts of it after obtaining the floor late yesterday. At the time only a few Senators were on the floor and the galleries, usually full when another chapter in the controversy is being enacted, were almost empty.

The Wisconsin Republican made no direct mention of the statement Mrs. Smith delivered on the Senate floor Thursday before the Maine Senator left for Europe. But there were unmistakable references to the criticism and at one place in his prepared speech Senator McCarthy said:

"Let me make it clear . . . to the administration, to the Senate and to the country that this fight against communism . . . shall not stop regardless of what any individual or group in this Senate, or in the administration may say or do."

Sees Publicity Motive.

He implied that the statement by Mrs. Smith and six other Republican Senators was made for "publicity or political motives."

This was done by saying he would like to "call the roll" of Senators who "completely and wholeheartedly" had supported his anti-Communist crusade. But he refrained from doing so and said "they are not impelled by political motives" and they "are not looking for publicity or political gains."

Joining Mrs. Smith in a statement attacking the McCarthy tactics were Senators Tobey of New Hampshire, Aiken of Vermont, Morse of Oregon, Ives of New York, Thye of Minnesota and Hendrickson of New Jersey. Their statement was described last night by Francis Biddle, former Attorney General and now head of Americans for Democratic Action, as helping "return national discussion and debate to its proper high level."

Asks Truman to Open Files.

In his prepared statement, Senator McCarthy called on Mr. Truman to open all the Government files on any of the persons he has accused of Communist leanings as a complete test of whether his charges are true or false.

If the President would do this, Senator McCarthy added, he would repeat without congressional immunity the charges he has made against such persons as Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern specialist of Johns Hopkins University, accused by the Wisconsin Republican under the cloak of immunity of being a Communist and Russia's top spy in this country. Mr. Lattimore, vehemently denying the charge, repeatedly has challenged Senator McCarthy to repeat the accusation off the Senate floor without immunity from a libel suit.

President Truman has permitted a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges to look at the State Department loyalty files on 81 persons accused of being pro-Communists. But on the insistence of Attorney General McGrath and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, he has refused to make available the so-called "raw" FBI investigative files on the grounds this would cripple the work of the agency, wreck the loyalty program and smear innocent people.

Reads Van Beuren Statement.

Senator McCarthy read into the record a statement from Archbold Van Beuren, agent of the wartime Office of Strategic Services, complaining about two investigators of the Senate subcommittee.

Mr. Van Beuren charged that the investigators—Lyon Tyler and Robert L. Heald, former FBI investigators—in questioning him about the 1945 Amerasia magazine case seemed "primarily interested" in getting information to contradict testimony of another witness "rather than information that would further the investigation." The Senate is looking into the Amerasia case, which involved the alleged theft of Government documents, as part of its investigation of the McCarthy charges.

Edward P. Morgan, committee counsel, said the Van Beuren charge was "an unmitigated lie" and that the two investigators did "a conscientious job" in questioning the former OSS agent to unravel some threads of the case.

Senator's Challenge

Ferguson Asks: Why Didn't U. S. Push Its Probe?

By Scripps-Howard Newspapers

The Justice Department, under fire for its handling of the Amerasia case, faced a blunt new challenge from Congress today on two chief counts:

- Why it did not fight the case thru the courts in an aggressive prosecution instead of entering into non-trial agreements with two of the defendants, Philip Jaffee and Emmanuel Larsen.
- Why it has not disclosed the FBI's side of the charges of "clumsy" FBI investigative work in the case.

The challenge was issued by Sen. Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.), for 14 years a criminal court judge and before that a teacher of criminal law, in the first detailed review Congress has been given of the law and court opinions relating to the Amerasia affair.

"Do the facts in the case, and the law of search and seizure bear out Assistant Attorney General James McInerney's allegation that the collection of evidence was 'clumsily handled?' " Sen. Ferguson demanded in a Senate speech.

"If the facts and the law do not bear out that allegation, then the prosecution's timidity in contesting the motion to suppress the evidence, and its willingness to enter a deal with the principal defendant, Jaffe, can mean only that the Justice Department had a single purpose in mind—to whitewash the whole case."

OPINIONS CITED

Sen. Ferguson cited one court opinion after another to bolster his argument that the Justice Department was not vigilant in prosecuting the case. He acknowledged that entry was made on the premises of both Larsen and Jaffe before the arrests were made, but he insisted that the evidence available for prosecution was obtained later and being incident to the arrest was altogether valid for use in court.

The Senator went directly to FBI testimony before the Hobbs sub-committee of the House to support his contention that Amerasia case evidence was obtained legally.

He first quoted FBI agent Myron Gumnea in charge of the investigation as saying no documents were removed from Larsen's apartment at any time other than at arrest—that documents taken were "incidental to the arrest."

He quoted FBI Agent David Ladd as saying:

"The FBI secured no documents thru any means during the course of this investigation except incident to the arrest. They were all legally obtained."

Mr. Ladd had said the only documents obtained illegally were obtained by the Office of Strategic Services before the FBI moved into the case.

Sen. Ferguson argued that the arrests were cleared by the "highest authority"—including the state Department, Justice Department and even direct instructions from the President—indicated the FBI's case at the outset was considered well-grounded and well-prepared.

FBI WASN'T CALLED

Sen. Ferguson noted that when Mr. Larsen's attorney filed a motion to suppress evidence in the case because of the alleged illegal entry into his apartment at a time prior to his arrest, the Justice Department normally would have called on the FBI for facts to combat this motion.

The Senator said the FBI must have made such a report and he demanded that it be made public.

"The Justice Department has had an opportunity to tell its story," he said. "Who is going to speak for the FBI? Who will present the facts to the public as to whether Mr. McInerney's charges that the case was 'clumsily handled' are accurate?"

Only in this way, Mr. Ferguson said, can FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's side of the story be disclosed.

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Even if papers had been seized illegally from Larsen's apartment—which was not the case—they could have been used in court against Jaffe and others involved in the case, the Senator said. Similarly, he argued that if any papers taken from Jaffe's Amerasia magazine office in New York had been taken illegally, they could have been used against others involved in the case.

'SPECIAL CASE'

Sen. Ferguson went to other citations of law to support a view that the fact that the evidence taken was Government property—stolen Government documents—also gave it special standing. He argued, too—and sought to draw support from opinions of the late Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes—that the fact that the theft of these papers occurred in time of war made this a special circumstance.

But the case did not rest alone on documents, Sen. Ferguson said. He cited the exhausfive work of the FBI in trailing the people involved and in recording their movements. But, the senator argued, when the Justice Department made the "deal" with Jaffe and Larsen it "didn't want the evidence to come out."

Sen. Ferguson's speech was the first public discussion of the legal phases of the case. Yet there never were more than a dozen out of 96 senators listening to him. Neither Chairman Millard Tydings(D., Md.) nor a single member of the Foreign Relations sub-committee investigating the case were on the floor at the time.

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OSS Hits Back on Amerasia

at Justice Dept. and Tydings Committee

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Two top officials of the wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS) today struck hard at the Justice Department and the Tydings committee for their handling of the Amerasia case.

Archbold van Beuren, OSS security chief, charged that Tydings investigators tried to get him to contradict testimony of Frank Bielaski, the committee's first witness in its Amerasia inquiry. He upheld the Bielaski testimony.

But the investigators, he said, "seemed more interested in discrediting it than in eliciting information which would further their investigation of the Amerasia case."

Lieutenant Col. Otto C. Doering, chief executive officer of OSS, termed "fantastic" and "ridiculous" the Justice Department's charge, made last Friday, that the OSS 1945 raid on Amerasia caused the "collapse" of the Amerasia prosecutions.

"The OSS is no longer in existence," he said, "so they're using us as an excuse. And it's a poor one. They're trying to hide behind something that isn't there. If they didn't proceed properly, it's not our fault."

'Looking for Way Out of Finding Whitewash'

The department's attempt to pin the blame on OSS "doesn't surprise me," Mr. Van Beuren declared, "since the Tydings committee seems to be looking for a way out of finding there was a whitewash by the Justice Department."

It was Mr. Bielaski who, as OSS chief investigator, led the Amerasia raid that uncovered hundreds of stolen secret Government documeents. He testified about it early last month in an executive session of the Tydings committee. His testimony never was made public.

ARCHBOLD VAN BEUREN

Last week the committee announced that members of its legal staff had questioned two of Bielaski's OSS superiors in New York. One was Mr. van Beuren, now editor of Cue Magazine. The other was Major Gen. William J. Donovan, OSS chief, whose principal aide was Col. Doering, now a member of the Donovan law firm. General Donovan since left for London.

Mr. van Beuren said two attorneys for the Tydings committee, L. L. Tyler and Robert Heald, questioned him for one-half to three-quarters of an hour about the OSS discovery of the stolen Amerasia documents. He described it as "a pretty casual dismissal of the affair."

Questions Dealt With Bielaski Testimony

Then they asked a series of questions which he said were designed to find out if he would affirm or disaffirm parts of the Bielaski testimony.

One concerned the OSS investigator's testimony that, after the Hiroshima atomic explosion, he recalled having seen a document in the Amerasia filed marked "A Bombing Plan for Japan." Mr. van Beuren was asked if Mr. Bielaski had mentioned that to him before telling it to a newspaperman.

Mr. van Beuren answered that his subordinate had told him about it several years ago.

Another question concerned Mr. Bielaski's testimony that, during the Amerasia raid, he saw an envelope containing top Navy secrets and bearing the name of a prominent writer.

Mr. van Beuren was asked when

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OSS Hits Back on Amerasia

at Justice Dept. and Tydings Committee

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this was first mentioned to him by Mr. Bielaski. He replied that Mr. Bielaski told him about it immediately after the raid of March 11, 1945.

"I had a strong feeling they were more interested in my reactions to the Bielaski testimony than in my knowledge of the early stages of the Amerasia case," he said today. He added:

"It was apparent that they wanted to see if, in me, they had a source that could be used to discredit Bielaski's testimony.

'What He Testified Was Exactly True'

"I did not repudiate it in any degree at all. What he testified there was exactly true—the facts were just as I knew them.

"I told them that if there was any question about the importance of the stolen documents we recovered, I'd like to come down and testify."

At the conclusion, according to the OSS security chief, Mr. Tyler said he would recommend against calling him as a witness. "I don't think you can add anything to the case," Mr. van Beuren said he was told.

"If I had contradicted Bielaski," Mr. van Beuren commented today, "I'm damned sure they would have me down there to testify."

The Justice Department spokesman who blamed the OSS for the Amerasia fiasco was James M. McInerney, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the criminal division. He presented the department's side of the case to the committee in closed session last Friday.

"The case primarily was tainted with illegality by the OSS search," Mr. McInerney said. "Nothing the FBI could do after that could make it more tainted. The OSS raid overthrew the whole prosecution."

'If Justice Dept. Failed, It's Not Our Fault'

"I'm surprised they couldn't think of a better excuse; it's so obviously ridiculous," Mr. Doering retorted today. He continued:

"All the OSS did was to go into the Amerasia office to protect our security and then tell the State Department that someone was swiping classified documents.

"From that point on we had nothing to do with the case and were never consulted about it. The Department of Justice had every opportunity to make an intensive, secret investigation, get evidence in a proper manner and proceed in a proper prosecution.

"If they failed to do that, it's not our fault.

"Any lawyer knows that the fact we went in without a search warrant could not have spoiled the case for the Justice Department."

Last week the Tydings committee said it would release secret testimony by General Donovan and Mr. van Beuren. A few days later, Sen. Millard E. Tydings (D., Md.), chairman, rescinded the decision.

Gen. Donovan Denies He Had Been Questioned

But in London Gen. Donovan denied he had even been questioned.

"I saw two lawyers from the committee in New York on May 24," he declared, "but they did not ask me any questions, and I didn't tell them anything.

"I was rushing to catch my boat and there just wasn't time for me to make any statement. I don't see how there can be any secret testimony by me for the committee release because I didn't give any."

As of today, the Tydings committee has no schedule calling Gen. Donovan as a witness. It was he who first informed Edward C. Stettinius, then Secretary of State, that the OSS had discovered hundreds of secret State Department records in the Amerasia office. That set off the FBI investigation.

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Senator Raps Hitchcock's 'Legal Ethics'

By Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Sen. Homer Ferguson (R., Mich.) charges the Government prosecutor in the Amerasia case violated

Mr. Hitchcock

Sen. Ferguson

legal ethics and was "clearly in contempt of court" when he made "a deal" to close the case in 1945.

Sen. Ferguson, a former judge, specifically mentioned Robert M. Hitchcock of Buffalo, special assistant to the Attorney General and prosecutor in the case.

The charge was phrased as a question during a speech by Sen. William Knowland (R., Calif.) demanding that the Amerasia case be reopened. Sen. Ferguson asked if Sen. Knowland "did not know it to be a fact" that—

"Legal ethics prohibit and make a matter of contempt of court to enter into any such agreement as was made by Mr. Hitchcock."

'CONDUCT . . . NOT BECOMING'

He added that "the conduct of the Assistant Attorney General in this case was not even becoming a police court lawyer in any of our great cities."

Sen. Ferguson also stated that it was "the duty and responsibility of the judge to ascertain whether any promise had been made."

The Senator said testimony taken in the Amerasia case shows that the attorney for Philip Jaffe, publisher of Amerasia, was kept in an outer office by Government attorneys and was not permitted to go to the office of the clerk of court to examine documents on file. During this time, he said, Government attorneys arranged with Emmanuel Larsen, former State Department employe and a co-defendant of Jaffe's, to plead no defense to the charge of stealing Government documents.

Mr. Larsen was promised by Government attorneys, Sen. Ferguson

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Senator Raps Hitchcock's 'Legal Ethics'

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said, that Mr. Jaffe would pay his fine and attorney's fee. When Mr. Larsen and Mr. Jaffe were brought into court in an unusual Saturday morning arraignment on Sept. 29, 1945, he added, Mr. Jaffe stepped to the clerk's desk and paid Mr. Larsen's $500 fine. Immediately thereafter, he said, Mr. Larsen's attorney presented a bill for $2000 for attorney's fees, and that, too, was paid by Mr. Jaffe.

Sen. Knowland commented:

"I was rather shocked, as a layman, to find a statement you might expect the defense attorney to make made by the Government's attorney so that all the defense attorney had to do was to say me, too, and agree to this very pleasant arrangement."

Sen. Knowland said the handling of the Amerasia came in District Court left the impression that the defendants had done nothing seriously amiss. He added that it was clear to him that "a deal was made outside the court room."

Sen. Ferguson said handling of the Amerasia case violated "established rules of procedure." He and Sen. Knowland charged that the Justice Department is trying to leave the impression that bungling of the Amerasia case was the fault of the FBI and the OSS. Both insisted the Justice Department must assume the responsibility.

Democratic senators largely boycotted Sen. Knowland's speech. Only a few were on the floor, and they showed no interest in what was going on.

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Four Horsemen

Words that desperately needed to be said for the salvation of the country were spoken yesterday on the floor of the Senate by Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. She was perhaps uniquely qualified to speak as she did—because she is a woman and a Republican, but above all because her disinterested patriotism and personal integrity are beyond question. Her "declaration of conscience" may mark an historic turning point in the road back to America.

"As an American," said Mrs. Smith, "I want to see our Nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves." At no time in the past 80 years has the strength of the United States been so sapped by confusion and disunity. For the confusion she blamed, and justifiably, "the lack of effective leadership in either the legislative branch or the executive branch of our Government." For the disunity she courageously pointed the finger of blame at elements in her own party who have tried to "ride to political victory on the Four Horsemen of Calumny—Fear, Ignorance, Bigotry and Smear."

Mrs. Smith spoke of long-honored but now forgotten American values—the rights of free expression and of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation. "The American people," she said, "are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as 'Communists' or 'Fascists' by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others." And then, without mentioning Senator McCarthy but in words we trust he could not have misunderstood, he declared: "I don't like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity. I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of congressional immunity and still place ourselves beyond criticism on the floor of the Senate. As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of 'confuse, divide and conquer.'"

We believe that the six Republicans who joined Mrs. Smith in her magnificent declaration constitute an honor roll: Tobey, Aiken, Morse, Ives, Thye and Hendrickson. "It is high time," they agreed, "that we stopped thinking politically as Republicans and Democrats about elections and started thinking patriotically as Americans about national security based on individual freedom." It was this same conviction that led *The Washington Post* recently to propose a Commission on Security to aid the country in this kind of unpartisan, national thinking. We need the counsel of men who are above the vulgar political battle, men who can be enlisted in the great battle for national redemption.

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In Amerasia Case

U. S. Denies Reports of 5 'Secrets'

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

The chief of the Justice Department Criminal Division yesterday explicity denied sensational stories listing certain specific "highly secret wartime information" allegedly contained in documents seized in the 1945 Amerasia magazine case.

The stories, published yesterday by the New York Herald Tribune Syndicate and the Scripps-Howard newspapers, listed five documents—on their face obviously very secret and containing crucial information — as among those seized when FBI and Office of Strategic Service investigators raided the magazine's offices.

No documents "remotely resembling" those reported were seized, James M. McInerney told reporters yesterday. McInerney, now head of the Criminal Division, was the acting head at the time of the Amerasia case.

Reporters encountered McInerney in a Capitol office and asked him, regarding each document separately, whether five of the items listed in the news stories were actually among the Amerasia documents.

On four of the items his answer was a flat no. On the fifth, he said the document would have to be identified more precisely before he could give a positive answer, but he could think of nothing of that general nature.

McInerney said he was thoroughly familiar with the 900-odd originals and 800 more duplicates of documents taken by the FBI from the Amerasia magazine offices and from the homes of two of the six defendants in the case. Furthermore, he said, he was familiar with the 20-odd documents seized earlier from the offices in an OSS raid.

If any items like those mentioned in the stories were among the documents, he said, he would know about them.

The two newspaper syndicates did not give the source for their stories, but both said the reports were confirmed by Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R., Iowa), a member of the Senate subcommittee investigating the Amerasia case along with other charges of communism in government.

Hickenlooper in Iowa

Hickenlooper, however, has been in Iowa for a week or more. He declared in an interview there yesterday that his knowledge of the documents found in the Amerasia haul came from Robert M. Morris, counsel of the Republican minority on the investigating subcommittee.

Meantime, Senator Tydings (D., Md.), the subcommittee chairman, said he had never seen such documents as those described by the newspaper syndicate stories, and added:

"It's too bad Senator Hickenlooper hasn't heard all the testimony. I wish he had."

At the same time, Edward Morgan, principal subcommittee counsel said he also had not seen the documents described in the stories, although he conceded that he had not yet gone through all of the many hundred sheets of paper seized. They are now in Justice Department custody.

McInerney testified about the case before a House Judiciary subcommittee in 1946, and only recently testified again in secret session before the Tydings subcommittee.

Yesterday, that group heard two more Justice officials tell of the situation. One was Assistant FBI Director Louis B. Nichols and the other was D. Milton Ladd, assistant to the director, and principal FBI officer in charge of the Amerasia case at the time of the arrests.

Tydings quoted the two men as telling his subcommittee after they had testified "You have all the testimony we have touching the Amerasia case."

Six people were arrested when the raids were made in June 1945. A grand jury declined to indict three and prosecution was later dropped against a fourth. Philip J. Jaffe, editor of the magazine, pleaded guilty to illegal possession of Government documents and was fined $2500. The sixth man arrested, Immanuel S. Larsen, pleaded nolo contendere and was fined $500.

The Tydings Subcommittee plans to question Larsen on his part in the case, possibly on Monday afternoon. The other five defendants in the 1945 case also will be questioned after Lorsen, Morgan said.

Ever since the conclusion of legal proceedings on the case, there have been widespread charges in and out of Congress that the case was "whitewashed" and the prosecution "mishandled."

The five "state secrets" documents allegedly in the Amerasia haul about which reporters questioned McInerney, were:

1. A listing of the location of American fleet units in the Pacific, as of a date in 1945. McInerney, denying the existence of this item among the papers taken, noted that there was, however, a listing of Japanese naval units.

Counter-Intelligence Plan

2. A Naval plan for wartime counter-intelligence operations, sent by Naval Intelligence to intelligence officers of the 14 American naval districts.

3. A document over Secretary of State Hull's signature apparently picturing Amerasia magazine "as a veritable bible on what to do in the Far East."

4. A message from President Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek, wi

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Text of Hull's '44 Pro-Soviet Note Revealed

Truman and Aides Kept Secret 6 Years

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A secret wartime cable, one of the top exhibits in the Amerasia stolen documents scandal, came to light last night. Dated July 28, 1944, and hidden for six years by the Truman administration for obvious reasons, the document bares pro-Soviet influence in the State department at top levels.

The cable is marked "Hull to Chungking" and is a confidential message to the American ambassador in China. Cordell Hull, then state secretary, resigned in November 1944. Now ailing, he was not available for comment on whether he authorized the dispatch, which bore his name, with its startling implications.

Amerasia Was Quoted

At the time the message was sent, John Carter Vincent, now minister to Switzerland, was head of the office of Chinese affairs. Alger Hiss, convicted recently of perjury to conceal espionage, was deputy director of special political affairs. Dean Acheson was assistant secretary of state.

The dispatch quoted the pro-Soviet magazine, Amerasia, in outlining policy for China and Japan. Earl Browder, then head of the Communist party, had a hand in the founding of Amerasia. Philip Jaffe, its editor, was arrested less than a year later for the theft of hundreds of secret documents from government departments. He finally pleaded guilty but received the light penalty of a $2,500 fine in a deal with the Justice department into which an investigation was recently reopened.

The contents of the cable supports Communist leader Browder's boast before a congressional committee recently that he was a wartime White House agent, securing information from Chinese Communists which he passed on to the late President Roosevelt.

Was State 'Textbook'

The message also shed light on testimony before a House committee in 1946 that Amerasia was circulated in the State and other departments as "an important textbook."

The Hull message was one of 1,700 secret government papers locked from the public gaze since they were seized by the FBI in 1945 in the offices of Amerasia in New York City. A huge photostating apparatus was discovered and investigators reported there was no doubt that the magazine was being used to funnel a constant stream of confidential papers to Soviet Russia.

Jaffe and five others, including two State department officials, John S. Service and Emmanuel Larsen, were arrested in what the FBI termed an "airtight" case. Seven months later, all six were free. Two had been fined and the

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Secret Hull Cable Bares Amerasia State Dept. Sway

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four other cases were dropped by the Justice department.

This paper learned the text of the Hull document shortly after James M. McInerney, chief of the Justice department's criminal division, told reporters he had studied all the documents in the Amerasia case and denied they included one, bearing the signature of Hull, plugging Amerasia as an authoritative policy source.

The "Hull to Chungking" cable follows:

"July issue of Amerasia suggests possibility of using Japanese Susomo Okano in the role of 'Tito of Japan' to help Japanese people to establish a government which will discard aggression and the present ruling oligarchy.

"The magazine however voices uncertainty as to whether the United States State department will support the program advocated by Okano and his followers or will prefer to favor the so-called liberal elements in Japan's present ruling class.

Red Tieup Plan Cited

"The same issue proposed that the opposition to Japan throughout eastern China should be strengthened by the Allies through establishing a close working relationship with the guerrilla Communist forces now operating behind the Japanese lines and to bolster the activities with material and financial aid.

"Amerasia advocates that the allies follow the policy adopted toward the guerrilla group of Yugoslavia where political considerations were eventually superseded by military necessity.

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'Amerasians' Can Be Tried

By International News Service

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin told the Senate today that defendants in the 1945 Amerasia case still can be prosecuted under a federal espionage law which provides penalties up to and including death.

McCarthy's assertions were made during debate marking a speech by Sen. Knowland (R) of California, who demanded that all documents seized in the Amerasia case be made public immediately.

McCarthy contended that the statute of limitations has not run out on the Amerasia case. He said the case comes under section 794 of the U. S. criminal code, under which wartime violations may still be prosecuted.

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Hull's Amerasia Cable Reveals Pro-Red Slant

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A secret wartime cable, one of the top exhibits in the Amerasia stolen documents scandal, came to light last night. Dated July 28, 1944, and hidden for six years by the Truman administration for obvious reasons, the document bares pro-Soviet influence in the State department at top levels.

The cable is marked "Hull to Chungking" and is a confidential message to the American ambassador in China. Cordell Hull, then state secretary, resigned in November 1944. Now ailing, he was not available for comment on whether he authorized the dispatch, which bore his name, with its startling implications.

At the time the message was sent, John Carter Vincent, now minister to Switzerland, was head of the office of Chinese affairs. Alger Hiss, convicted reinformation from Chinese Communists which he passed on to the late President Roosevelt.

The message also shed light on testimony before a House committee in 1946 that Amerasia was circulated in the State and other departments as "an important textbook."

The Hull message was one of 1,700 secret government papers locked from the public gaze since they were seized by the FBI in 1945 in the offices of Amerasia in New York City. A huge photostating apparatus was discovered and investigators reported there was no doubt that the magazine was being used to funnel a constant stream of confidential papers to Soviet Russia.

Jaffe and five others, including two State department officials, John S. Service and Emmanuel Larsen, were arrested in what the FBI termed an "airtight" case. Seven months later, all six were free. Two had been fined and the four other cases were dropped by the Justice department.

This paper learned the text of the Hull document shortly after James M. McInerney, chief of the Justice department's criminal division, told reporters he had studied all the documents in the Amerasia case and denied they included one, bearing the signature of Hull, plugging Amerasia cently of perjury to conceal espionage, was deputy director of special political affairs. Dean Acheson was assistant secretary of state.

The dispatch quoted the pro-Soviet magazine, Amerasia, in outlining policy for China and Japan. Earl Browder, then head of the Communist party, had a hand in the founding of Amerasia. Philip Jaffe, its editor, was arrested less than a year later for the theft of hundreds of secret documents from government departments. He finally pleaded guilty but received the light penalty of a $2,500 fine in a deal with the Justice department into which an investigation was recently reopened.

The contents of the cable supports Communist leader Browder's boast before a congressional committee recently that he was a wartime White House agent, securing as an authoritative policy source.

The "Hull to Chungking" cable follows:

"July issue of Amerasia suggests possibility of using Japanese Susomo Okano in the role of 'Tito of Japan' to help Japanese people to establish a government which will discard aggression and the present ruling oligarchy.

"The magazine however voices uncertainty as to whether the United States State department will support the program advocated by Okano and his followers or will prefer to favor the so-called liberal elements in Japan's present ruling class.

Red Tieup Plan Cited

"The same issue proposed that the opposition to Japan throughout eastern China should be strengthened by the Allies through establishing a close working relationship with the guerrilla Communist forces now operating behind the Japanese lines and to bolster the activities with material and financial aid.

"Amerasia advocates that the allies follow the policy adopted toward the guerrilla group of Yugoslavia where political considerations were eventually superseded by military necessity.

"Amerasia claims to have information proving the northern guerrilla forces (Communist) have carried on their resistance

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to the Japanese and have persistently contributed to the work of educating the people to participate in that resistance.

"Amerasia contends the time has passed when internal political considerations can be allowed to supersede military necessity, and insists the immediate reformation of the potential strength of the guerrilla (Communist) forces, involving the dispatch of liaison officers, technical aid, and munitions, has become of primary importance for the success of the United States future offense against the Japanese."

The effect of this message, backed by the prestige of Hull's name, veteran diplomats said, would have been to impress upon the recipient that the policy advocated by Amerasia was one which was receiving favorable consideration. There were no comparable messages, quoting any other publication, in the file of confidential dispatches.

Asst. Atty. Gen. McInerney also denied that the secret Amerasia documents disclosed the wartime disposition of U.S. submarines in the Pacific. On of the documents in the file is dated November, 1944, and discloses the contents of a "confidential talk by Grew to State department personnel." (Joseph C. Grew was then State undersecretary.)

This paper, apparently copied for espionage use, states definitely that the Navy would continue blocking a certain Japanese strait (named in the document) and that "25 submarines" were stationed there. Grew also disclosed, according to the document, that "island-hopping for bomber bases" was continuing and discussed the use of the Japanese emperor after the war as "an instrument for orderly peace."

Both the military and policy information in this document would have been of invaluable aid to Russia at the time, it was noted.

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Taft Says Tydings Unit Falls Short in Inquiry

Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) yesterday said a special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee has failed to conduct a "complete investigation" of Senator McCarthy's charges of communists in the State Department.

Taft was asked on the "Meet the Press" television show what he thought of the Wisconsin Republican's allegations and the investigation of them by the subcommittee headed by Senator Tydings (D., Md.).

"There is a prima facie case arising out of the [Alger] Hiss conviction, the [Julian] Wadleigh confession, the Amerasia case and Secretary [Charles] Sawyer's request for [William W.] Remington and [Michael] Lee to quit," he said.

Taft said he has "no way of knowing whether the McCarthy charges are right or not." He said that McCarthy "never asked my advice and I never advised him."

"There ought to be a complet investigation," he said. "I don't think the Tydings committee has done it."

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Amerasia Case Fell Apart, Says Ex-Federal Prosecutor

Sat. 2

By JERRY GREENE

Robert M. Hitchcock yesterday testified before a Senate investigating committee that the government's Amerasia spy case fell apart at the seams and he was lucky to get two of six defendants to pay nominal fines.

Hitchcock, Buffalo lawyer who was in charge of the prosecution of the Amerasia case in 1945, said there was no evidence of any consequence against three of the defendants. There was a flimsy case against another and the final two, who were fined, were in a fair way to beat the rap completely.

Defense Finds Loophole

Philip Jaffe, editor of Amerasia magazine, and Emmanuel Larsen, State department official, were fined $2,500 and $500 respectively for illegal possession of classified government documents. An indictment against Lt. Andrew Roth, former naval officer, was finally dismissed. A grand jury refused to indict Kate Mitchell, Mark Gayn, writers, and John Stewart Service, State department foreign officer.

Larsen found the loophole in the government's case when he filed a motion to suppress evidence obtained in a search of his apartment without a warrant. Hitchcock said the government hastily got an agreement for Jaffe to plead guilty before he or his attorney learned of the Larsen move.

Thinks Sentence Inadequate

"I have never believed that Jaffe's sentence was adequate," Hitchcock told the committee headed by Chairman Tydings of Maryland. "I know that had we not disposed of Jaffe's case as we did, there would have been no conviction of Jaffe, and, of course, no punishment, even to the extent of a fine."

Hitchcock candidly told the committee how the FBI tapped telephones of the suspects for weeks and how the Amerasia offices and Larsen's home were searched several times. The justice department hoped the defendants would not learn of these activities, he said, but Larsen's landlord inadvertently tipped him off and the motion to suppress the evidence was filed at once.

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Jim

Communists in the State Dept. & Treasury

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Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
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Miss Gandy

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MAY 26 1950

SAN DIEGO DAILY JOURNAL
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA
52 SEP 15 1950

Intercepted Letter

J. Edgar Hoover
Washington

Dear G-Man:

Sen. McCarthy probably is pretty sore about your arresting an atomic spy with no help from him.

Independently,

SENOR SAN DIEGO

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Ferguson Raps Probe Report on McCarthy

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) charged yesterday that the report on the McCarthy Communist-in-Government investigation was the most "intemperate and abusive" such document ever filed in the Senate.

Its phrasing, he said, was reminiscent of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi propaganda minister, or Andrei Vishinsky, Soviet foreign minister.

Ferguson carried into the second week the Republican criticism of the report, which called the charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wisc.), a "hoax and a fraud" and said McCarthy had utterly failed to prove his allegations. McCarthy will talk today.

Ferguson said the report, issued by the Democratic majority of a Foreign Relations Subcommittee, "used soft words to shield those who have been careless with national security." He wondered aloud who wrote it, saying it could not have been written by Senator Tydings (D., Md.), subcommittee chairman, or his two Democratic associates, Senators McMahon of Connecticut or Green of Rhode Island. (All three signed it.)

Asks Probe of Staff.

Attacking dismissal of McCarthy's charges, Ferguson said there not only ought to be a new investigation of communism in the Government, but also an investigation of the Tydings subcommittee staff.

He disclosed that in 1947, a Senate Appropriations subcommittee informed Gen. George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, of a "deliberate, calculated program to protect Communist personnel in high places" in the State Department. The same memorandum declared that another purpose of the asserted intrigue was "to reduce security and intelligence protection to a nullity."

Replying to the memo on June 24, 1947, the then assistant secretary of State John E. Peurifoy told the subcommittee that 10 employes, regarded as security risks, had been fired, including five named in the memorandum.

"In addition, I expect to take action on two more cases within the next few days," Peurifoy wrote.

"Of the remaining 55 cases of individuals employed in the department, concerning whom derogatory allegations have been made, three are either resigning or are being terminated by a reduction in force, and recommendations for security clearance have been made in eight cases, which are still being considered. The remaining 44 cases will be investigated further."

Touches on Alger Hiss

Ferguson touched on Alger Hiss, former State Department official convicted of lying when he swore he did not turn over secret government data to a Soviet courier. Hiss is at liberty pending action on his appeal.

Ferguson presented a confidential memorandum written March 7, 1946, by J. Anthony Panuch, State Department security officer. In it, Panuch vigorously opposed a departmental reorganization plan attributed to Hiss. He said it would give Hiss "working control" over documents moving to and from the United States delegation to the United Nations.

"The security hazard of such a setup, if eventually accomplished, would seem to warrant the continuing interest of the FBI and other security intelligence agencies," Panuch wrote.

Ferguson said he fears the McCarthy investigation report is apt to "lull the State Department into a false sense of security."

Senator Lodge (R., Mass.), one of the two Republicans on the investigating committee protested that the printed record of the hearings omitted 45 typewritten pages of questions which he thought the committee should ask, but which it didn't.

Senator McKellar (D., Tenn.) tried fruitlessly to get the Senate headed back to debate on the $34,700,000,000 single-package appropriation bill.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Mystery Man Story Fizzles Out

By Drew Pearson

A mysterious "internationally mous" figure supposed to be involved in the Amerasia case was ssed to newsmen as headline bait y Frank Bielaski, former SS agent, this eek.

It made headnes all right, ut Senator ydings of aryland immediately counred that the w mystery an had nothis to do with earson case.

In order to clear up the mystery, is column has investigated exctly what Bielaski testified beind closed doors, also has done me checking upon Bielaski himlf.

The international celebrity hom Bielaski claims "towers head id shoulders" above anyone lse the Amerasia case, is John ersey, author of the book upon hich was based the famed war cture, "A Bell for Adano" and e graphic story "Hiroshima." owever, Bielaski's total recollecon was that he had seen Hersey's me scribbled on an envelope in e Amerasia office, and he adtted to Senators that no link uld be found between Hersey d the Amerasia magazine.

Hersey, incidentally, was never nployed by the State Department any other Government agency. is also only fair to report that elaski himself was formerly an vestigator for the Republican ational Committee, that he now erates his own private detective ency, which is thriving on the nerasia publicity, and that he was so involved in the famous Rhode land wire-tapping scandal of 40.

Finally, it is important to note at the newspaper chain which is been constantly and persistly demanding a probe of the merasia case—the Scripps-Howd papers—is being sued for libel Mark Gayn of the Chicago Sun, e of those originally involved in e Amerasia case.

With this background in mind, here is Bielaski's closed-door testimony before the Tydings Subcommittee. First, he described his illegal raid on the Amerasia magazine offices, told how he broke into the library and saw the table covered with documents.

"This is something I have never repeated in public or anywhere, but which I think must be told here," Bielaski confided. "An envelope in the middle of the table was there, and written across the top of it catercornered was the name John Hersey."

"It was not an envelope to my mind that was addressed to him, but as you might write your name on an envelope belonging to you," continued Bielaski.

The former OSS agent estimated that the "Hersey envelope" contained 12 to 15 documents.

"Did your investigation show that Hersey was connected in any way with the (Amerasia) magazine?" inquired Tydings.

"No, sir," Bielaski admitted.

"Or that he contributed to the magazine?" pressed the Maryland Senator.

"No, sir, not a thing that showed he had any connection with the magazine at all except for documents in the envelope with his name on it," repeated Bielaski.

The private detective also backed down when Tydings asked him for information on the "disloyalty of persons in the State Department."

"Well, as to that," hedged Bielaski, "I have no firsthand knowledge of disloyalty of persons in the State Department in connection with the Amerasia case."

It was also pointed out that the Justice Department couldn't prosecute the Amerasia case, because Bielaski seized the documents illegally. This led to a clash between Republican Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and Democrat Senator McMahon of Connecticut. Lodge brought it up by asking Bielaski: "Under what authority did you conduct the raid on the Amerasia office?"

"I didn't ask for authority at the moment, Senator," confessed Bielaski. "But since, I have thought over the legal position, and I understand that the OSS was created by executive order (which) provided that it should take care of its own security."

This appeared to be a weak excuse and Lodge tried to be more helpful.

"Did you realize that in wars in the past the normal safeguards of search and seizure and habeas corpus had been suspended, and probably in this war it would be all right to suspend them for the security of the country?" suggested the Massachusetts Senator.

"I realized we were at war, someone had stolen valuable secrets from us, and I had to try to get them, and I did," Bielaski readily agreed.

"You can't set aside the Constitution in time of war," countered Tydings.

"I think they did it in time of war. He did it and got away with it," shot back Lodge. "I would have done it myself," he added.

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Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Lo[illegible]
Ms. Tracy
Mr. Ja[illegible]
Mr. Belmont
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Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

McCARTHY: "A ~~REAL~~ ONE"

Joseph McCarthy

Will not be released for Drew Pearson's column

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Tydings Promises Full Report When Amerasia Probe Ends

Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland assured uneasy legislators today that he plans to tell "the full and complete story" of the mystery-shrouded Amerasia case.

It became apparent that the Senate itself must decide if it is to investigate sex perversion as well as communism in government.

As for the Amerasia case, Tydings told newsmen that "a lot of people are drawing conclusions about things they know nothing about."

Promises Complete Report

"I will tell the full and complete story as soon as my committee completes its investigations," he said.

Tydings is chairman of a Senate foreign relations subcommittee investigating charges by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, that the State department is riddled with Communists.

The Amerasia case has been a cause celebre since 1945 when six staff members of the magazine of that name were arrested on charges of stealing top secret government documents. In most instances, the charges were dropped.

Rumors of 'Fix' Heard

Rep. Brown (R) of Ohio demanded in a House speech yesterday that an investigation be made of rumors that a "fix has been put on." He said that "high officials of the government" may be involved in the alleged attempt to prevent reopening the case.

Hundreds of official documents were discovered in the offices of Amerasia magazine in a raid in 1945. Philip Jaffe, editor, and Emmanuel Larsen, State department official, paid fines then for illegal possession of official papers, but nothing was done about any espionage charges. Four others arrested in the case were freed.

The uproar in the House came when Rep. Hobbs (D) of Alabama, chairman of a judiciary subcommittee which investigated the Amerasia grand jury, filed a heretofore secret report of his committee's findings. Hobbs denied any whitewash or coverup.

He said the bulk of the case was based on evidence seized without a search warrant and which could not be used in court. He added there was "not enough evidence to sustain a charge of espionage."

Had Bombing Plan

The report said the magazine had a copy of a U. S. plan for bombing Japan and that an alleged "fellow traveler" arrested in the case had been "forced" on naval intelligence.

The testimony included sworn statements of Frank Bielaski, former OSS employe who conducted the raid on Amerasia.

Bielaski, who said Sunday they included a memorandum on "the new bomb," testified in 1946 that the documents contained one detailing in substance, "the bombing pattern for Japan."

Bielaski in 1946 "knew nothing" of the atom bomb and could not recall any other information which might link his find with atomic material.

"Forced" on ONI

Also entered in the testimony was a statement by Capt. J. W. Whitfield, a naval intelligence officer, that Lt. Andrew Roth, one of the six arrested in the Amerasia case, was "forced" on ONI. Whitefield testified that Roth was "suspected or alleged to be a fellow traveler" but was "commissioned in spite of that."

He explained that Russia then was an ally and "the fact that an officer was a Communist was not a bar to a commission." He did not state that Roth was a Communist.

Bielaski also testified in 1946:

1. Documents found in the Amerasia office were from "British intelligence, naval intelligence, G-2, State department, office of censorship, OSS and probably others."

2. Shortly after the OSS raid, another OSS officer named Van Buren went to a meeting "where the stuff was shown to the Secretary of State."

Bielaski's secret testimony made no reference to the mystery figure he described as of "greater fame" than anyone yet named in the case, and as "an international figure."

Over in the Senate, McCarthy denounced the Tydings committee for "doing a foul job" of investigation. He demanded creation of an independent commission of "high-minded men" to probe his charges.

This commission, McCarthy said, should be appointed by Congress and should have complete access to all government personnel files, including those of the FBI, to get at the facts.

McCarthy made this suggestion informally while the Tydings subcommittee was at the White House, going over more of the 81 State department loyalty files made available by Presidential order.

The Wisconsin senator has claimed 81 departmental employes are bad security risks. The committee probably will need several more weeks to finish its work on the files.

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Hobbs Sees Link to Russia

Secret Record of 1946 Probe Of Amerasia Case Made Public

By The Associated Press

The seals were ripped off the investigation record of the hotly-disputed Amerasia case of 1945 in Congress yesterday. It came amid disputed talk of a "cover-up" in the case that prompted Representative Brown (R., Ohio) to declare there were House rumors that "the fix has been put in again."

Brown spoke out after Representative Hobbs (D., Ala.) told the House he believes there was a connection between the now-defunct magazine Amerasia and Russia. Hobbs made public the long-secret record of a 1946 House investigation into the Amerasia episode, including:

1. Testimony by a Naval Intelligence officer that Naval Lieut. Andrew Roth, one of the principals arrested in the Amerasia case and later cleared, was "suspected or alleged to be a fellow-traveler"—but Ross was "commissioned in spite of that."

2. Testimony that documents found cached in Amerasia magazine headquarters in New York included secrets from British Intelligence, U. S. Naval Intelligence, the State Department and other Government sources.

And that "every one of them bore the stamp that possession of the documents is a violation of the Espionage Act."

The latter testimony, given by a witness named "Brooks," the undercover name used by former OSS Agent Frank Bielaski, declared the warning about Espionage Act violation was "stamped all over" the documents.

On the Senate side, Senator Tydings (D., Md.) insisted that the

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Secret Record of 1945 Probe Of Amerasia Case Made Public

Amerasia case is being thoroughly investigated, and he declared:

"When a report is made, every pertinent question which has been asked about this case is going to be answered fully."

Tydings is chairman of a Senate subcommittee investigating charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) that the State Department is infested with Communists and that the Amerasia case is the key to a Red network in the Government.

The wartime case involved the alleged illegal removal of State Department records and the subsequent arrest of six persons, including two State Department officials and editor Philip Jaffee of the magazine Amerasia.

Two of the six were fined; Jaffee paid $2500. The other four were cleared.

Some Statements "Unwarranted"

On the House floor, the Amerasia incident cropped up when Representative Hobbs, who headed the 1946 investigation of the case, spoke out in reply to what he called "a large number of unwarranted statements which won't bear the light of day."

In declaring he believes there was a connection between Amerasia and Russia, Hobbs did not elaborate. He did say that when his subcommittee investigated the case, none of the material brought to its attention appeared significant.

For the first time, the Alabama legislator made the record of the House investigation a matter of public record. He did so by throwing on the table a thick file of photographed typewritten pages for the official House record.

"This is the sealed record of the Amerasia hearing," Hobbs said.

Representative Brown interrupted Hobbs to declare:

"There is a feeling throughout the Nation there has been a cover-up in the Amerasia case. More recently there have been dirty, sly little rumors floating through the cloakrooms that the fix has been put in again and that the whole thing will be covered up once more, and the whole thing whitewashed again."

No Attempt to Hide Facts

Brown demanded that Congress "go to the bottom of this—let the chips fall where they may."

Hobbs said he agreed, but he said there had been no attempt by his subcommittee in 1946 to hide facts. He said the record was sealed at the request of Representative Dondero (R., Mich.) to avoid endangering the national security. Dondero later denied this to newsmen.

Representative Cox (D., Ga.) told the House that "if the case had been properly developed, the State Department would have been in up to its head."

In related developments:

1. Senator McCarthy demanded a new probe of his charges and denounced the current Senate investigation as a "foul job."

The Wisconsin Senator said the Senate inquiry group is "deliberately" falling down on its assigned task of exposing alleged Communists in the Government.

As alternatives, he proposed either a Federal investigation directed by FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and Admiral R. H. Hillenkoetter, head of the United States Central Intelligence Agency; or, an independent inquiry guided by such men as former President Herbert Hoover and Federal Judge Medina of New York.

"Mystery Man" Not Involved

2. Chairman Tydings told newsmen his subcommittee knows the name of an "internationally famed" person cited by Frank Bielaski and that the man involved has no connection with the Amerasia case.

Tydings disputed statements made in a broadcast yesterday by Bielaski, chief investigator for the wartime Office of Strategic Services, who led the first raid on Amerasia's headquarters.

Bielaski said the name of one man involved in the Amerasia case "up to his ears" had not been made public. He said the individual was "of greater fame nationally and internationally than anyone who has been mentioned in this case."

But Tydings told newsmen that Bielaski had given the name of the "famed" person in secret testimony behind closed doors, and he said Bielaski replied "No" when asked if the man had any connection with the Amerasia case.

"We asked Bielaski if he was suggesting that we investigate this man and he said 'No,'" Tydings said.

Probe to End in Three Weeks

The Maryland Senator said the committee's investigators are working on the Amerasia case now and the inquiry may be completed in about three weeks.

3. Vice President Barkley directed that the Senate Executive Expenditures Committee consider an inquiry into charges that hundreds of sexual perverts are holding Government jobs. McCarthy has charged there are perverts as well as Communists in the State Department. The department has denied it.

Perverts of both sexes are regarded as poor security risks because they are potential targets for blackmail. Senator Wherry (R., Nebr.) said impounded records of the Washington Police Department, listing about 3750 homosexuals in Federal jobs in the Nation's Capital, will be available for study.

The committee is expected to assign the investigation to a subcommittee headed by Senator Hoey (D., N. C.). Senator McCarthy is a member of the subcommittee, but he told newsmen that in view of his charges he would not take part in the inquiry.

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Why Not A REAL Investigation?

STILL, the Tydings committee shows no inclination to investigate properly Senator McCarthy's charges against the State Department.

Instead, we see Administration supporters—including New Deal members of the committee—participating in a vindictive vendetta against Senator McCarthy on the floor of Congress.

But their intimidatory effort DISCREDITED ITSELF when Senator Chavez of New Mexico impugned his own religious faith—which is also Senator McCarthy's—in a refuted attempt to damage an important witness.

ACTUALLY, there is not much mystery behind the McCarthy charges.

The Wisconsin Republican alleged that the State Department continues to harbor Communist sympathizers, and that the FBI files contain documentary evidence thereof.

The State Department, and the White House, too, derided this charge.

But the public remembered Alger Hiss—and was not impressed.

President Truman, withholding the FBI data, gave the committee some old files of the State Department itself.

Plainly, the New Deal tactic is to BELITTLE THE McCARTHY CHARGES as merely an ill-informed and futile "Red hunt."

What the Tydings committee seems to ignore is that such a maneuver WOULD LEAVE THE REAL INDICTMENT UNANSWERED.

Moreover, it would leave the nation exposed to A MORTAL DANGER with which Congress should be gravely concerned.

SENATOR McCARTHY'S real charge is not just the persistent employment of left-wingers by the Government.

His real charge is that a pro-Communist policy contrived our diplomatic defeat in China and the military adversities of the Nationalists; that consequently our defensive position in the Pacific has been jeopardized; and that a prospective Communist conquest of South Asia will deprive us of strategic materials and isolate us from natural allies.

Senator McCarthy alleged that Prof. Owen Lattimore has been a "chief architect" of this defeatist policy.

He alleged that others in and around the State Department collaborated in our undoing.

These are matters that can be readily investigated.

Documentary evidence is PUBLICLY AVAILABLE in the State Department's "*White Book*" on China and in other official papers.

The requirement is a drastic inquiry into the State Department's Far Eastern methods.

And the Tydings group, belonging to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has jurisdiction to conduct A GENUINE INVESTIGATION.

SO FAR, the subcommittee has made HARDLY A GESTURE in this direction.

This is not the way for a committee of the United States Senate to demean itself.

It is certainly not the way for the representatives of the sovereign state to safeguard the security of THE UNITED STATES.

The Baltimore News Post
Baltimore, Md.
May 23, 1950

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr

Joseph

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Ex-OSS Agent Links Big Shot To Amerasia

Raider Discloses Memo on 'Bomb'

By International News Service

Frank Bielaski, who made the original Amerasia raid, charged yesterday that the case involves an "internationally famous" figure who "towers head and shoulders" above any individual yet named in the affair.

Bielaski, former agent of the Office of Strategic Services, declared that the "Hiss-Chambers affair is mere chicken feed compared with Amerasia."

Data on "New Bomb"

Scores of secret government documents were found by Bielaski in the office of the magazine Amerasia, which has been charged with supporting the Communist line.

The ex-OSS official declared, in a televised "Meet the Press" interview, that among documents he found in Amerasia's office at the time of the raid, was a typewritten memorandum on the "new bomb."

He said this memo was unsigned and on regular rough copy paper, along with two others—one describing the bombing pattern for Japan and the other outlining the position of the Japanese fleet before the battle of Leyte.

Six persons, including career diplomat John S. Service, were arrested as a result of the Amerasia case, but only editor Philip Jaffe and his assistant, Emanuel Larsen, were convicted. Jaffe was fined $2,500, Larsen $500.

3,000 Stolen Papers

Service, who is currently undergoing a new federal loyalty check, was arrested but was not indicted.

Bielaski said he found 3,000 stolen documents in the Amerasia magazine office, and they had been stolen in a period of three months, He said:

"At that rate, it was posssible for Amerasia to have a copy of every document the State wrote in connection with the Far East."

The former OSS official said the "internationally famous" individual he described as linked with Amerasia "does not work for the government." Bielaski de-

(Turn to Page 2, Col. 2)

Ex-OSS Agent Links Big Shots To Amerasia

(Continued from First Page)

clined to say whether the individual ever had been a government official.

Bielaski has appeared at a closed-door session of the Tydings Senate committee probing the charges of Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin that Communists have infiltrated the State department.

He declined yesterday to divulge any of his testimony before the Tydings group, which at the time shed no light upon what he told the committee, although McCarthy—not a committee member—said the testimony dealt with the atom bomb.

Bielaski said that if the Amerasia case were reopened in a congressional investigation or otherwise it would "expose and drive" Communists out of the State department.

FBI Agents Not Called

Bielaski listed six active and former G-men he said were not called before the grand jury when it probed Amerasia. He said that all would be "glad" to testify at any time.

Those he listed were J. Lewis Ames, William Dunne, of New York; Joseph Garvey, Robert Brownell, of Washington, Eugene Calder, of Ypsilanti, Mich., and Daniel O'Connor.

Bielaski was asked why the Amerasia case was "hushed up" by the government at the time it was broken. He replied:

"There are too many people who believe a pledge of silence to a government department is more important than the oath of allegiance to the government."

Bielaski said that 40 stolen FBI documents were found in the Larsen's apartment.

Cites Fingerprints

He also stated that fingerprints on at least one of the Amerasia documents were enough to convict a government official of perjury."

In discussing the "new bomb" memorandum, Bielaski said he did not remember its contents too clearly, but could recall no reference to the atom bomb, which at the time of the raid had not yet blasted Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

Bielsaki was asked whether convicted perjurer Alger Hiss had any connection with the Amerasia case.

He replied that Hiss was not connected with this case but added:

"I had determined for myself that he was a Communist, however, about the time of the United Nations charter meeting in San Francisco in 1945."

Hiss was secretary of the conference which drew up the charter of the United Nations.

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Date: 5-22-50

THESE DAYS

By George Sokolsky

TO understand the present confusions concerning McCarthy-Lattimore-Tydings-Budenz, et al, one must go back far into the record.

I have before me the proceedings of the special committee of the committee on military affairs of the House of Representatives, dated Feb. 27, 1945. It is a record of confusion. Here is a desire, during actual war, to discover subversive elements in our armed forces.

The witness is John J. McCloy, then assistant secretary of war, now our representative in Germany, a man of brilliant mind and devotion to his country.

IN this testimony is an instruction from Brig. Gen. Robert H. Dunlop which states:

". . . No action will be taken . . . that is predicated on membership in or adherence to the doctrines of the Communist party unless there is a specific finding that the individual involved has a loyalty to the Communist party as an organization which overrides his loyalty to the United States. No such finding should be based on the mere fact that the individual's views on various social questions have been the same as the views which the Communist party may have advanced . . ."

This instruction does two things:

FIRST, it eliminates any consideration of the history of the Bolshevik movement since 1903, which proves that no Communist can place his country above his party. No person in the world can be a member of international communism who does not accept party above country.

To eliminate that from consideration of a Communist's affiliation is to give the case away.

Secondly, it eliminates proof by association. As usually no other proof is available, it becomes hopeless in most cases to establish the fact by rules of evidence.

MR. McCLOY commented: "In dealing with individuals suspected of communism or communistic beliefs, obvious difficulties confronted the Army. In the first place, it was necessary (assuming the Hatch act to apply) to prove membership in the Communist party (which the attorney general found administratively to advocate the overthrow of our government by violence) in order to bar service in the Army. There is some doubt whether the Hatch act does apply.

"Experience demonstrated the virtual impossibility of developing actual legal proof of such membership on the part of persons desiring to conceal their membership . . ."

Precisely. As long as proof by association was eliminated, there could be no evidence. All a man had to say was, "it ain't so." That established his position. Mr. McCloy further said: ". . . There was evidence that the Communist party took action to prevent the application of the Hatch act to its members in the Army by giving them leaves of absence in such manner as to constitute at least a suspension, if not an annulment, of membership . . ."

UNDER this curious and weak procedure, all a man had to do was to withdraw from active membership for a 24-hour period and during that time, he could swear that he did not belong.

Communists rarely do things that are crimes under our laws no matter how harmful they may be. For instance, slanting a textbook to corrupt the minds of our children is neither a felony nor a misdemeanor.

I THINK the entire subject was summed up in the colloquy between Congressman Thomason and Mr. McCloy:

"Mr. Thomason: Then . . . if a man said he was a Communist, or there was some evidence that he was affiliated with the so-called Communist party, you would not necessarily hold that that man belongs to a political party that favors overthrow of our present form of government?

Mr. McCloy: We cannot take that position in the light of the great confusion that exists in the judicial tribunals of the country as to whether that is a tenet of the Communist party or not."

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Date: MAY 22 1950

Sen. McCarthy Misquoted Data, Says State Dept.

By Associated Press

The State department charged last night that Sen. McCarthy had deliberately misquoted a congressional report to imply falsely that loyalty files were wide open to anyone in the department.

Actually access to the files is "strictly limited," the department said. It accused McCarthy of a "crude misquotation" in which he substituted the name of the department itself for the name of its security division.

This was done in a Chicago speech May 6, the department said. It made public its second point-by-point analysis of an address by the Wisconsin Republican senator who has carried on a running attack against the department as a hotbed of communism.

14 Points Cited

The department statement picked the speech apart in an attempt to show McCarthy wrong on 14 points. These included a number of previously denied and "refuted" charges, which drew a new broadside of replies.

It led off with a blow aimed at McCarthy's assertion that State department loyalty files furnished to a Senate committee investigating his charges were "phony."

The Senate investigators now are going through these records which deal with the cases of 81 persons whom McCarthy has labeled as Communists or fellow travelers. The records were released to Congress by President Truman. McCarthy immediately charged the files had been "raped" and "purged."

To get the truth about his charges, the senator said, Congress needs the files of the FBI, the Army and Navy intelligence services, the secret service and the central intelligence agencies.

Files Declared Complete

The State department observed that "the facts" about its files given the committee are that they are "full and complete . . . current as of the date transmitted. They contain all information relevant to the determination of employe loyalty or security."

It noted that under the federal loyalty program the FBI is the agency which conducts loyalty investigations of State department personnel. It added:

"The files made available to the committee contain the material collected by the FBI and transmitted to the State department."

The department analysis said that McCarthy's "misquotation" of a Congressional report in his Chicago speech dealt with one made by House appropriations committee investigators dated Jan. 27, 1948. This report accompanied a list of cases forming the basis for McCarthy's original blast against the department in the Senate Feb. 20, the statement added.

McCarthy Is Quoted

It quoted McCarthy as saying at 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 . . .'"

But what the report actually said, according to the State department, is:

" . . . Most everyone and anyone in the division has access to the files . . ."

The department added:

"The division that the House investigators were talking about was the division of security . . . 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."

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Date:

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Herman Seigel
123-915

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

file.

Testimony of
Senator Joseph R. McCarthy
Congressional Record
5-20-50

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~~Letter to Editors~~

Taft Denies Urging Steps By McCarthy

Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio) in a form letter to Ohio newspapermen has flatly denied that he ever urged Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) to keep on presenting names of alleged Communists in the State Department "no matter how little evidence he had."

"Apparently this story originated in a column by Mr. Drew Pearson and it is not true," Taft said in his letter to the Ohio press.

Asked for comment on the Taft denial, Pearson told The Post:

"When my column about Senator Taft's encouragement of Senator McCarthy appeared the Senator substantiated the general facts as I reported them. Apparently he has since had a change of heart. Very bad public reaction may have been the reason."

Senator Taft's letter denying the story inclosed two copies of Taft's own column, "Washington Report," released for publication April 12 and April 19. Taft said these showed "my exact position on the McCarthy investigation."

"You will note that I never heard of Senator McCarthy's charges before he made them, and that he had never received or sought advice from me; but that I think the committee should thoroughly investigate those charges," Taft's letter continued.

"Should the matter arise again, I should be glad if you would correct any misapprehension which still exists," the letter said.

Pearson's column of March 22 quoted Taft as telling other Republican Senators at luncheon: "I told Joe . . . to keep talking. I don't think he's got anything. But the longer he talks the more people will think he has something."

Pearson told The Post that when his column appeared the New York Times of March 23 quoted Taft as saying that, while Senator McCarthy's charges were not a matter of party policy he (Mr. Taft) had personally urged the Wisconsin Senator to press his charges.

Senator Taft's April 19 "Washington Report" column, to which newsmen were referred in his Ohio letter, had this to say on his position:

"I notice that some commentators credit me with being back of the McCarthy charges and advising Senator McCarthy. As a matter of fact, I never heard of the charges until he made them. He has never consulted me about his course, and I have given him no advice. It does seem to me that he should present his evidence to the committee and that, if the committee considers evidence on Mr. A inadequate, he should present his evidence on Mr. B. In my opinion the committee should receive this evidence in secret and only call for public hearings if it feels that the case is substantial."

Taft's April 12 "Washington Report" said:

"Senator McCarthy did not consult the Republican Policy Committee before making his charges, and the evidence in the individual cases has not been available to us. But we have insisted that in accordance with the Senate resolution a complete investigation is justified and should be made without prejudice and with a sincere effort to obtain the real facts."

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Ex-Boss of Lattimore Wields State Dept. Lash on McCarthy

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The "master mind" of the State department's revenge campaign against Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin was identified on Capitol Hill yesterday as Assistant State Secretary Edward W. Barrett, a veteran office of war information propagandist.

Barrett was wooed from his post as an editorial director of Newsweek magazine three months ago to accept the State department post. He had served in high OWI posts from 1942 to 1946 and was for a time the superior of Owen Lattimore, China policy consultant named as a Communist agent by McCarthy and Louis F. Budenz, former Communist editor. Communistic infiltration of the OWI was repeatedly exposed in Congress.

Attacked by Brewster

Soon after he took office, Barrett was attacked on the Senate floor by Sen. Brewster (R) of Maine for an apparent attempt to intimidate a Newsweek editor whose attitude on the McCarthy charges of State department communism was questioned by Barrett.

The 39-year-old Barrett, it was learned, with the co-operation of Sens. Tydings (D) of Maryland and Lucas (D) of Illinois, is stage-managing the Senate attacks on McCarthy and his witnesses, which began May 3 but have bogged down recently.

Three Democratic senators delivered speeches prepared by a State department corps of 30 high-salaried experts but the repercussions were so painful that no additional spokesmen have been found to read a number of additional ready-made orations.

Sen. Chavez (D) of New Mexico, a Catholic, like Budenz, who was induced to read a speech May 12, attacking the "depravity" of Budenz, is under severe attack in his home State, it was learned. Thousands of women are writing to Chavez and to the Catholic bishop of New Mexico, it was reported, protesting against Chavez' charge that three of Budenz' children were born out of wedlock. The women assailed this assault upon "innocent children."

As members of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee headed by Tydings continued their White House study of loyalty files relating to 81 individuals accused by McCarthy, an exchange of letters between committee counsel Edward Morgan and McCarthy was made public.

Morgan asked McCarthy to supply him with evidence backing up a charge that the files had been stripped of damaging data before they were shown to the senators.

McCarthy replied that such evidence could be gathered if the White House would relax its order forbidding skilled investigators for the subcommittee to examine the files.

Immunity Assailed

Atty. Abe Fortas, representing Lattimore, told an American Veterans' committee meeting that Congress should take steps to dissolve the congressional immunity from libel which its members enjoy under the Constitution. He assailed McCarthy's charges against Lattimore as "a vicious and dangerous" threat to "free expression of ideas."

Fortas suggested that Senate and House rules be revised to permit either chamber by majority vote to require a member to waive his immunity.

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Date: MAY 19 1950

It was the period in which Vice-President Wallace—an ideological captive of the Left-Wing—was sent to China to re-write our policy.

In his report, made in 1944, Wallace followed the Communist Party line.

"Chiang," he said, "at best is a **SHORT TERM** investment."

The Vice-President's advisers in China were Owen J. Lattimore, John Carter Vincent, State Department "career man," and John Hazard, the State Department's Chief Liaison Officer for its Division of Soviet Supply.

Some other activities of Lattimore's merit cursory attention.

On October 15, 1945, Lattimore became a member of the Pauley Reparations Mission to Japan.

Also detailed were John Carter Vincent and John Hazard.

On October 30—after protests—Commissioner Pauley announced Lattimore's demotion, **BEFORE THE MISSION HAD DEPARTED.**

In an interview published in September, 1945, Lattimore opposed MacArthur's policies in Japan, proposing that the Emperor be interned in China—among the Communists, presumably.

In an article in *The Nation* on September 2, 1949, Lattimore condemned U. S. "intervention" in China, praised Soviet "non-intervention" and ADVOCATED RECOGNITION OF THE COMMUNISTS.

Lattimore also opposed the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey, and wanted the United Nations to operate the Marshall Plan, with Russia "assisting."

In conclusion, it may be noted that two of Lattimore's recent books—one especially anticipating A SOVIET ASIA—have been enthusiastically praised in the Moscow press.

(To be continued)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
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Miss Gandy

Disaster in Asia

By E. E. TOMPKINS

III—An "Old China Hand"

IN 1941, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT sent Owen J. Lattimore to China as American adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

The President had AN AMERICAN policy in sight.

On March 15, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"China, through the Generalissimo, asks our help.

"America has said that China shall have our help."

On May 6, 1941, the President declared "the defense of China to be VITAL to the defense of the United States."

And the selection of Lattimore for his mission seemed to be a good one.

A scholar and a linguist, Lattimore had been in and out of China for years.

What may not have come to Mr. Roosevelt's attention were some of Professor Lattimore's affiliations.

From 1937 to 1940, Lattimore had been a member of the Editorial Board of the magazine *Amerasia* and a Trustee, with Alger Hiss, of the Institute for Pacific Relations.

For the Institute, Lattimore edited *Pacific Relations*, which carried in its issue of September, 1938, A DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET "PURGE" TRIALS.

But Lattimore did not remain long at Chungking.

He became First Deputy Director of the Office of War Information in charge of Pacific operations and was later an adviser to the OWI.

This was the period when Left-Wing propaganda carried on its poisonous work in this country—propaganda that assailed the Chinese Nationalists, staunchly resisting the Japanese invaders, as corrupt exploiters, and that EXTOLLED THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS as great-hearted "agrarian reformers."

It was the period in China of General Stilwell, of General Hurley and of General Wedemeyer.

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CLASS Internal Security - C

From NY Journal American

DATED MAY 18 1950

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

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Disaster in Asia

By E. F. TOMPKINS

II—The Lattimore Program

SENATOR McCARTHY "LOCATED" Owen J. Lattimore and "career man" John S. Service in South Asia just as the Tydings Committee was about to squelch his charges of Communist influence in the State Department.

Consequently, the inquiry had to continue.

Lattimore was in Afghanistan, a strategic area—reportedly not as a U. S. employe.

He was there for the United Nations, which this country supports, on behalf of President Truman's "Point Four," which this country will finance.

Service was on his way to India as a Consul General when Senator McCarthy divulged that Service was being quietly recalled ***to undergo a fourth inspection of his loyalty record.***

Before either of them could appear before the Tydings Committee, Senator McCarthy compelled Lattimore to "release" the secret statement made by him last August to "guide" Ambassador-at-Large Jessup in formulating American policy in South Asia—THE NEW ZONE OF COMMUNIST INTRIGUE AND EXPANSION.

BECAUSE OF THE ASSIGNMENT of these two "Far Eastern experts" to South Asia at such a time, the Lattimore statement is of major importance.

For not only is it a prospectus for Jessup to follow in India and Southeast Asia; it is also a lineal continuation of our Left-Wing "policy" in China.

Superficially, the Lattimore document deplores Soviet aggrandizement.

Beneath the camouflage, **it is a doctrine of American surrender in the "cold war."**

It implies that we must yield to Communism in the Orient because we are confronted by Communism in Europe.

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Accordingly, it calls for—

1—Complete desertion of Nationalist China.

2—Admission of the Chinese Communist Government to the United Nations.

3—Withdrawal of our last interest in Korea.

4—Abandonment of Japan—with a suggestion that Japan become allied with the Chinese "Reds."

5—A benevolent attitude—including "economic support"—toward the Communists in Indonesia and Indo-China, and even in Mongolia.

Undoubtedly, if the Lattimore chart be followed, COMMUNISM will soon command the boundless populations and the vast resources of all Asia.

AS A CONGRESSIONAL WITNESS on his own behalf, Owen Lattimore has testified under oath that he has never been a Communist spy, a Communist Party member or a Communist sympathizer.

Accusations that he ever was are not the subject of this discussion.

This is simply a review of American foreign policy, of which Lattimore has undoubtedly been an effective architect.

The report made last August for Ambassador Jessup, and Lattimore's recent assignment in Afghanistan, were merely THE LATEST EPISODES in his public activities.

For background on these affairs, it is necessary to refer to Lattimore's previous record in the Far East.

(To Be Continued)

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Myers Denounces McCarthy Call for Acheson's Ouster

By the Associated Press.

Senator McCarthy's demand that Secretary of State Acheson be fired drew a counter blast today from Senator Myers of Pennsylvania who said the Wisconsin Republican is just talking politics.

Senator Myers, the assistant Democratic leader of the Senate, denounced Senator McCarthy's demand as a "deliberate and malicious attempt to undermine America's leadership in foreign affairs."

He accused Senator McCarthy of being "more interested in the next election" than "in the future well being and peace of the world."

Senator Brewster, Republican, of Maine, on the other hand, gave support to Senator McCarthy's criticism.

Brewster Sees Loss of Confidence.

"For the good of the country," Senator Brewster said in an interview, "it ought to be possible to secure men (as Secretary of State) who would command more general confidence and do the job that is required in this very critical time."

Senator Brewster, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, said he thought both Republican and Democratic Senators had shown a lack of confidence in Mr. Acheson's foreign policies.

Senator Myers' statement was dictated to reporters in answer to an Atlantic City (N. J.) speech yesterday in which Senator McCarthy called on President Truman to fire the Secretary of State as "the headmaster who betrays us in Asia."

Lincoln White Attacks McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy said the President also should relieve United States Roving Ambasador Philip C. Jessup of his duties and oust "those prancing mimics of the Moscow party line in the State Department."

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epartment came back with ements by Press Officer incoln White. Accusing Senator cCarthy of "a further rape of he facts," Mr. White declared hat Dr. Jessup was never a "sponsor" of the American-Russian Institute, as Senator McCarthy charged.

In a second blast last night, Mr. White revived the issue of Senator McCarthy's conduct as a Wisconsin judge in 1941. He read to reporters an opinion he said was delivered by Chief Justice Rosenbery of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, saying Senator McCarthy had ordered the destruction of record of his own oral remarks in a court case.

"Acheson-Lattimore Axis."

Mr. White said Justice Rosenberry referred to Sen. McCarthy's action as "destruction of evidence" and a highly improper "abuse of judicial power."

In his speech before a convention of the Sons of the American Revolution, Sen. McCarthy linked Mr. Acheson with Owen Lattimore in what he called a "Acheson-Lattimore Axis" in shaping American policy in the Orient.

Sen. McCarthy has charged Mr. Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins University professor, with being the "top Soviet espionage agent" in the United States. Mr. Lattimore has sworn before a Senate investigating committee that Sen. McCarthy is a liar, and that he is not and never has been a Communist. The committee is looking into charges by Sen. McCarthy that the State Department harbors Communists.

Dr. Jessup, too, has been under attack by Sen. McCarthy as an "unwitting but very willing stooge" of Mr. Lattimore, and as friendly to the Communists. He has denied the allegations.

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Date: MAY 16 1950

State's Reply Full of Error, McCarthy Says

Senator Finds Facts 'Misstated' in Letter To Nation's Editors

New York, May 14 (U.P.).—Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) said tonight the State Department's "white paper" implying he is a premeditated liar "contains at least several glaring and apparently deliberate misstatements of fact."

He said he had not seen the department's document on his recent speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. But he added, "from the brief reports in the newspapers, however, I note that it contains . . . a number of deceitful attempts to play upon words."

McCarthy disputed the department's statement that Ambassador-at-Large Phillip C. Jessup was "merely one of 50 trustees" and never chairman of the research advisory committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

He said Jessup in 1944 was "chairman of the research advisory committee (which controlled the publication in question)." McCarthy said the department is "painfully aware" of "Jessup's sworn testimony" about his connection with the institute and the advisory committee.

The State Department also states that Jessup belonged to no Communist-front organizations," McCarthy said. "I gave photostatic proof to the (Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee) committee that he was affiliated with five organizations listed by the Attorney General or congressional committees as fronts for the Communist Party."

McCarthy said the department's remarks about George C. Wheeler were "another example of the department's playing upon words in an attempt to deceive." McCarthy had asserted that Wheeler, who renounced democracy to live behind the Iron Curtain, had been cleared by the department's Loyalty Board. This the department denied.

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Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Disaster in Asia

By E. F. TOMPKINS

I—THE McCARTHY DISCLOSURES.

NO MATTER WHAT THE Tydings Committee says, Senator McCarthy's indictment of the State Department has been a very successful "fishing expedition."

It demonstrated to the American people the furtive way in which our "foreign policy" is concocted and conducted.

It showed that much of this "policy" has hewn to the Communist Party line; yet that—in order to obtain the facts—it is not necessary, nor perhaps relevant, to detect *Communist Party members* at work.

The expose compelled publication of A SECRET STATE DEPARTMENT DOCUMENT which has made OTHER documents comprehensible, and has clearly indicated that ***the United States is being decoyed into global disaster.***

Senator McCarthy himself delved up the significant names of PROF. OWEN J. LATTIMORE and of the "career man" JOHN STEWART SERVICE revealing—AND INTERRUPTING—their latest activities.

THE FOREGOING DEVELOPMENTS, which have hardly been exploited, apparently contain the key to several post-war Oriental mysteries; among them being—

1—The incredible fall of China to the Communists.

2—The persistent embarrassments of General MacArthur in Japan.

3—The withdrawal of our occupation forces from Korea.

4—The impending Bolshevization of India and Southeast Asia.

There is now available a mass of PRINTED EVIDENCE bearing upon these precarious situations.

Much of this evidence has actually been assembled in the State Department's own *White Book* on China, issued in August, 1949.

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TITLE

CLASS Internal Security—C

FROM Journal American

DATED 5-15-50

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The evidence includes:

(A)—The indignant letter written to President Truman by Gen. Patrick J. Hurley in resigning as our frustrated Ambassador at Chungking.

(B)—The repressed reports on the defense of China submitted by Lieut. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer.

(C)—The Pauley report on Far Eastern reparations.

(D)—Vice President Wallace's defeatist report on China—probably written by Owen J. Lattimore and John Carter Vincent, a State Department "career man."

(E)—Sundry reports by John Stewart Service and other diplomatic "career men" *whom General Hurley denounced.*

(F)—Lattimore's secret report on Asian policy, which coincided in time and tone with the *White Book* and was obviously an instruction to Prof. Philip C. Jessup, the State Department's "Ambassador-at-Large."

PATRIOTIC INQUIRY INTO the McCarthy charges should NOT be merely another "Red hunt."

It should be a drastic investigation of the tragical failure of our Far Eastern policy.

A genuine inquiry would show that American agents—whether "Communists" or not—have **COLLABORATED IN A PROGRAM FOR THE COMMUNIST MASTERY OF ASIA.**

The inquiry would show that the program has been divided into two phases.

The first phase culminated in *the loss of China.*

The second phase is *now commencing* in South and Southeastern Asia.

The record will show that OWEN J. LATTIMORE and JOHN STEWART SERVICE were "present" during the first phase—IN CHINA.

And SENATOR McCARTHY has shown that, when the second phase was getting started IN SOUTH ASIA, Owen J. Lattimore and John Stewart Service *were already there.*

(To be continued.)

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Senate Foreign Relations Committee

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Tydings Committee Surprised at FBI Data Found in Loyalty Files

By Cecil Holland

Senate investigators today studied State Department loyalty files and were reported as getting much more FBI information from the records than they had expected.

The files, being studied in strict secrecy at the White House under presidential restriction, cover the 81 persons accused by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks.

Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, said the records contain a vast amount of information collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and added:

"We've got from the FBI everything J. Edgar Hoover has got."

FBI "Raw" Material Excluded.

This, however, does not include the so-called FBI "raw" material from which the agency compiled its reports to the State Department. President Truman has refused to make the FBI files themselves available to the investigating committee.

Some members of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee making the investigation said they were amazed by the extent and detailed nature of the FBI reports.

Senator Tydings, who heads the subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges, has said the examination of the files in the 81 cases will determine "the truth of falsity" of the charges made by the Wisconsin Republican.

However, Senator Hickenlooper, Republican, of Iowa, a committee member, indicated the examination may not give a final answer.

Files May Produce Leads.

He said the files may produce leads which the investigating group may want to pursue further by questioning some of the FBI informants.

One thing seemed certain: The Senate investigation likely will go on for weeks.

Committe members said it would take two or thre weeks at least to complete the check of State Department files. Leads, if any, obtained from the files will have to be followed up.

In addition, several phases of the investigation must be pursued independently since the files contain no information bearing directly on persons accused by Senator McCarthy. There is also the 1945 Amerasia case involving the alleged theft of Government documents which the committee is looking into.

The committee has examined one witness, Frank Bielaski, an agent of the wartime Office of Strategic Services, in the Amerasia case and probably will hear others.

Still another phase includes a study of the State Department's loyalty and security procedures. This is being conducted by Senators, Green, Democrat, of Rhode Island, and Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, members of the investigating group.

Question Officials.

The two Senators have been questioning State Department officials in charge of the loyalty and security programs. They plan to go to Europe late this month for a study of such procedures abroad.

The vast amount of work confronting the subcommittee led Senator Hickenlooper to suggest "some more practical approach" for examining the files and carrying on other phases of the inquiry.

Under restrictions laid down by Mr. Truman in making the files available, only members of the subcommittee are permitted to examine them. They have been barred to the committee staff.

The tight restrictions also require that the files be examined only in the White House. One member said the committee was not even permitted to take notes on the cases.

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Commie Probers Split on Worth Of Loyalty Files

Senate investigators of State department Communism, studying loyalty files under guard at the White House, yesterday split concerning the future course of the inquiry.

Four members of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee ended a second day of perusing State department records on 8 employes named as security risks by Sen. McCarthy (R.) of Wisconsin.

This preliminary investigation convinced the Republican minority, Sens. Hickenlooper of Iowa and Lodge of Massachusetts, that the files alone could not form a basis for conclusions.

Tydings Wants Quick Report

But chairman Tydings of Maryland and his Democratic colleague, Sen. Green of Rhode Island, expressed the opinion that the records could be examined in a two-week period and a report rushed through.

Sen. Hickenlooper, absent Wednesday, joined the White House study group and looked through three files. He later told reporters that he disagreed violently with Tydings' statement that the State department records would prove the truth or falsity of McCarthy's charges.

"This matter goes far beyond the McCarthy charges," he said. "The resolution under which we are acting demands that we examine the broad question of whether disloyal employes, past or present, were employed by the State department. I am being sent much information which is independent of the material furnished by Sen. McCarthy."

Thorough Study Favored

"We are just beginning on these 81 files and it will be a number of weeks, at least, before we can make a thorough study of them."

"You cannot get a complete picture of an employe just by studying a file on him," agreed Lodge. "You must summon witnesses who can be questioned about information in the records."

Both Republican senators complained of the "strings" attached to President Truman's opening of the files which reversed his previous stand. The barring of committee staff members was protested. And the refusal to permit senators to take notes, made during the file examination, out of the White House, was criticized as making an adequate study impossible.

Files Called Incomplete

No State department records are available, it was charged, on some of the most important officials accused by McCarthy. Among these are Owen Lattimore, a consultant on Far East policy; John S. Service, a foreign office executive, now under investigation by a loyalty board; and Haldore Hanson, chief of the staff making plans for Mr. Truman's "Point 4" program for spreading American dollars in far corners of the earth.

In the House, the un-American activities committee recommended citation of 39 witnesses for contempt in connection with the recent inquiry into communism in Hawaii.

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Lattimore and Jessup Reactionary, Reds Say

By the Associated Press

MOSCOW, May 12.—The Communist Party newspaper Pravda today depicted Owen Lattimore and Dr. Philip C. Jessup, both charged by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, with Communist leanings, as "deliberate, true servants of American reactionaries."

In a New York dispatch, headlined "Total Hysteria," Pravda ridiculed American reaction to Senator McCarthy's charges of communism in the State Department.

"Of course," said Pravda, "for McCarthy and the section of the Republican Party backing him, it is no secret that the persons selected by him for scapegoats, such as Jessup, Lattimore and others are deliberate, true servants of American reactionaries."

"The fact of the matter," the paper added, "is that regular elections to Congress are going to be held this autumn. Therefore, a group of Republican Senators staged this comedy in Congress against the Democratic party."

Mr. Lattimore, expert on the Far East, was accused by Senator McCarthy of being the No. 1 Soviet spy in the United States. Dr. Jessup, American roving Ambassador, was accused by the Senator of Red leanings. Both have denied the charges.

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26 Documents in Amerasia Case Listed

Seized by OSS Agents

(See editorial, Page 52.)

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

A list of 26 Government documents recovered by agents of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in their wartime raid on Amerasia magazine came into possession of The News and other Scripps-Howard Newspapers today.

The list was presented last week to an executive session of the Tydings Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee investigating charges of Communism in the State Department. It has never been made public by the Government.

The very titles refute claims that the Amerasia documents, stolen from the State Department, mostly contained inconsequential gossip.

These claims have been advanced by spokesmen for the Justice Department to explain its failure to press the prosecution of Philip J. Jaffe and his associates on Amerasia.

Many of the reports are marked "restricted," "confidential" or "secret" and deal with political and economic conditions in the Far East.

In the hands of Mr. Jaffe, a

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Communist, they gave him inside knowledge of Government wartime and postwar policies not available to any but top Government officials. Mr. Jaffe used this data in his magazine which was dedicated to promoting Communist aims in Asia.

The contents of the 26 documents were not learned. But their titles follow.

- "A Policy Toward Japan." Secret.
- "Report to Secretary of State No. 2796 Regarding T. V. Soong and H. H. Kung." Secret.
- "Plan to Permit Overseas Japanese to Organize for Political Warfare Against Japan. 3/8/45." Secret.
- "Economic Policy Toward Japan, 1/6/45." Secret.
- "Report to Secretary of State No. 2761 Regarding Relations Between Chiang Kai-shek and Madam Chiang Kai-shek." Secret.
- "India, April, 1944." Restricted.
- "Report No. 2730 Regarding a Speech Delivered by Dr. Huang Yin-pei on 5/29/44." Restricted.
- "Chinese Views Regarding the Postwar Treatment of Japan, 2/22/45." Secret.
- Transportation Conditions in China." Confidential.
- "The Hot Springs Institute of Pacific Relations Conference, 1/25/45." Confidential.
- "An OSS Report Regarding References to Activities of Indonesia, Japan and Occupied Areas" Confidential.
- "Preliminary Survey of the Economy of French Indo-China" State Department.
- "Preliminary Survey of Industry and Mining in China." State Department.
- "Preliminary Survey of the Economy of Thailand."
- "Preliminary Economic Survey of Korea."
- "OSS Report Re Gen. Fang Chien-chueh." Stamped by State Department.
- "Report No. 1486 to Secretary of State from American Ambassador at Chungking."
- "Report of OSS Regarding the PPC as Viewed by a Chinese Liberal."
- "Importance of Reconstruction of Agriculture—China."
- "Military Intelligence Summary—Europe."
- "State Department Policy."
- "Personal Intelligence — Far East."
- "Personal Intelligence—Near and Middle East."
- "China's First Public Opinion Poll with Source as the OSS, Research and Analysis Branch, Report No. 78."
- "Report to Secretary of State No. 2914."
- "Official Japanese Broadcasts, North American Affairs."

HUNDREDS OF OTHERS

The Feb. 22, 1945 secret report on the post-war treatment of Japan was dated just 17 days before it was found in Mr. Jaffe's office by the OSS raiders.

Frank Brooks Bielaski, OSS chief investigator who led the raid, found hundreds of similar documents, some of a military character. Fearful his superiors in Washington might doubt the magnitude of his find, he seized the 26 as a sampling.

It was OSS's discovery of these documents that led to the subsequent FBI investigation and raid of Amerasia which uncovered 1500 reports.

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Capitol Hill Hears Tydings Will Get Whitewash Payoff

By WALTER TROHAN

Rumors are flying thick and fast in the Capital on the reward Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland will receive for his services in attempting to whitewash the Administration in general and the State department in particular of splotches of communism.

Many congressmen make no secret of belief that the 60-year-old Marylander has sold out to the White House for an ambassadorship, the Supreme court or the vice presidential nomination in 1952.

Others are indignant over the suggestion that Tydings has made a deal. These Administration members believe, however, that Tydings will be rewarded for his protection of the Administration.

Tydings is chairman of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee which was named to investigate charges of communism in the State department. Many members feel that Tydings is more interested in protecting the Administration than in investigating sabotage of foreign policy by the Reds.

The senator is a candidate for re-election next fall. He has received many letters from Maryland constituents criticizing him for defending the Administration.

The heavy protest mail, according to Capitol Hill reports, has brought some concern among his supporters that he may be defeated. Tydings has shown no concern over this possibility, which has convinced some of his associates that he has reached an understanding with the White House.

Some congressmen believe Tydings has been promised the post of chief justice of the Supreme court.

Other members say Mr. Truman has promised Tydings the vice presidential nomination in 1952.

Still others believe Tydings has been offered an ambassadorship, possibly to Moscow, where his father-in-law, Joseph E. Davies, once represented this country.

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McCarthy Threatens To Name 'Spy' Envoy From Senate Floor

Says He Will Put Case Before Members Unless Subcommittee Acts

BULLETIN

Chairman Tydings announced that a Senate subcommittee today will begin its study of State Department loyalty files on 81 persons accused of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks. He declined to say immediately where the files would be examined.

By Cecil Holland

Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, today threatened to take the Senate floor and name an American envoy he has accused of being a foreign agent.

He said he would do this if the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee investigating his charges of communism in the State Department fails to go thoroughly into the case.

"If I get resistance from the committee," the Wisconsin Republican said, "I will present the case as best I can on the Senate floor and name the man."

His charge of "foreign agent" against the unidentified envoy was made Sunday in a speech at Janesville, Wis. Previously, Senator McCarthy said, he had outlined "only a minor part of the case" in a February 20 Senate speech.

Subcommittee to Meet.

In that speech Senator McCarthy discussed the envoy as a top case in a total of 81 persons he accused of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks. He said the envoy had supplied material to Russian agents and getting rid of him would "help to break the back of the espionage ring within the State Department."

Senator McCarthy's statements were made on his return yesterday afternoon from a Midwest trip and as the Senate investigating group prepared to look into the State Department loyalty files on the 81 persons accused by the Wisconsin Republican.

The subcommittee, headed by Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, scheduled a closed meeting today to plan for the study of the files that President Truman ordered made available to the investigators.

McCarthy Answers Benton.

President Truman last week reversed a stand he had taken previously and agreed to let the committee see the State Department files. He acted after being informed that four other congressional groups looked into the same files more than two years ago.

Senator McCarthy also had a sharp retort for Senator Benton, Democrat, of Connecticut, who said in a Senate speech yesterday that the Wisconsin Republican was "a very talented propagandist of the Soviet type."

Senator Benton departed from the text of a prepared speech on the Fair Employment Practices bill to attack the McCarthy charges of communism in the State Department.

He said Senator McCarthy knows he can count "on a vague distrust of the State Department and, like the Communist propagandist, he is ding his best to exploit it by every means."

'Voice of America' Attacked.

"He doesn't argue, he doesn't answer, he doesn't reason," the Connecticut Senator said. "He hits and runs."

Senator McCarthy said that Senator Benton would be doing the people "a great favor if he would stop sniping at those of us who are trying to get rid of those who endanger this Nation."

He noted that Senator Benton, former Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the Voice of America broadcasts, had recently called for a big expansion in that program.

"Therefore," Senator McCarthy added, "he should be interested in the names of two Voice of America employes whose names I recently gave the subcommittee. Those individuals have been using the program for Communist propaganda purposes."

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Senators May See Some of Files Today

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

The State Department loyalty files on 81 persons accused by Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) will probably be made available to Senate investigators at the White House, it was learned last night.

The first of the files will be ready for examination some time today, it is hoped. Delay in getting all of them, it is believed, comes from the fact that most were in the hands of the President's Loyalty Review Board, in accordance with an order of Mr. Truman for that body to give them a post-audit.

It was also indicated yesterday that one or more officers of the State Department and the FBI will be available to aid in the examination, which will be made by the special Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee.

McCarthy has charged that the State Department has "raped" one of the files and is engaged in "spring housecleaning" on the rest, to remove derogatory material.

The subcommittee, however, can call on FBI personnel during the White House examination to determine whether all the data from that agency are still included in the files.

Meantime, Democratic drumfire against McCarthy continued yesterday with the accusation that he was a "hit and run" propagandist "of the Soviet type."

The accuser was Senator Benton (D., Conn.). In a speech urging approval of a part of the controversial FEPC, Benton departed from his text and cut loose.

"McCarthy doesn't argue, he doesn't answer, he doesn't reason. He hits and runs," Benton said.

"Senator McCarthy knows he can count on a vague distrust of the State Department and, like the Communist propagandist, he is doing his best to exploit it by any and every means."

In another development yesterday, wealthy Frederick Vanderbilt Field asked Senate loyalty investigators for another chance to answer questions in the McCarthy inquiry and thus save himself from a possible citation for contempt of Congress.

Field's unusual request for a rehearing to avoid contempt charges was made in a letter to the Senate Subcommittee.

The New Yorker, a reputed millionaire, has been described by McCarthy as an avowed Communist and an important link in McCarthy's chain of evidence against his No. 1 case, Owen Lattimore.

Field denied he was in contempt when he refused to answer a number of questions in testimony before the Tydings inquiry group April 28.

Through his attorney, Harold I. Cammer of New York, Field asked for a chance to reconsider the queries which he had turned aside with the reply that he was standing on his constitutional rights.

Cammer said a contempt action against Field would be "inconsistent with observance of the privilege against self-incrimination guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution."

Committee Counsel Edward P. Morgan recommended citations against both Field and Earl Browder, former United States Communist Party chief, after they testified in the current probe.

Party Zeal Threatens Prestige, Says Jackson

Supreme Court Justice Jackson, in his opinion Monday on the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath, discussed at length the role of political parties in the United States. At one point he said:

"All parties, when in opposition, strive to discredit and embarass the Government of the day by spreading exaggerations and untruths and by inciting prejudiced or unreasoning discontent, not yet hesitating to injure the Nation's prestige among the family of nations.

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Today and Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

McCarthy And The Constitution

THE McCARTHY affair has posed the question whether Senators and Representatives are above all the laws which regulate the freedom of speech of other American citizens. The question has been posed before, never however in so extreme a form.

MR. McCARTHY, being a Senator, enjoys the privilege which are described in Article I, Section 6, Clause 1 of the Constitution. During his attendance at a session of the Senate, and while he is going to or returning from the Capitol, he cannot be arrested except for treason, felony, and breach of the peace. Furthermore, as a member of Congress he enjoys the privilege that "for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any *other* place."

I have put the word *"other"* in italics, because it is the key word both to our understanding of this great and historic privilege and to the abuse of that privilege by Senator McCarthy and his senatorial assistants.

THE LANGUAGE of this sentence was at least a hundred years old when the Founding Fathers used it in the American Constitution. It is taken from the English Bill of Rights which was enacted by Parliament after the revolution of 1689. Section 9 of this famous English statute declared that freedom of speech and debate or proceedings in Parliament "ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court o rplace *out of Parliament.*"

Neither the American Constitution of 1789 nor the English Bill of Rights of 1689 says that a legislator shall not be questioned—that is to say held accountable—for what he says in the Congress or in the Parliament. The American document says he cannot be questioned "in any other place" and the English document says he cannot be questioned "out of Parliament."

THE MEANING of these words becomes quite clear when we look into the events which preceded them. During the struggle between the Stuart kings and their Parliaments, the King often attempted to intimidate members of the House of Commons. The great test case came in 1629 when three leaders of the opposition—Sir John Eliot, Denzil Hollis, and Benjamin Valentine—were arrested, brought before the King's Bench, and given severe penalties for their speeches in the House of Commons. For the next 60 years Parliaments fought the precedent established in this case. Nearly 40 years later, in 1667, the House of Commons passed a resolution, and then had a conference with the House of Lords which resulted in reversing formally on a writ of error, the judgment of 1629. Twenty-two years after this reversal another Parliament in the Bill of Rights reaffirmed the principle of parliamentary immunity from prosecution in the courts or in any other place outside of Parliament.

THE PRINCIPLE of congressional immunity then is not that a Senator may not be "questioned"—that the laws of libel or any other laws, for example, obscenity, do not apply to him. There is not the faintest indication that the English Parliament or the American Founding Fathers ever imagined or intended that legislators should be above and beyond the laws of the land. The great principle is that for what a legislator says or does in the Legislature only the Legislature, not the courts or the executive, may judge him.

The manifest intent of the English Bill of Rights and of the American Constitution was not to make Senator McCarthy immune to the laws of the land. He is subject to all the laws of the land—the traffic laws, the income tax laws, the libel laws, the obscenity laws, and all the rest. He himself has no special privileges whatsoever. The special privilege is in the Senate—to be the only body which can question, judge and punish a Senator for a speech which violates the law.

The Constitution does not suspend any of the laws for the benefit of a Senator. The Constitution says that when the alleged offense is a speech in the Senate, the Senate and not the courts have jurisdiction of the offense.

THE PROOF that the Senate has jurisdiction in regulating the speech of Senators is to be found in the Rules of the Senate. Rule XIX says that "no Senator in debate shall, directly, or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator" and also that "no Senator shall refer offensively to any State of the Union."

It is true that in Rule XIX the Senate has limited the freedom of speech of Senators only to protect Senators—that under the rules as they now stand Senators may say anything they like about anybody on earth except only about another Senator.

BUT IT CANNOT be the claim of the Senate, or the intention of the Senate, to make of Senators a race apart, unbound by the laws of the land, or the rules of justice, or the canons of decency. If that were to become the practice, if McCarthyism were to become recognized as legitimate or even tolerable senatorial behavior, then the great principle of the Constitution would be in jeopardy.

Liberty, having degenerated into license, would again bring forth tyranny, "where blind and naked ignorance delivers brawling judgments unashamed on all things all day long."

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Senators Hope to Start Study of Files Today; McCarthy Hits Delay

Field Denies Contempt In Spurning Questions, Asks Reconsideration

By Cecil Holland

Senate investigators today hoped to begin a study of State Department loyalty files on 81 persons accused of being Communists, fellow travelers or security risks.

The files are those of persons accused by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin in a February 20 Senate speech.

Chairman Tydings of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee making the investigation said he hoped the files would be available during the day.

The committee had expected to start the study yesterday after President Truman had directed that these, and only these files, be made available to the investigators. But the State Department said it had not yet assembled the records for examination.

McCarthy "Not Surprised."

"I'm not surprised," Senator McCarthy said through an aide, "I knew they had not yet finished their spring housecleaning of the files."

Meanwhile, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, wealthy New Yorker, denied that he was in contempt of Congress in refusing to answer some of the questions asked him by the Senate investigators of the McCarthy charges.

The denial was made through his attorney, Harold I. Cammer of New York, in a letter made public by the committee.

Mr. Cammer, asking that Mr. Field be given a chance to reconsider the questions, said a contempt citation "would be inconsistent with observance of the privilege against self-incrimination guaranteed by the fifth amendment to the Constitution."

Contempt Action Considered.

The investigating committee is considering a recommendation by its chief counsel, Edward P. Morgan, that Mr. Field and also Earl Browder, former Communist leader, be cited for contempt in refusing to answer committee questions.

Both men were called as witnesses as the committee looked into the Owen Lattimore case as part of its investigation.

They denied testimony of Louis F. Budenz, a former Communist, that they told him Mr. Lattimore was to be considered a Communist. However, they refused to answer many other questions about their associations and activities, and Mr. Field refused to say whether he is or was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Lattimore, widely known Far Eastern affairs specialist, has been accused by Senator McCarthy of being a Communist and Russia's top spy in this country. He has denounced those charges as "lies" as well as the testimony of Mr. Budenz.

Tydings Uncertain of Action.

Senator Tydings said he did not know when the committee would act on Mr. Morgan's recommendation.

As the committee prepared to look into the loyalty records, two committee members — Senators Green, Democrat, of Rhode Island, and Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, began a study of the State Department's loyalty and security procedures. They interviewed five department security officials and said they would pursue their inquiry, a part of the overall investigation, to Europe, where, Senator Green explained, security operations are somewhat different from those in this country.

As the investigation went on, the Senate had a request from Senator Flanders, Republican, of New Hampshire, that the committee be instructed to hold no more public hearings. He said they were doing "much harm" at home and abroad.

Senator Tydings said no further public hearings are planned and doubted if there would be any. But he pointed out there was "no hard and fast rule" against them.

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Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Extended Security

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Public Means Public

By Ted O. Thackrey

President Truman's belated agreement to make "public" the loyalty board files on 81 persons under fire by Senator McCarthy does not mean quite what it seems to mean.

The files are not to be made "public," but are to be made available to the Senate Judiciary subcommittee so that the committee may make public what portions of the files it chooses to make public.

This is a whale of a difference.

It will serve only to deepen the mystery and the hokus-pocus atmosphere in which McCarthy is given a chance to make suspicion and slander substitute for fact and evidence; where a half truth, or no truth at all, is clothed in the garments of truth.

The only completely healthy means of cleaning out the filthy files is to make them really available to the public; to open these and FBI "loyalty" files completely to the public gaze, so that the public record can be made in individual cases.

In many cases — and at present no one knows how many except that the list is large — the only thing significant in these files is that there has been a file made and tabbed with the name of some citizen.

The McCarthy lovers thus can join him in alleging that the FBI or the loyalty board has a "file" on So and So; and since the "file" is secret—so secret that the last person able to look into it and thus discover the charges against him if any is the victim of the attack—the innuendo stands.

If it were possible to drag out the mess of gossip, rumor and plain unsubstantiated guess which fills a large number of these files, it would be easier to make hash of the implication and easier, also, to come to the sensible conclusion that we are paying out far too much tax money for hog wash in bribes to our citizens to spy on their fellow citizens and come up with the wildest and most profitable bunk.

It is important to remember what no one seems to be able to remember in these lurid witch-hunt days: Senator McCarthy has thus far not been able to produce one single piece of reliable evidence to back up a single defamatory statement he has made since his witch-hunt began to hit the front pages. Lattimore is not his only smeared victim: the Lattimore case served only to prove that McCarthy is a welcher as well as a liar—if that's news. McCarthy promised to "stand or fall" on the Lattimore case — to get out of public life if his charges should prove in error. They stand exposed as wholly false. But McCarthy blithely continues to pursue his scandalous, slanderous way.

* * *

McCarthy is a liar, tax-dodger, welcher and a cheat. These words are written by me without benefit of the immunity under which McCarthy hides to smear his fellow man. Moreover, they are provable fact. If McCarthy will accommodate me with suit for libel, I shall be pleased to prove these assertions in court. It would be a pleasure.

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

RE: SECURITY MATTER

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAY 10 1950
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KNOXVILLE JOURNAL
May 8, 1950
Editor * Guy ~~L.~~ Smith

Editorial

Government Employe Under Suspicion Hard Person To Separate From Job

The extent of the victory for Sen. Joseph McCarthy and others fighting Communism in the government, by reason of the agreement last week by the President to turn over to the Tydings Committee loyalty files on 81 employes, can be easily over estimated.

These are loose-leaf files, it has been pointed out, from which the removal of damaging data would present no problem. It is entirely likely that nothing of any great importance will be found in them. Truman was probably assured of that before he agreed to make them available to the committee.

What is really needed is to have information in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation made available to the Tydings committee or any other which may later become engaged upon an investigation like the one in hand.

The country is mindful of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's position that turning over the files of his bureau to any committee would shortly destroy the usefulness and effectiveness of his agency. Respecting Mr. Hoover as most of us do, we are willing to take his word that his position is justifiable.

However, it does appear to be a tragic situation if one agency of the government is at any time in possession of information sorely needed by another, with national security as the stake, and yet the one fears it would destroy its own usefulness by turning over that information to the other.

Surely, there must be possible some arrangement whereby pertinent information gathered by the FBI could be turned over to legitimate investigative committees. Perhaps it could be done by summary from Mr. Hoover's office, in such a way as to reveal no valuable sources of information enjoyed by the FBI and to omit any information not completely verified. As a man of probity and judgment, we think most committees would be willing to accept such a summary from Mr. Hoover without question.

It has already been established to the satisfaction of most Americans that through procedures established by Congress and methods followed throughout the government service, the scales are loaded altogether in favor of any employe suspected of disloyalty.

Where any question of doubt exists as to the lolyalty of an employe, he, rather than the nation, gets the benefit of it. So deeply ingrained is the conviction of all of us that a citizen is to be presumed innocent until he is proven guilty that unquestionably in many instances in the past, where matters of loyalty were concerned, the nation has been imposed upon unconscionably.

In a private business, if the question is raised as to an employe's honesty and there is substantial, even though not positive, evidence to support the suspicion, the employer usually finds a way to rid his organization of the individual. Nobody blames him for so doing, because honesty is one of the fundamental requirements of most employment.

Where the question of loyalty to one's country is in question, however, the government employe under suspicion, even though well justified, is surrounded by such safeguards that the precautions one would take in an ordinary business enterprise are not available. Usually he remains on the payroll, while the best his superiors can do is to try to have him work in some position which affords the minimum temptation in case he is really disloyal.

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McCarthy's Victims

By Joseph Alsop

An Open Letter To Senator Tydings

AFTER long hesitation, I am impelled by the appalling effects in Europe of the McCarthy witch hunt to offer my testimony to your committee, for what it may be worth.

I do so for two reasons. First, I have already sharply criticized the conduct of our affairs in China on several occasions. Second, I was intimately involved in the events which led to the loss of China, whereas Senators McCarthy, Wherry and Taft and their informants are offering second-hand evidence. This evidence is so obviously corrupted by political and other pressures that it is a duty to correct the impression conveyed.

Stating the case as briefly as possible, I think it fair to say that the really crucial years in China were those when Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell commanded the China-Burma-India theater, from 1942 to 1944. In this period, Professor Lattimore, who was always at best a fringe figure, played his most important role in our China policy, as a personal adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. In this rather brief assignment, he accomplished nothing, but he was quite obviously loyal both to the American Government and to Generalissimo Chiang.

Professor Lattimore had no part whatever in the real debate about China policy, in which the different points of view have been fantastically misrepresented by Senator McCarthy and his friends. No informed person ever supposed that offering blank checks to the National government of China would accomplish anything. Those who advocated a strong policy of aiding the National government only did so with the proviso that the aid given would be closely controlled by American representatives on the spot as it was during the short and successful period of General Wedemeyer command. It should be noted that the congressional advocates of postwar aid to China specifically rejected the responsibility involved in this sort of local, on the spot control, in the first major bill appropriating funds for the purpose during General Marshall's Secretaryship of State.

RETURNING to the vastly more important war period, the other school of thought was composed primarily of General Stilwell and his political advisers. General Stilwell, so far as one could judge, was chiefly animated by his personal detestation of Generalissimo Chiang, arising from their disagreements. His political advisers, among whom was Mr. John Stewart Service, were operating on a more reasoned theory, however.

They asserted, first, that the National government was too feeble and corrupt ever to be reformed, even with direct American help and under direct American pressure. They said, second, that the Chinese Communists were therefore bound to win in the end, no matter what measures might be taken by the United States. In the third place, they argued that the Soviet Union, insofar as it had intervened in China at all, had given all its assistance to the regime of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek rather than to the Communists, who received no tangible Russian aid whatever until the war was over. Fourthly, they suggested that the Chinese Communists might be induced to declare their independence of the Kremlin if they were treated as friends and allies by the United States.

Opening friendly relations and offering aid to the Chinese Communists was frankly admitted, at the time, to be a bold gamble. The gamble now looks better than it did then. On the one hand, the Yugoslav Communists, whose experience was precisely what the experience of the Chinese Communists would have been if they had received American aid, have now rebelled against the Kremlin. On the other hand, the recent behavior of the Japanese Communist leader, Nosaka, a wartime refugee at Yenan and intimate friend of Mao Tse-tung, clearly suggests that the idea of independence of the Kremlin must have been in the air in Communist China in wartime.

MY RIGHT to speak, if I may be said to have a right to speak, derives from the fact that in wartime I was one of the chief American opponents of the school of thought I have summarized above. As a member of the staff of the American Volunteer Group, as chief of the Lend-Lease Mission to China, and finally as an assistant to Dr. T. V. Soong, I did everything in my power to present the pro-Nationalist point of view in influential quarters in Washington.

Those who wished to develop an American policy of friendship toward, and aid to, the Chinese Communists were finally and decisively defeated with the dismissal of General Stilwell, in October, 1944. This occurred

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many months after I had finally succeeded in getting into uniform, as a member of Gen. C. L. Chennault's staff in the Fourteenth Air Force. But although I had long before become a mere junior officer in the Air Force, the effect of my letters to Harry L. Hopkins and the other representations I had made was acknowledged by implication in General Marshall's first instructions to General Wedemeyer.

These are, so to speak, my credentials. Having known the situation in wartime China far more intimately than any of the pro-McCarthy witnesses you have yet heard, I think it my duty to say that while I disputed the judgment, I never had the faintest doubt of the loyalty of any of the American officials or others whom McCarthy has attacked. They were serving the United States to the best of their ability, with courage and fidelity. This should be sufficient to protect them from the kind of vulgar attack McCarthy has made, even if their judgment was incorrect.

ALTHOUGH our views clashed sharply, I was particularly well acquainted with Mr. Service. To the best of my knowledge, although I thought then, and think now, that he was gravely in error, he was a most conscientious and decent American public servant. It is difficult, of course, to offer hard evidence to support such contemporary impressions. But I may cite one fact, at least, to show how erroneous it can be to judge situations from the viewpoint of a later time.

Former Vice President Henry A. Wallace has been, in effect, a pliable stooge for the American Communist Party for more than two years. From this, many people have inferred that Wallace was a Communist stooge in wartime. In fact, however, nothing could have been more contrary to the party line in wartime than to urge the dismissal of General Stilwell; yet Wallace recommended the dismissal of Stilwell and his replacement by Wedemeyer in a telegram from China to President Roosevelt in the late spring of 1944. Incidentally, the telegram was sent with the full knowledge of Mr. John Carter Vincent, who entered no protest whatever, although he too has been under attack as a Communist stooge.

In conclusion, there are two points which I feel I must make. First, I do not think I was wrong in opposing the policy of gambling on winning the friendship of the Chinese Communists and inducing them to declare their independence of the Kremlin. I do not think I was wrong, simply because I, and the others who took the same view, could not possibly foresee that when this policy of winning the friendship of the Chinese Communists had been defeated with the dismissal of General Stilwell, there would be a long period after the war during which we had no China policy at all.

None of the men now under attack by Senator McCarthy had any important responsibility, to my knowledge, for this singular hiatus. Speaking for myself, if I could have foreseen that the only alternative to a policy of gambling on the friendship of the Chinese Communists was a kind of vacuum of policy, I should have been on the other side in the struggle in China. The gamble on the Chinese Communists, although unnecessary, in my opinion, was at least a reasonable gamble, such as could be reasonably advocated by entirely loyal Americans.

SECOND, I should like to suggest to your committee that, if the test of loyalty is following the line of the Communist Party, you had much better launch an investigation of Senators McCarthy, Wherry and Taft, than an investigation of Messrs. Lattimore, Service and Vincent. Let the test be a tabulation of the key votes of the three Senators above mentioned on the great postwar measures of foreign policy, and especially of their votes on key amendments by which bills can be nullified.

Unless I am gravely mistaken, such a tabulation will show that these three Senators, and most of the others who have joined them in the present clamor, have voted the straight Communist Party line on every major issue of foreign policy, as laid down in the *Daily Worker*, ever since the end of the war. If temporary agreement with the party line is to be made the test of loyalty, let these men be called to the bar to explain their records.

In summary, I do not attempt to excuse or palliate the grave American mistakes in China, which I have often before denounced. But I submit that we may as well abandon all hope of having honest and courageous public servants, if mere mistakes of judgment are later to be transformed into evidences of disloyalty to the state. And I submit further that the members of the Senate who are now persecuting these men who made, as I think, mistakes in China, have far more to explain, excuse, and rationalize in their own records. I still believe that the loss of China was unnecessary. But I think it far more important that we should not destroy the decent traditions of American political life. These now seem to be endangered.

The 81 Files

The President's decision to let the Tydings Subcommittee see State Department loyalty files reflects, no doubt, a conviction that these files will show no carelessness in respect of security and a hope that they will at last silence Senator McCarthy's howling. Even assuming, as we do, that the President is right in his conviction, the hope is unlikely to be realized. If Senator McCarthy and the little clique of colleagues that has rallied to his dubious standard were open to reason, he would have been silenced long ago. Whatever the files contain, they will not satisfy Senator McCarthy. He will invent new charges and new excuses for being unable to substantiate them.

The files to be made available to the subcommittee are not the so-called "raw files" of the FBI; they do, however, include FBI reports. Disclosure of them is therefore open to many of the same objections that the President expressed so vigorously less than a fortnight ago in his address to the Federal Bar Association. "The preservation of the strictest confidence with respect to loyalty files is the single most important element in operating a loyalty program which provides effective security for the Government and justice for the individual employe," he said . . . "Opening these files would reveal FBI procedures and methods. It might reveal highly secret information vital to our national security and of great value to foreign nations. Disclosures of these files would result in serious injustice to the reputation of many innocent persons."

All this might be said in a slightly smaller degree of the FBI reports contained in the State Department files. Information conveyed in them could well be of such a nature as to make the source apparent or to reveal the techniques by which it was procured. It does not seem to us that this danger is appreciably altered by the President's belated discovery that the files in question were shown to four congressional committees two years ago. The more they are shown, the greater is the risk of leakage.

The strictest confidence will be incumbent on the members of the subcommittee. If this is observed, Senator McCarthy will not be privy to the contents of the files. Before this appears in print he will doubtless have complained that the President's action deprives him of the means to prove his points. He has already raised a clamor that he be given access to FBI files. And this in spite of the fact that he himself declared in his Senate speech of February 20: "When I call for a disloyalty file I do not mean that I am calling for the source of information. I do not think any intelligence agency can work and do a good job if the Senate or the House or any other body is entitled to make public the source of the information." The only hope that the President's surrender of the vital State Department documents can prove genuinely effective lies in the possibility that the Senate of the United States, including members of Senator McCarthy's own party, will decide to put an end at last to his exceedingly dangerous buffoonery.

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The Washington Merr[illegible]nd

Small Business Aid Causes Rift

By Drew Pearson

White House advisers sat up late trying to get a final decision on the President"s small-business message before he left on his western trip. A highly important issue was involved with advisers split wide open over it.

Pearson

The issue was whether to promote Government loans to small business through the RFC, or to set up new private banks for loans to small business.

Lined up against RFC loans were Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Federal Reserve Chairman Tom McCabe.

Lined up for RFC loans were Stephen Springarn, White House assistant, and Senator Taft, who, as ranking GOP member of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, was consulted.

Both sides, however, agreed on what's happening to small business. It's can't borrow long-term risk capital.

Small business can get plenty of short-term money from commercial banks, but not 10-and 12-year money. Furthermore it can't borrow from most insurance companies, which frown on speculative ventures and also want to deal in large amounts. In addition, the private capitalists of the old days are gone, and the investment bankers won't undertake to float stocks or bonds unless the issue runs into several millions.

To remedy this, it was proposed to put the RFC in the Commerce Department and let it specialize on loans to small business. However, Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, Senator O'Mahoney and others felt that Government should not subsidize business; also should not be in the position of having life and death loan powers over business.

Therefore a plan was worked out with able Chairman Tom McCabe of the Federal Reserve Board whereby private banks could be set up, with the backing of Federal Reserve Government money, for the express purpose of lending money to small business.

It was admitted that this plan would be more complicated, but in the long run would be better than outright Government loans to small business.

looking lady and a dog moseying down the street. A curious passerby noted this attention and asked, 'Jake, which would you ruther go out with—the lady or the dog?'

"Well, do you know," continued the Vice President, "O' Jake, he said, 'the dog, of course. I can always get away from him.'

"And that," concluded the Vice President to the Senate aide, "is the reason why I'll go out in the lobby to see my friend."

Europe vs. McCarthy

Few people realize how badly American foreign policy has been undermined by the McCarthy-Communist campaign. Here are a few samples of what's happening abroad:

In China: The name "McCarthy" is pronounced exactly as if it were "MacArthur," and the impression has spread that General MacArthur was waging a near-revolt against the State Department. In fact, the impression has been created in some parts of the Far East, where the public is not well informed, that the United States is near revolt.

In Albania: The Communist government, after long pressure from the West, was expected to do a Tito. But it hasn't. And a partial reason has been Soviet propaganda that the State Department was full of Communists—"an American Senator says so"—and that the United States would soon come over to the Communist Albanian side.

In France, Italy, Belgium and other Atlantic Pact countries, the reaction has been most harmful of all. For some time these countries had experienced a wave of "neutrality," which has now grown to new heights. People in these once Nazi-occupied countries have argued that they did not want to get in the middle of another war, would much rather be neutral . That has been one reason for opposition to the North Atlantic Pact.

Now, on top of this neutrality wave has come the McCarthy charges of Communists in the State Department, which to poorly informed Europeans means that the United States is likely to go over to Russia leaving western Europe out on a limb.

Therefore, it's not difficult to understand why neutrality sentiment and opposition to the North Atlantic pact has grown more than ever.

Report to Senate

Prior to his departure for Europe, Secretary of State Acheson told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee behind closed doors that the United States is prepared to fight rather than retreat from Berlin.

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Kennan Worried

State Dept. Morale Hurt By McCarthy

Milwaukee, May 5 (NYHT).—George F. Kennan, counselor of the State Department, warned tonight that the department might lose most of its "quiet, sensitive and gifted" top officials if the present atmosphere of "abuse and derision" continues.

Speaking in the home State of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, who has charged that there are Communist, sex perverts and poor security risks in the State Department, Kennan told a meeting of the Institute on United Nations Foreign Policy that the mental strain of fighting the cold war left top officials with very slender margin of physical and spiritual energy to absorb ridicule.

"I must tell you," he said, "that the atmosphere of public life in Washington does not have to deteriorate much further to produce a situation in which very few of our more quiet and sensitive and gifted people will be able to continue in Government."

He warned that unless the United States could mobilize its best-brains for prosecution of the cold war there could be no promising assurances of the outcome.

It was "not fair" to these men, he said, to make them scapegoats of whatever dissatisfaction and bewilderment the country might feel concerning its international position. Neither was it fair to the great body of citizens, he added.

Perhaps only those who have lived many years in totalitarian countries can feel how vitally important it was to preserve "the spirit of tolerance and liberality in our relations with each other and the readiness to give the other fellow the benefit of the doubt, where doubt exists," Kennan said.

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Flood of Telegr sters McCarthy in Anti-Red Battle

Public Response Includes Contributions To Meet Expense of Senate Crusade

This is the second of two articles on public reaction to Sen. McCarthy's fight against Communist influence in the State department.

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin has been bolstered in his fight against Communist influences in the State department by whole-hearted support of people "back home."

The senator is urged "to keep up the fight no matter how strong the opposition."

Many persons sent contributions of a dollar or two to help defray his personal investigation expenses, after they heard he was hard-pressed financially.

Apart from the contributions, the moral support expressed by these people has been tremendous and widespread.

Telegrams Are Pointed

Some of the letters are long. The telegrams cary a pointed message. Here are a few samples of the wires:

"Congratulations on being an American and not a politician," wired a Pittsburgh couple.

"Real Americans are all for you," said a wire from Sacramento, Calif.

"God love you," wired a Baltimore doctor.

"Your fearless courage renews our confidence in the government," said a group of Alabamans.

Please Carry On'

"Keep belting them," said a Los Angeles wire. "Please carry on," said another from Abbeville, La. "The people are behind you," assured a wire from St. Paul. "The public is going strongly for you," wired former Sen. Revercomb (R) of West Virginia.

"Give them heck; millions are with you," said a telegram from Madison, Wis. "Don't get discouraged," read one from Boston. "The Halls of Montezuma ring with your praise," a resident of Bellevue, Wash., told the former Marine officer.

A Texas preacher asked McCarthy to demand the resignations of President Truman and State Secretary Acheson, declaring "I charge them with incompetence and with giving inspiration and consolation to sworn enemies of this government."

Americanism vs. Truman

"Give them both barrels," said a Milwaukee wire. One from Joplin, Mo., read: "American people extend gatitude for your courageous defense of Americanism versus Truman arrogance."

McCarthy also received encouragement from such groups as Presbyterian women in California, the Elks, citizens committees, American Legion posts and Veterans of Foreign Wars.

A former FBI agent wrote that his experience as a G-man convinced him "the Democratic party has become infiltrated by radicals, Socialists, Communists, crackpots and warped-minded intellectuals." He urged McCarthy to "carry on the fight until you clean out the whole Administration."

A Baltimore couple wrote: "As registered Democrats in Maryland, we want to commend you for your courageous fight against communism in the State department. Although we have the utmost respect for our Sen. Tydings, we do not agree with the way he has whitewashed your charges."

Even the Democrats

"Even a large majority of the Democratic voters are on your side," wrote a Wisconsin man.

"We need a man like you for President," said a Democrat from Memphis, Tenn. Similar sentiments came from other writers.

Former Gov. John C. Vivian of Colorado wrote that: "On every hand, I hear favorable comments on your campaign . . . More power to you. The people, I'm sure are with you."

A Los Angeles lawyer offered his service as defense ccunsel in case McCarthy were sued for libel. A Texan offered financial help in case of a libel suit.

From Port Carbon, Pa., a 16-year-old girl wrote that: "I say a prayer for you every day so you win." From Urbana, Ill., came this one: "I am just an old lady but you are a young man and so I hope I can encourage you in your present efforts to prove a few 'salts of the earth' still remain, to try to regain some of our lost dignity and honor in the eyes of the world. God and his people are with you."

"The writer is ill and barely able to write but wanted you to know she is 100 per cent for you and it is a scandal the way our so-called representatives soft-pedal the investigation," wrote a Phoenix, (Ariz.) woman in shaky scrawl.

A Brooklyn woman wrote: "It just burns the women up to think with all the 'big men' there are in the United States, the President has to pick so many for high office who are so red."

"It seems mighty good to think someone has gumption enough to keep this United States of ours a decent place to live and not give it over to dictatorship," wrote a Minnesota farmer.

Keep Pounding Away

A naturalized citizen here told McCarthy: "Keep up the good fight and with God's help true Americanism will win out." An Oklahoma minister cautioned McCarthy against possible Communist attempts on his life, but said: "Keep pounding away along the same lines and even harder because it is not possible to accuse those Pendergast plunderers down in Washington of anything too dirty and too dishonest for anybody to commit."

"We ordinary people are not so easily fooled as the 'higher-ups' claim they were," said a Brooklyn woman. "We believe you are honestly working for our best interest," wrote a Milwaukee secretary, as "one of the working girls."

"We need more men like you," wrote 29 Philadelphia citizens. A man in Exeter, N. H., said: "I assure you that the man on the street feels as I do that you are doing a big job. The lack of support the Republican senators have given you is appalling."

"It's a shame that more Republicans and southern Democrats in the Senate aren't backing you," wrote a Los Angeles man. "You are so right, go after them," urged a woman in New Orleans.

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JOSEPH R. McCARTHY - Smyth.

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McCarthy Drafts Blast at Partial Release of Files

Truman Action Fails To Satisfy Senator, Wants FBI Records

By the Associated Press

President Truman's decision to hand over some Government loyalty files to Senate Communist investigators put Senator McCarthy to work today on a "not enough" protest.

In another development, the Justice Department said it never received any evidence from the Office of Strategic Services to support charges that Amerasia magazine officials and State Department employes were shipping atomic secrets to Russia in 1945.

Senator McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican, has said a former OSS agent would testify that A-bomb data did find its way to the Soviet Union in the Amerasia case. The agent, Frank Bielaski, said yesterday there is some substance to what Senator McCarthy asserted, but he did not entirely back up the Senator.

Mr. Bielaski made it clear he had been warned by the Senate inquiry committee against disclosing any of the evidence he presented.

He said he didn't know Senator McCarthy and had been called before the committee by subpoena. He is now president of the Research and Security Corp., New York, a firm specializing in investigations and public relations.

Lodge Calls Picture "Serious."

Senator Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, who heard Mr. Bielaski testify at a secret session, said the picture Mr. Bielaski portrayed "is very serious." But Senator Lodge refused to comment on the A-bomb angle.

Reversing his earlier refusal to release Government loyalty files, Mr. Truman agreed late yesterday to let a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee examine secret State Department files on 81 persons cited by Senator McCarthy in his charges on communism in the Government.

Chairman Tydings of the investigating committee said in announcing the President's decision that the approval does not apply to the FBI's so-called "raw" files. Senator Tydings added, however, that "there will be FBI material" in some of the State Department files the committee gets.

Senator McCarthy has charged that the department is infested with Communists and Red sympathizers. He has contended all along that to obtain proof of his accusations, the committee must have access to the FBI files as well as State Department records.

McCarthy to Speak Tomorrow.

Senator McCarthy told a reporter "I'm going to hold my fire" until tomorrow night when he is scheduled to address a convention of young Republicans in Chicago. He said the speech will be aired on a Nation-wide radio network.

It was learned that he intends to blast the administration for not making the FBI files available, too, and for confining access to State Department records to the 81 cases he outlined in a Senate speech February 20.

Mr. Truman refused in March to turn over any loyalty files on the ground it would cripple the FBI, smear innocent people and wreck the Federal loyalty program. He took that position on advice of FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General McGrath.

Senator Tydings said the President changed his mind about the 81 State Department files after learning that those records were examined 2½ years ago by four other congressional committees.

No Adverse Report Made.

On the basis of the earlier investigation, Senator Tydings declared, "No adverse report concerning these employes came to the floor of the House or the floor of the Senate and none was sent to the State Department."

While Senator McCarthy put

himself temporarily under wraps on the files issue, Senator Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican floor leader, spoke out promptly in sharp criticism of the President.

Senator Wherry demanded that the committee be given access to the FBI files. He said Mr. Truman was afraid to face the people on his forthcoming Western tour without permitting the committee to get at the State Department documents.

"Public opinion is beginning to blow the lid off the scandals of the Truman administration," Senator Wherry declared.

The Nebraska Senator complained that a Senate Appropriations subcommittee of which he is a member had been denied the files of State Department and other employes "alleged in police records to be moral perverts."

Lattimore Case Not Included.

The 81 cases Senator McCarthy outlined to the Senate do not include the major one he later presented to the inquiry committee —that of Owen Lattimore.

Senator McCarthy has accused Mr. Lattimore, Far Eastern affairs specialist and Johns Hopkins University professor, of being Russia's No. 1 spy in the United States. Mr. Lattimore has denied that under oath. He also swore he never was a Communist — as charged by ex-Communist Louis Budenz.

Senator McCarthy has said he is willing to let all of his charges against the State Department stand or fall on the Lattimore case. He has demanded repeatedly that the committee be given a look at the FBI's raw file on Mr. Lattimore. So far the committee has seen only an FBI summary.

Also not included in the 81 cases are Senator McCarthy's accusations against John S. Service, career diplomat. Senator McCarthy said he does not believe Haldore Hanson, State Department official, was among the 81 either.

Both Accused by McCarthy.

Both Mr. Service and Mr. Hanson have been accused by Senator McCarthy of having Communist sympathies. Both men have denied the charges.

Two days ago a group of Senate Democrats headed by Majority Leader Lucas launched an attack on Senator McCarthy.

Senate officials in a position to know said round two of the Democratic counter-attack probably will get underway Monday with another flurry of Senate speeches.

Meanwhile the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board revealed that a total of 202 persons have been released from Government service on loyalty grounds during the last three years.

Approximately 2 million persons are employed by the Government.

A total of 7,709 cases have been finally passed upon by loyalty boards. Of those, 7,258 resulted in clearances.

Some 451 persons were ruled ineligible for Government service. Of those the 202 were dismissed, 143 were restored to service after appeals, and the balance of the cases are still pending.

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58 OCT 1 1950

Truman to Release Files on McCarthy's '81 Cases' to Inquiry

Sees No Precedent Set by Action; Bielaski Testifies On Amerasia Case

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

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Senator Tydings (D., Md.), chairman of the investigating subcommittee, said that President Truman finally had agreed to let the subcommittee examine the files.

Mr. Truman felt, Tydings explained, that because of the past history of the 81 cases—the data in those files were examined two years ago by four Congressional committees—no precedent will be violated by letting a fifth committee look at the information.

The agreement applies only to the State Department loyalty files, and not to the FBI files, which McCarthy has also demanded be disclosed to the investigating Senators.

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McCarthy has repeatedly demanded that the files be made available, and insisted that if they were, his charges of Communist infiltration of the State Department would be proved.

He has further insisted, again and again, that one could be sure that if the files proved him wrong Mr. Truman would have made them available long since.

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The witness was Frank Bielaski, a former Office of Strategic Services employe who led a raid on the Amerasia magazine offices.

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At that time, for reasons unexplained, the State Department permitted the investigator to examine its loyalty files, and to abstract them. The list he brought back to the Capitol caused a small furore.

The summary of the investigator, Robert Lee, ultimately was seen by the members of four Congressional Committees, in 1948. State Department personnel officials were called on to explain and did presumably, to the satisfaction of the Congressman. No further action was demanded, and no adverse reports were given to Congress.

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MAY 5 1950

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Probe to Get Information Demanded By M'Carthy

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Americans Shower McCarthy With Praise for Commie Fight

50,000 Messages of Encouragement Pour in From All Sections of Nation

(This is the first of a series of articles disclosing public reaction to the fight waged by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin against Communists and Communist influence in the State department. The articles are based upon letters and telegrams deluging McCarthy since he began the one-man campaign.)

By JOHN FISHER

From all walks of life, from all sections of the nation, the people are standing solidly behind Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin in his demand for exposure of Communists in the State department.

A random examination of the estimated 50,000 letters, cards and telegrams received by McCarthy since he made his charges of Communists in the department reveals a spontaneous upsurge of public sentiment in his behalf.

Most of the writers had no other wish than to give McCarthy encouragement in facing tremendous odds. They told of praying for him. They inquired if there is anything "ordinary citizens" can do to help.

Many Contribute Money

Many, hearing that McCarthy was hard-pressed to finance his part of the investigation, and forced to cut his investigating staff, contributed money. The donations aren't large, usually a dollar or two, sometimes 10. They said they gave what they could afford to help him carry on the fight.

McCarthy has acknowledged spending about $7,500 of his personal funds to date on expenses incurred in connection with his search for evidence to be furnished the Senate investigating committee, which has a staff and $25,000 for probing McCarthy's charges.

Although McCarthy has made no appeal for help, he has accepted the donations in the spirit in which they were given.

Following are some of the explanations given by the people who contributed.

Disabled Vet Helps

A disabled veteran of World War I, described himself as a pauper, sent a money order for $1 from Liberty, Mo., saying "the Democrats are leading us to war," and he would have sent McCarthy more money if not so poor.

From Mount Vernon, N. Y.: "I'm a Democrat but I'm for you 100 per cent in this effort. The present Democratic leaders don't seem to realize that what's bad for the country is bad for the party. Enclosed please find check for $10 to help in defraying the expense of this very urgent patriotic effort."

From a Chicago couple describing themselves as "Mr. and Mrs. Democrat" came $10 with the wish "hope you have a million more converts to your cause."

Enclosed in a United Nations envelope, McCarthy received $2 with the explanation "this is the best I can do at this time; will repeat again in two weeks."

"Yankee Green Buck"

"Here is a Yankee green buck to lick a Communist Red buck," declared a donor from Aberdeen, Md.

A government employe in Washington sent a dollar with an unsigned letter, saying "if my name were signed, and through any reason it would become known, my means of making a living would be abruptly terminated." But the letter said: "In my opinion, you and the few on your side of the aisle who have the guts to assist you are performing one of the greatest services to the country ever performed. Keep at it! It is way past time for America to wake up, so keep the alarm ringing."

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Twenty-three other persons signed a joint letter, ~~enclosing~~ 23 crumpled dollar bills, "which we hasten to send today, realizing that under Truman's profligacy they may be worth less tomorrow." The letter continued:

"'The undersigned, realizing the pressure under which you as a loyal, patriotic American, are laboring to bring to light the subversive activities of traitors and spies on our government pay rolls, consider it a privilege to be able to make this small contribution to help you carry on the fight."

"Token of Appreciation"

One of the most unusual letters came from Chicago, and read:

"I am sending you herewith five dollars for your personal use —some good cigars, a box of candy; or anything your pleasure desires. No acknowledgement is necessary.

"I am a poor man, 65 years old today, and since my social security benefits start today, I feel I can afford this little token of appreciation of your splendid service to our country. Your unseen friend."

"I heard last night on the radio program that you are having financial trouble after all the good you have done this country," said another letter from "working family of three." "I therefore pledge $1 to help fight the elements that threaten this country and hope that more of my fellow-countrymen shall do the same."

Acheson Criticized

A Connecticut man sent a dollar in behalf of his grandson, saying: "Sent in the hope that what you are attempting to do will succeed, and that my grandson may grow up in the same sort of a country that I grew up in. A man that will stick by Alger Hiss and permit a convicted Russian spy to return t. Russia should not be Secretary of State—we need someone about whom there is not the slightest doubt of his loyalty and love of this country."

A terse penciled note on white wrapping paper said: "A humble contribution for expense connected with your excellent effort." It was unsigned and enclosed a dollar.

"Kindly accept this small contribution of $3 that you can use to help pay the private investigators on your pay roll," said a man from Staten Island, N. Y. "I wish it could be more," he added. "God bless you and keep you in good health. Please keep on fighting for what you believe is worth while."

D. C. Woman Contributes

A Washington woman sent $10 "as a slight token of appreciation of what you are undergoing in your patriotic, courageous efforts in behalf of our beloved country. If the Reds win it will mean not only we of this generation, but our children's children's grandchildren will be under the Soviet yoke."

"Another group of five local citizens sent $35, saying: We wish to express to you our congratulations and deep appreciation for your courageous efforts in behalf of all real American citizens." A Wisconsin couple said "hur-rah for McCarthy—the people of Wisconsin sure must be proud of you. Keep up the good work. They enclosed a dollar.

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Amerasia Judge Wasn't Told of Jaffe's Red Ties

(NOTE: Almost five years ago the Amerasia case came to an obscure end in a rare Saturday session of District Court here, remarkable for the fact that the judge learned as little about the case as the public has before or since. Today Scripps-Howard Staff Writer Frederick Woltman, who has investigated the bewildering facets of the case which produced more stolen Government documents than Whittaker Chambers, tells of this strange legal climax in the third of a series of stories.)

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Philip J. Jaffe's Communist record was not mentioned by the Government in the court hearing that wound up the Amerasia case of the stolen State Department documents.

Not a single reference to it appeared in the 15-page transcript of the court record.

Nor was the judge told that Amerasia magazine, which used confidential data from rifled State Department files on the Far East, was dedicated to the promotion of the Communist Party line on China.

This would have been of the utmost importance to the court. For, the punishment to be meted out depended on Mr. Jaffe's motives and the use he made of the hundreds of secret State Department and Military and Naval intelligence records found in his office as editor of the magazine.

The Government recommended against a jail sentence. Consequently the key figure in the Amerasia case escaped with a $2500 fine after pleading guilty. And the sensational evidence painstakingly dug up by the FBI was kept from the public.

Mr. Jaffe pleaded guilty here in Washington on Sept. 29, 1945, before Justice James M. Proctor, a respected member of the Federal bench who now sits on the U. S. Court of Appeals.

The charge was "violation of Section Title XV888, United States Code, which is conspiracy to embezzle, steal and purloin property, records and valuable things of record and property of the United States."

Conduct of Case Was Unusual From Outset

The hearing took place on a Saturday morning, when the District Court rarely sits. It got little attention.

Robert M. Hitchcock, Special Assistant Attorney General, permitted Mr. Jaffe's lawyer to make the "statement of facts." Ordinarily, in a guilty plea, that's the job of the prosecutor since it guides the court in fixing the penalty.

JUDGE PROCTOR
Make it brief

When Albert Arent, defense attorney, asked permission to make a statement, Judge Proctor replied:

"Please make it brief because I do not expect to hold any extended session here this morning."

Later, when the judge suggested the Government explain where it stood and asked how long that would take, Mr. Hitchcock replied: "Less than five minutes."

MR. HITCHCOCK
Got a new job

Not 'Disloyal Purpose' but 'Journalistic Zeal'

Mr. Arent described his client as "for many years a student of Far Eastern affairs"; a graduate of Columbia with A. B. and M. A. degrees; a lecturer at Harvard, Vassar, Yale, Dartmouth and other schools.

Among co-founders of his magazine Amerasia, the defense counsel said, "were distinguished academic people, scholars, political scientists like Owen Lattimore, head of the Walter Hines Page School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Johns Hopkins . . ."

For eight years, he went on, Mr. Jaffe edited Amerasia "without compensation and at considerable sacrifice."

It circulated "amongst scholars and specialists in Far Eastern affairs and has found a place in the leading libraries and educational institutions of the country.

"The Government does not contend that any of this material was used for any disloyal purpose," said Mr. Arent.

"If Mr. Jaffe has transgressed the law, it seems he has done so from an excess of journalistic zeal . . ."

Judge Proctor, interposing, remarked: "There is no doubt but what he has."

The indictment, declared Mr. Jaffe's attorneys, "charges a rel-

(Continued on Page 46)

Judge Wasn't Asked to Jail Jaffe

(Continued from Page 3)

tively minor violation which arose out of his anxiety to be accurately informed in the field of his scholarly and journalistic interest."

He urged that Mr. Jaffe's case be disposed of that morning because of "the very grave illness of his wife."

Asked by the court if that was "a correct statement," the special assistant attorney general answered:

"In substance, yes, Your Honor."

No Probation Officer Saw Jaffee 'Jacket'

Then Judge Proctor proposed that the probation officer investigate and report so that the case "take the usual course of such cases with a view to possible probation . . ."

Had that been done, the probation officer would have access to the Jaffe "jacket" in the United States Attorney's office. This includes the FBI "prosecutive summary report" as well as Mr. Jaffe's vast Communist background and that of Amerasia.

Here Mr. Hitchcock told the court: "I assume that prior to the imposition of sentence, which I think counsel hoped to be disposed of today inasmuch as we have the facts pertinent to the subject, that perhaps even a probation officer would get not only from this district but would have to go to New York for, Your Honor may wish to hear what the Government has to say."

Mr. Jaffe, he went on, was charged with conspiracy in taking and removing from Government files, primarily the State Department, Office of Naval Intelligence, Strategic Services and War Information, certain documents that belong to these various agencies.

"The use to which they were put was, as I understand it, largely background material that Mr. Jaffe in the conduct of his Amerasia magazine used to assist him in publishing articles and preparing arguments that would lend to its weight and, perhaps, its circulation. The magazine, we know as a matter of fact, was a losing proposition financially."

Asked if the documents were used in such a way as to embarrass the Army or Navy in the conduct of the war, Mr. Hitchcock said there was no such evidence.

"To us," he went on, "it was largely to the purpose of lending credence or variety to the publication itself, and perhaps increase its circulation and prestige." The documents, the prosecutor added, "were undoubtedly used by him—else, why take them?"

Recommended Fine, 'No Jail Sentence'

Asked for a recommendation, the Government attorney proposed "the imposition of no jail sentence but that a substantial fine be imposed." Mr. Jaffe, he added, "is a well-to-do man, . . . the sole owner, we understand of a prosperous greeting card business . . ."

"Well," said the judge, "I regret, Mr. Jaffe, that you in your zeal to carry on your work, which was evidently for a trustworthy purpose, that you were misled to do these things which of course did tend to break down the fidelity of Government employes and officials in the performance of their work."

He set the fine at $2500 which Mr. Jaffe paid immediately.

Nowhere does the record show that Mr. Jaffe had been recruited by Earl Browder, Communist boss, to head the party's front for a Red China: that Amerasia was started by Mr. Jaffe, Frederick V. Field, wealthy Communist party member, and Ch'ao-ting Chi, a leading Chinese Communist; or that Amerasia, which used the documents, was dedicated to influencing American public opinion and the State Department in behalf of Russia's aspirations in the Far East.

Not one of the stolen documents was introduced. Nor was the word "Communism" mentioned.

If any FBI agents were present, they took no part.

Hitchcock Joined Firm of Defendant's Uncle

Fifteen months later Mr. Hitchcock resigned from the Justice Department. He joined the Buffalo law firm of Kenefick, Cooke, Mitchell, Bass and Letchworth.

James Mitchell, a partner of the firm, was an uncle of Kate Louise Mitchell, Mr. Jaffe's co-editor of Amerasia, who was arrested in the Amerasia case but later cleared by the grand jury. Mr. Mitchell had been active in behalf of his niece.

(2)

Democrat Say McCarthy Case May Be 'Hoax'

Karsten of Missouri Calls Many Charges Old, Asks Inquiry

By Cecil Holland

Representative Karsten, Democrat, of Missouri today urged an investigation to determine whether a "hoax, a deceit or a fraud" has been practiced on the American people in the charges of Communism in the State Department.

Mr. Karsten said he had examined the cases cited by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin in his attacks on the State Department. He added that his analysis shows that "many, if not all of them" were investigated by House committees two years ago.

The Missourian said he detested communism as much as any one and hated "the deceit, the fraud and the intellectual dishonesty that are inveterate handmaidens of communism.

Karsten to Speak in House.

He added:

"But for these very same reasons I would have complete contempt for any one who, through deceit or fraud, would seek to inflame and hoodwink the American people with the assertion that the State Department of their Government has harbored or is saturated with Communists."

There was no immediate reply from Senator McCarthy, who is in Phoenix, Ariz., for treatment of a sinus condition. Mr. Karsten's suggestion was made in a statement in advance of a speech he planned to give on the House floor later in the day.

It came as the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee investigating the McCarthy charges began a busy week with a hint that new "valuable material" may be disclosed soon.

The hint came from Chairman [illegible]e-man committee question Miss [illegible]blic session this [illegible]owen Lattimore [illegible]ar Tomorrow.

Senator McCarthy has accused Mr. Lattimore, Far Eastern affairs expert, of being a Communist and a Soviet agent who has influenced American policy in the Orient. He has indicated Miss Utley, who he has identified as a former Communist, will support his charges.

Mr. Lattimore, who has denied all the accusations, is scheduled for a second appearance before the Senate group tomorrow.

In his statement, Mr. Karsten

(See COMMUNISTS, Page A-3.)

Communists

(Continued From First Page.)

said many if not all of the cases cited by Senator McCarthy were investigated by a House Expenditures Subcommittee, of which he was a member, and a House appropriations group more than two years ago.

"The allegation has either been made or the impression conveyed to the American people that these cases Senator McCarthy has in mind are of recent origin," the Missourian continued. "Any impression that the American people might have that this is a matter of recent origin is completely erroneous."

Karsten Calls for Facts.

Mr. Karsten added that in view of strained work conditions it was of "vital importance" to determine whether the McCarthy charges were rehashing old cases, and he said:

"I cannot in good conscience sit idly by and see the American people confused with distrust of their own Government at a time when our Nation needs the greatest unity of purpose in its history to meet the world menace of Soviet Russia and the slavery and degradation which it would impose on all mankind. It is important in the interests of the country that the matter I have presented be looked into and the facts obtained and disclosed."

The hint of new material in the inquiry came from Senator Tydings in his weekly broadcast. Saying he had accumulated "a vast amount" of valuable material to be turned over to the committee, the chairman added:

". . . There are some things I happen to know that have never fully come out to the people and to the Senate and even to the committee In view of those things which may come to notice this week, it might be well for everyone to be a little careful, including our own [illegible]myself, on reach[illegible]ate conclusions abo[illegible]ed in this whole [illegible]

McCarthy [illegible]

Senator Tydings gave no hint of the material he has accumulated or on what phase of the committee's investigation of the McCarthy charges that they will touch.

Senator McCarthy had a quick retort, meanwhile, for the weekend denials by former Secretaries of State Hull, Byrnes and Marshall, and by Dean Acheson, present Secretary, that Mr. Lattimore had been "the principal architect" of this country's Far Eastern policies.

Their denials, disclosed by Senator Tydings Saturday, covered the period from 1932 except the span when the late Edward Stettinius was secretary between the terms of Mr. Hull and Mr. Byrnes.

"If Mr. Lattimore was not the salesman for the Communist Party," the Associated Press reported Senator McCarthy as saying, "then I ask Mr. Acheson and his friends who did the selling jobs."

"Almost Gone Bankrupt."

In a separate transcribed radio program broadcast here over the week end, Senator McCarthy renewed his criticism of President Truman and the Democratic members of the committee for the way the inquiry has been conducted.

He said he has "almost gone bankrupt" hiring former Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to develop facts which already are in Government files and which he should not have to develop. He alluded to FBI files which President Truman has denied the committee.

"I believe Mr. Truman honestly thinks that the real criminal is not the Communist in Government but the man who tries to get him out," Senator McCarthy said.

He also charged that Senators Tydings and McMahon of Connecticut, another Democratic member of the committee, were playing politics in the inquiry. He added that committee investigators under Senator Tydings have "done nothing so far as investigating is concerned."

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81 'Red' Cases 2½ Years Old, House Is Told

Representative Frank M. Karsten (D., Mo.), yesterday provided documentation to show that the famous "81 cases" of Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.), are two and one half years old and were previously investigated by two House subcommittees.

Karsten showed further that the second subcommittee inquiring into the question, with a Republican majority in the Eightieth Congress, concluded its investigation did not even warrant a report, because "it was felt the State Department was handling the situation in a satisfactory manner."

The 81 cases of individuals allegedly employed by the State Department and allegedly pro-Communist or at a minimum poor security risks, were outlined to the Senate in a speech by McCarthy on February 20.

Taken From List of 108

The majority, if not all of them, Karsten said yesterday in a statement and a House speech, are taken from a list of 108 cases considered during the making of fiscal year 1949 appropriations for the State Department by a House Subcommittee on Appropriations. Then, on March 10 and 12, 1948, the same 108 cases were studied by a House Subcommittee on Expenditures in Executive Departments.

Karsten presented a parallel column analysis on nine of the cases to show similarity and often identity in language between McCarthy's statement of the cases and their summary in the 108 list given to the two House Subcommittees.

Karsten's analysis also provided the first suggestion of how McCarthy arrived at a figure—used in various of his Lincoln Day speeches that precipitated the present investigation of Communist infiltration—of "57 card-carrying Communists in the State Department."

Hearings Showed 57 Employed

Of the 108 cases considered by the second House Subcommittee, Karsten said, "hearings developed that 57 of the individuals were employed in March, 1948, and 51 were not employed. Of the 51 not employed, 23 had never worked for the State Department but were applicants for positions." The remaining 28 had resigned or were discharged.

Thus, it appears that in discussing 81 cases in February of this year, McCarthy was actually talking about employes or applicants for State Department jobs as of a date 2½ years ago.

And when he said that there were "now" 57 Communists in the department, he was referring to the fact that two years ago there were 57 people in the State Department who, in preliminary investigation by the department's security division, were thought to be poor security risks.

Investigated and Approved

Many of these, however, were subsequently given a full field investigation by the FBI and were approved by the State Department. As of March, 1948, Karsten said, this was true with respect to more than half of the 57.

As of today, The Washington Post learned yesterday, 40 of the original 108 (and by the same token, of the 57 and of the 81) are still employed by the State Department. All have received full security clearance through the State Department's loyalty procedure, and the postaudit of President's Loyalty Review Board.

Said Karsten:

"The allegation has either been made or the impression conveyed to the American people that these cases Senator McCarthy has in mind are of recent origin. . . . There is nothing new about the majority, if not all, of the cases mentioned by Senator McCarthy.

"Any impression that the American people might have that this is a matter of recent origin is completely erroneous. My analysis of these cases shows that many, if not all of them, were included among the 108 cases investigated.

Would Probe for Hoax

"If so, inquiry should be made as to whether or not a hoax, a deceit or a fraud has been practiced somewhere, by someone, upon the American people."

Karsten said he detested communism "as the most sinister, Godless concept ever conceived to enslave mankind," and that he hated "the deceit, the fraud, the intellectual dishonesty that are the inveterate handmaidens of communism."

But, he said, for the same reasons, "I would have complete contempt for anyone who, through deceit or fraud would seek to inflame and hoodwink the American people with the assertion that the State Department of their Government has harbored or is saturated with Communists.

"I cannot, in good conscience, sit idly by and see the American people confused with distrust of their own Government at a time when our Nation needs the greatest unity of purpose in its history to meet the world menace of Soviet Russia and the slavery and degradation which it would impose upon all mankind."

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Date: MAY 2 1950

Tydings' Campaign Claims Hit By Brewster, Quoting FBI

Hoover Won't Vouch for All Material In Files Seen by Loyalty Probers

By WILLIAM KLOEPFER Jr.

Campaign claims by Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland that the State department's personnel files were intact when his investigating committee examined them this summer were labeled as false yesterday by Sen. Brewster (R) of Maine.

Brewster added another round to the controversy as to whether State department employes had "raped" the files before their perusal by the Tydings committee by revealing correspondence with J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director.

Material Missing

Hoover, in a letter to Brewster Monday, made it clear that his agents could account only for material which the FBI had incorporated into the files. Brewster, however, pointed out that there had been no accounting for material inserted in the files from the central intelligence agency, Army and Navy intelligence, the secret service, civil service, and government loyalty boards.

Brewster, chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee, told a press conference yesterday that claims by Tydings in his campaign literature, attempting to bolster his "whitewash" loyalty investigation, had prompted his clearing the matter up with Hoover.

Brewster waved a copy of a Tydings campaign pamphlet which said "If you hear that the files and records examined by the investigating committee were 'raped, rifled or incomplete,' tell them the FBI says 'No'."

FBI Files Intact

On Sept. 8, Hoover had written Tydings saying the FBI had found the files intact, but not explaining he meant they were only intact as far as FBI material in the files was concerned.

"This would seem to settle rather conclusively the false claim that the FBI at any time has expressed any opinion or even conducted any investigation as to whether the State department files were 'raped, rifled or incomplete'," Brewster said.

Prospects of a Republican victory in Maryland, where John Marshall Butler is attempting to unseat the veteran Tydings, Brewster added, "are much more encouraging than we had hitherto believed. There are substantial symptoms of a revolt."

The campaign chairman also added that prospects at this time of the Republicans winning control of the Senate are even better than they were in 1946, when the G.O.P. swept both houses.

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Communists In the State Dept. Print

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FBI

Communists In the State Department

(7 P.M. EST. RELEASE)

SEN. OWEN BREWSTER, R., ME., ACCUSED SEN. MILLARD E. TYDINGS, D., MD., OF MAKING "FALSE" CAMPAIGN CLAIMS ABOUT LAST SUMMER'S INVESTIGATION OF CHARGES THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS OVERRUN BY COMMUNISTS.

THE CHARGES WERE MADE BY SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R., WIS., AND WERE LABELLED "A FRAUD AND A HOAX" BY A SENATE INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE HEADED BY TYDINGS.

BREWSTER, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN SENATE CAMRAIGN COMMITTEE, TOLD REPORTERS THAT TYDINGS HAS BEEN TELLING MARYLAND VOTERS THE FBI THREW DOWN MCCARTHY'S CHARGE THAT STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALTY FILES WERE "STRIPPED" OF DAMAGING MATERIAL BEFORE SENATE INVESTIGATORS LOOKED AT THEM.

BREWSTER PRODUCED A LETTER FROM FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER WHICH, HE SAID, SHOWED THAT TYDINGS HAD STRETCHED THE TRUTH.

IN THE LETTER, HOOVER SAID BREWSTER WAS CORRECT IN BELIEVING THAT THE FBI CHECKED STATE DEPARTMENT LOYALTY FILES AND FOUND THERE HAD BEEN NO TAMPERING WITH FBI REPORTS PLACED THEREIN, BUT THAT THE FBI DID NOT CHECK TO SEE WHETHER MATERIAL SUBMITTED BY OTHER AGENCIES MIGHT HAVE BEEN REMOVED.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

DATE:

McCarthy Data Being Checked By Spy Probers

By United Press

The House un-American activities committee will refuse to investigate the specific charges by Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin of Communist infiltration into the State department, an authoritative source said today.

He added, however, that committee investigators are checking records of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee which looked into McCarthy's statements. He said they might unearth "new leads" for their own inquiry into Communist operations.

Suggested by Velde

Rep. Velde, a committee member, suggested yesterday that the committee look into McCarthy's charges that the State department is infested with Reds.

He was particularly interested in McCarthy's recent claim that he has an "airtight" case that State department aide Edward G. Posniak is a Communist. Posniak has denied any sympathy with communism whatever.

Velde noted that McCarthy volunteered to testify before the House committee after Senate investigators denounced his charges as a "fraud and a hoax."

Wood Is Mum

Chairman Wood (D) of Georgia declined comment on Velde's proposal, except to say that a decision was up to his full committee. He said the question may

But one responsible source said the committee would consider it "in poor grace" to look into the McCarthy charges in view of the Senate subcommittee's action.

He added that the committee had a line on many of the persons involved in a Senate inquiry "long before McCarthy was ever Senator.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Dulles Calls Republicans to Task

By Drew Pearson

REPUBLICAN Senators who have been yelling about "Communist spies" in the State Department got a verbal straight-arm from John Foster Dulles, the department's top Republican adviser, at a private luncheon arranged by New Jersey's GOP Senator Alex Smith.

Dulles was picked by President Truman, somewhat against his own political judgment, to pacify the Republicans. At first, Mr. Truman had hesitated about putting him in the State Department because Dulles had been so vituperative against the Truman Administration in running for the Senate last fall. However, Secretary Acheson insisted, and Mr. Truman finally acquiesced. Now it looks as if even Republican Senators aren't satisfied with Dulles.

At the start, Dulles shed his diplomatic gloves by bluntly reporting that the Defense Department, not the State Department, was chiefly responsible for the unarmed condition of Southern Korea.

Dulles, who was to have been Dewey's Secretary of State, also criticized military leaders—without specifically mentioning General MacArthur—for inaccurate intelligence reports regarding Korea. The State Department foresaw the crisis several months in advance and urged armed aid to Southern Korea, Dulles reported, but was overruled by Defense Secretary Johnson and military advisers.

Senator McCarthy walked out of the luncheon just as Dulles got to his main topic—alleged Communist spies in the State Department.

"I see Senator McCarthy has left," Dulles told his fellow Republicans. "His absence will enable me to touch on something without embarrassing him. I want to say that I have never seen a known Communist in the State Department, and I do not know of anyone there with Communist sympathies or leanings."

A Dose of Communism

"IN THE PAST there has been a group in the department that was disturbed by the failure of Asiatic countries to appreciate the serious threat of communism," Dulles continued. "This group felt that a dose of communism would wake up China and be the best stop-gap against Communist expansion over there.

"However, I think that most of those who felt that way are now out of the department, and those who are left do not hold responsible positions any longer."

At this, Senator George Malone of Nevada jumped from his chair and bellowed:

"What you say confirms Senator McCarthy's charges! Do I understand you to say that such people helped to shape policy in the State Department, and that today American boys are dying in Asia as a result of the dose of communism Korea is getting?"

"I said no such thing," fired back Dulles, flushing. "You know I didn't. That is your conclusion. These people did not determine State Department policy on Korea or any other country. Also, as I have reported, most of them are no longer with the department."

"Who are they?" Malone hotly pursued. "Name them."

"I did not come up here to indulge in personalities, but to give you Senators a report on the situation in the State Department today with regard to these charges about spies," replied Dulles. "There are no spies or Communists in the State Department. All the people employed there are good Americans who want to promote the best interests of their country."

At this point, McCarthy returned and Malone shouted: "Repeat what you have just said, Mr. Dulles."

Whereupon, McCarthy asked: "Was Dean Rusk one of this group you referred to?"

The indirect slap at Rusk, Assistant Secretary in charge of Far Eastern affairs, infuriated Dulles.

"I want you to understand, Senator," he replied, "that Dean Rusk is and always has been a fine public servant. The country owes a great deal to him."

For half an hour, Malone, Hickenlooper of Iowa, McCarthy, Bill Jenner of Indiana and Carl Mundt of South Dakota pounded the unhappy Dulles. In the end, Malone grimly remarked: "You can't sell the State Department to us."

Whereupon Wayne Morse of Oregon, who has no love for the isolationists, commented acidly:

"Foster, it ought to be plain to you by now the State Department doesn't have a chance with the Republicans."

The Height of Hypocrisy

REPRESENTATIVE RALPH GWINN (R., N. Y.) is now urging that the Postoffice Department be turned over to private enterprise so Government bureaus will have to pay postage. Believe it or not, this is the same Congressman who has taken advantage of his free mailing privileges to mail tons of propaganda around the country.

Last year alone, Gwinn mailed out 2,450,000 copies of his speeches against the Truman Administration without paying for a single postage stamp. This saved him—and cost the taxpayers—$73,500 in 3-cent stamps, or six times his salary for the year. In other words, it cost the taxpayers the salaries of seven Congressmen to keep Gwinn in office.

Russian Propaganda

THERE are no fewer than 27 anti-American plays showing in Moscow right now. Yet if American newsmen, who try to write the news out of Moscow should mention this, their dispatches would be censored. Every American newspaper publishing a Moscow dispatch should automatically carry this warning: "Censored."

Perhaps if Representative John Taber of New York, Senators Byrd of Virginia and George of Georgia, plus other economizers, would take a trip to Moscow and get one glimpse at the extent of the anti-American propaganda, they would be willing to spend a few dollars on United States propaganda.

NOTE—Best insight into Russian propaganda is the book, "If You Were Born in Russia," by Arthur Goodfriend, a former editor of the Stars and Stripes.

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(MCCARTHY) Dean

CHARLESTON, S.C.--SEN. JOSEPH MCCARTHY, R., WIS., COMPARED SECRETARY OF STATE ACHESON WITH RUSSIA'S V. M. MOLOTOV TODAY AND DEMANDED HIS IMMEDIATE REMOVAL.

WHEN THE SENATOR COMPLETED HIS ADDRESS BEFORE SOME 350 PERSONS ATTENDING THE STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, DELEGATES ENDORSED HIS VIEWS IN RESOLUTIONS.

"THE KOREAN DEATH TRAP," MCCARTHY SAID, "CAN BE LAID AT THE DOORS OF THE MEN WHO SABOTAGED THE CONGRESSIONAL ATTEMPTS TO SEND AMMUNITION TO THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN CHINA, BEFORE THE KOREA...MEN WHOSE SHADOWS HOVER LIKE VULTURES OVER THE GRAVE OF CHINA."

REFERRING TO THE KOREAN SITUATION, MCCARTHY SAID, "IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE" THAT FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES F. BYRNES, IN "SPEAKING FRANKLY," WHICH WAS WRITTEN IN 1947, "TOLD US EXACTLY WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IN KOREA IF WE WERE TO FOLLOW THE COURSE THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID BELOW. YET NEED THE INEVITABLE WHICH BYRNES PREDICTED HAPPENED IN 1950, THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY SURPRISED.

MCCARTHY ASKED FOR THE IMMEDIATE REMOVAL OF ACHESON BECAUSE "WE CAN'T AFFORD TO WAIT UNTIL THE ELECTION OF 1952."

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"Communists In the State Department

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

DESPITE ALL HIS COCKY ANNOUNCEMENTS, I understand from a high source that President Truman is really greatly upset by the charges made against the State Dept. Harry may not be a genius nor the best President we ever had, but there is nobody who would want to accuse him of not being a good American at heart. Therefore, he realizes as well as any man on the street that where

● *Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Doyle obilge photographer during dinner at Chateau Richelieu.*

there is smoke there is fire and that there is something seriously the matter with the State Dept.

Truman, I have been authoritatively told, would like nothing more at this point than to dismiss Dean Acheson, but he fears such a move at this time could be interpreted by the voters as a weakness as well as an admission of guilt. And if Truman washes his hands of the whole mess, saying that he's not at fault if the State Dept. had on its staffs perverts and pinkos, then he lays the blame squarely at F. D. Roosevelt's door. Nevertheless, some Republicans intend to appeal to the President's patriotism to make the move.

The same source also believes that Sen. Joe McCarthy has not fired his last salvo by any means. The ex-Marine from Wisconsin noses to catch one of the culprits for perjury, which is what Alger Hiss hanged himself with. And as to Tydings' statement that Owen Lattimore had been cleared by the FBI, one should not forget that Alger Hiss was also cleared for nine years by the FBI, otherwise he would not have been permitted to act as President Roosevelt's adviser at Yalta and in his high position in the State Dept.

All this, of course, is no reflection on J. Edgar Hoover. It is Hoover's patriotism and fair play which are the best guarantee for all of us, but it should not be forgotten that Mr. Hoover is a subordinate and has to obey the instructions of his superiors, the Attorney General and the President.

Anyway, it would have been much more preferable to hear from J. Edgar Hoover directly, rather than Tydings, that Owen Lattimore had been "cleared." Hoover would not have lied—but he might not have been able to answer it. In other words, what the Republicans believe is that the ball game isn't over until the 9th inning.

◉ ◉ ◉

SOME FUN AT EL MOROCCO the other night when Carol Brooks, the stunning model (she looks like Daisy Mae) who once tried suicide over Al Capp, entered and saw the creator of Li'l Abner dining with Carol Marcus Saroyan. She spent the whole evening parading her handsome escort back and forth past their table to the dance floor, but she only got polite nods for her efforts...

The William Waters Jr. are expecting the Stork...The gossip in society about that bride-to-be's sudden cancellation of marriage plans is that she actually had a terrific crush on her prospective father-in-law...

Beverly Bogert Jr. of the Newport clan has lately been escorting lovely Virginia French Dick, sister of "Tuckie" Astor...

Ernest Hemingway said he was fighting to keep his title as one of the World's Worst Dressed Men. Well, I've news for him—he hasn't a chance with Lucius Beebe around...

When Betty Furness' much-married husband, Bud Ernst, ended his life so dramatically Monday night it came as a great shock to this column. Only two weeks ago I reported that Bud had suddenly returned from Reno to forget about divorce and resume life with Betty, whom he had wed twice. The Ernsts seemed happy again and no one had an idea that Bud might be thinking of an eternal separation.

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Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Keefe
Miss Gandy

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McCarthy Lashes at Tydings, Calls Him Truman's 'Lap Dog'

Senator Vows to Continue His Battle On Commies So Long as He's in Office

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 6 (AP).—Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin renewed his Communists-in-government charges today and called Sen. Tydings (D) of Maryland the Truman administration's "whimpering lap dog."

McCarthy also said he intends to continue a "bare-knuckle" fight to expose Communists "as long as I remain in the Senate."

'Dishonest' Probe Charged

Tydings headed the Senate foreign relations subcommittee which investigated McCarthy's allegations that the State department harbors Communists and Red sympathizers.

The Democratic majority of the subcommittee labeled the McCarthy charges "a fraud and a hoax."

In a speech before the Wisconsin Retail Food Dealers association, McCarthy accused Tydings and Sen. McMahon (D) of Connecticut, who also was on the investigating committee, of doing a dishonest job," and of being interested in protecting Communists for political reasons."

Then, in leading up to his sharpest criticism of Tydings, McCarthy asked:

"Why does the Congress stand idly by while a group of Communists, fellow travelers and their dupes (in the State department) sabotage the efforts of the American people to hold back the atheistic Communist horde before it hits our shores?

Tydings Assailed

"The American people want to know where and how was spent the $90,000,000,000 which the American people gave to make this nation strong. If that money was wasted, the American people want to know, where why and by whom.

"As you know, the (Senate) armed services committee is charged with the responsibility of making sure that the money which we appropriate for the arming of this nation, and any other nation, is being properly spent.

"Who do you think is the chairman of that committee? None other than Millard Tydings—the same Tydings who headed the whitewash committee.

"As chairman of that committee he should be the watchdog of the American people . . . He should know where the $90,000,000,000 we spent to make this nation militarily strong went.

"Unfortunately, the man whom the Administration placed in charge of that committee, instead of being a pristling, vigilant watchdog is the Administration's whimpering lap dog. This is truly a tragic situation."

McCarthy repeated his bitter criticism of Secretary of State Acheson and said again there is an "urgent necessity of getting rid of him if this nation is to survive."

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State Dept. Sabotaged South Korean Arming, McCarthy Declares

By the Associated Press

FON DU LAC, Wis., July 31 — Senator McCarthy (Republican, of Wisconsin) declared yesterday a congressional plan to arm South Korea was "sabotaged by the State Department."

The Senator demanded again that President Truman fire Secretary of State Acheson, who he accused of having helped to "master-mind disaster for America and victory for Communism in the East."

Speaking to 4,500 persons at an Izaak Walton League picnic, Senator McCarthy said Congress had passed one bill providing $75 million, "any part of which could be used in Korea," while another bill provided more than $10 million, all of it to be used to arm South Korea.

"President Truman signed those two bills without word of protest," the Senator said, "and then what happened? The State Department crowd stepped in and how much of that money do you think actually was spent to arm South Korea? Only $200 and that to load some baling wire!"

Senator McCarthy also assailed Mr. Acheson for the administration policy in Western Germany, declaring that Russia is creating a powerful army in the eastern part of that country while "we keep ours half weak."

The Senator declared that the Democrats conducted a "dishonest" inquiry into his Communists-in-Government charges. He renewed attacks on persons he has accused publicly of being pro-Communist.

Lattimore's New Book Blasts 'Tide of Fear'

By the Associated Press

Owen Lattimore, a principal target of Senator McCarthy (Republican, of Wisconsin) in his charges of Communism in Government, says "a tide of fear has swept Washington and is undermining the freedom of the Nation."

"Bully boy politicians of the McCarthy stripe ... are demagogues who are skilled in the exploitation of fear," Mr. Lattimore adds in a book, "Ordeal by Slander," published today.

"Vindication of each individual who has been falsely accused is not enough, Mr. Lattimore writes. "We must re-establish the freedom to inquire and the freedom to express opinions based on independent inquiry."

Mr. Lattimore, specialist on Far Eastern affairs accused by Senator McCarthy of being "Russia's top spy in this country," said his story shows the danger to which we are all exposed. "It might have happened to you."

The three-member Democratic majority of a Senate subcommittee investigating Senator McCarthy's charges against Mr. Lattimore and others said they were not proved.

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JOSEPH R. McCARTHY - INFORMANT

Lattimore Denies McCarthy 'Pay-Off' Hint

Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) suggested yesterday that the Senate look into the sale of Vermont property by Owen Lattimore and his wife to another couple described by McCarthy as Communists.

Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University professor, was accused by McCarthy in March of being Russia's top spy in this country. A Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee last week cleared Lattimore.

McCarthy told the Senate yesterday that Lattimore and his wife last September acquired a half interest in property in Bethel, Vt., an area which McCarthy said contains a little group of Communist sympathizers.

McCarthy said the Lattimores paid between $1000 and $1500 to a cotenant, then sold it last June to Ordway and Mary Southard for apparently between $4000 and $4500, in what he suggested might have been a Communist pay-off. Southard was the Communist Party candidate for Governor of Alabama in 1942, and his wife is described in the Communist Daily Worker as district secretary of the Young Communist League, McCarthy said.

Lattimore, reached at Wellfleet, Mass., said he sold his half share without a cent of profit to a complete stranger. Later learning the purchasers were the Southards, he said he had to sell my property to meet expenses forced on me by McCarthy's scurrilous attacks.

Joseph Barnes, accused by Louis Budenz of being a Communist, yesterday denied the charge, unreserved[ly].

Testimony made public last week by the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee quoted Budenz, ex-time managing editor of the Daily Worker, as saying Barnes was "known to me personally to be a Communist." He identified Barnes as a former foreign editor of the New York Herald Tribune.

In a telegram to Senator McMahon (D., Conn.), of the inquiry committee, Barnes said the subcommittee had slandered him in making the Budenz testimony public without giving him a chance to deny it.

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Ferguson Raps Probe Report on McCarthy

Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) charged yesterday that the report on the McCarthy Communist-in-Government investigation was the most "intemperate and abusive" such document ever filed in the Senate.

Its phrasing, he said, was reminiscent of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi propaganda minister, or Andrei Vishinsky, Soviet foreign minister.

Ferguson carried into the second week the Republican criticism of the report, which called the charges by Senator McCarthy (R., Wisc.), a "hoax and a fraud" and said McCarthy had utterly failed to prove his allegations. McCarthy will talk today.

Ferguson said the report, issued by the Democratic majority of a Foreign Relations Subcommittee, "used soft words to shield those who have been careless with national security." He wondered aloud who wrote it, saying it could not have been written by Senator Tydings (D., Md.), subcommittee chairman, or his two Democratic associates, Senators McMahon of Connecticut or Green of Rhode Island. (All three signed it.)

Asks Probe of Staff

Attacking dismissal of McCarthy's charges, Ferguson said there not only ought to be a new investigation of communism in the Government, but also an investigation of the Tydings subcommittee staff.

He disclosed that in 1947, a Senate Appropriations subcommittee informed Gen. George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, of a "deliberate, calculated program to protect Communist personnel in high places" in the State Department. The same memorandum declared that another purpose of the asserted intrigue was "to reduce security and intelligence protection to a nullity."

Replying to the memo on June 24, 1947, the then assistant secretary of State John E. Peurifoy told the subcommittee that 10 employes, regarded as security risks, had been fired, including five named in the memorandum.

"In addition I expect to take action on two more cases within the next few days," Peurifoy wrote.

"Of the remaining 55 cases of individuals employed in the department, concerning whom derogatory allegations have been made, three are either resigning or are being terminated by a reduction in force, and recommendations for security clearance have been made in eight cases, which are still being considered. The remaining 44 cases will be investigated further."

Touches on Alger Hiss

Ferguson touched on Alger Hiss, former State Department official convicted of lying when he swore he did not turn over secret government data to a Soviet courier. Hiss is at liberty pending action on his appeal.

Ferguson presented a confidential memorandum written March 7, 1946, by J. Anthony Panuch, State Department security officer. In it, Panuch vigorously opposed a departmental reorganization plan attributed to Hiss. He said it would give Hiss "working control" over documents moving to and from the United States delegation to the United Nations.

"The security hazard of such a setup, if eventually accomplished, would seem to warrant the continuing interest of the FBI and other security intelligence agencies," Panuch wrote.

Ferguson said he fears the McCarthy investigation report is apt to "lull the State Department into a false sense of security."

Senator Lodge (R., Mass.), one of the two Republicans on the investigating committee protested that the printed record of the hearings omitted 45 typewritten pages of questions which he thought the committee should ask, but which it didn't.

Senator McKellar (D., Tenn.) tried fruitlessly to get the Senate headed back to debate on the $3,700,000,000 single-package appropriation bill.

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Communists In the State Department

(COMMUNISTS)

SEN. HOMER FERGUSON, R., MICH., DISCLOSED A THREE-YEAR [illegible] BY A SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE THAT TOP COMMUNISTS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT WERE DELIBERATELY PROTECTED UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THEN UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE DEAN ACHESON.

"IT IS EVIDENT THAT THERE IS A DELIBERATE, CALCULATED PROGRAM BEING CARRIED OUT NOT ONLY TO PROTECT COMMUNIST PERSONNEL IN HIGH PLACES, BUT TO REDUCE SECURITY INTELLIGENCE AND PROTECTION TO A NULLITY," THE CHARGE STATED.

FERGUSON TOLD THE SENATE THAT THE STATEMENT WAS MADE IN A MEMORANDUM BY A SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE WHICH HE HEADED ON JUNE 10, 1947. IT WAS HANDED TO THE THEN SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE C. MARSHALL AT A SECRET SESSION, HE SAID.

THE HERETOFORE SECRET MEMORANDUM WAS PRESENTED BY FERGUSON IN A SENATE SPEECH ATTACKING THE FINDINGS OF DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF THE SENATE COMMUNIST INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE. THEY TERMED CHARGES AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R., WIS., A "FRAUD AND A HOAX."

THE SUBCOMMITTEE DEMOCRATS ALSO CLAIMED THAT THE MCCARTHY CHARGES HAD BEEN INVESTIGATED BY FOUR COMMITTEES OF THE GOP-CONTROLLED 80TH CONGRESS. NONE OF THESE COMMITTEES, THEY SAID, CONSIDERED THE ALLEGATIONS SUFFICIENTLY SERIOUS TO MERIT A REPORT.

FERGUSON VIGOROUSLY DISPUTED THE LATTER FINDING BECAUSE IT INVOLVED HIS SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE. HE SAID THE MEMORANDUM WAS THE RESULT OF ITS "DEEP CONCERN" OVER THE SITUATION THAT THEN EXISTED.

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IT BEGAN:

"IT 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."

THE MEMORANDUM LISTED NINE NAMES--WHICH FERGUSON OMITTED--AND SAID THEY WERE "ONLY A FEW OF THE HUNDREDS" OF STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES WHO WERE "AN OBVIOUS HAZARD TO NATIONAL SECURITY."

"THERE IS ALSO THE EXTENSIVE EMPLOYMENT IN HIGHLY CLASSIFIED POSITION OF ADMITTED HOMOSEXUALS, WHO ARE HISTORICALLY KNOWN TO BE SECURITY RISKS," THE MEMORANDUM SAID.

FERGUSON ALSO RELEASED FOR THE FIRST TIME A LETTER WRITTEN TO FORMER SEN. JOSEPH E. BALL ON JUNE 24, 1947, BY THEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN E. PEURIFOY. IT SAID THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAD FIRED 10 EMPLOYES ON THE BASIS OF DEROGATORY INFORMATION.

FERGUSON TOLD THE SENATE THAT FIVE OF THE 10 LISTED BY PEURIFOY WERE INCLUDED IN THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S MEMORANDUM. PEURIFOY, HE ADDED, SAID HE WAS INVESTIGATING OTHER CASES AND WOULD KEEP BALL INFORMED FROM TIME TO TIME.

ON JULY 1, 1947, HE CONTINUED, PEURIFOY INFORMED BALL THAT ANOTHER EMPLOYE HAD BEEN FIRED.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE MEMORANDUM PAINTED A DARK PICTURE OF CONDITIONS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. IT CITED THE CASE OF CARL ALDO MARZANI, WHO HAS SINCE BEEN SENTENCED TO PRISON FOR DENYING ON HIS JOB APPLICATION THAT HE HAD EVER BEEN A COMMUNIST.

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IN ADDITION, THE MEMORANDUM SAID, THE DEPARTMENT HAD A PRELIMINARY FBI REPORT LINKING SOME OF ITS TOP MEN TO SOVIET ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES. IT SAID THAT THIS REPORT HAD BEEN "CHALLENGED AND IGNORED" BY OFFICIALS "WITH THE APPARENT TACIT APPROVAL OF MR. ACHESON."

"SHOULD THIS CASE BREAK BEFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT ACTS, IT WILL BE A NATIONAL DISGRACE," THE SUBCOMMITTEE SAID.

"THIS CONDITION RUNS ALL THE WAY UP AND DOWN THE LINE," THE MEMORANDUM CONCLUDED. "ASSISTANT SECRETARY (SPRUILLE) BRADEN ALSO SURROUNDED HIMSELF WITH MEN LIKE (NAME OMITTED) AND WITH (NAME OMITTED) WHO HAS A NOTORIOUS INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION. THE NETWORK ALSO EXTENDS INTO THE OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY (WILLIAM) BENTON."

THE MEMORANDUM SAID THE ARMY AND NAVY HAD BEEN BLOCKED FROM CARRYING OUT THEIR GERMAN SCIENTIST PROGRAM BY "A PROTEGE OF ACHESON." FERGUSON DID NOT DISCLOSED HIS NAME.

"THE NEW CHIEF OF CONTROLS IS A MAN UTTERLY DEVOID OF BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE FOR THE JOB, WHO IS AND AT THE TIME OF HIS APPOINTMENT WAS KNOWN TO THOSE WHO APPOINTED HIM TO BE, A COUSIN AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF A SUSPECTED SOVIET ESPIONAGE AGENT" THE MEMORANDUM SAID.

THE CHIEF OF CONTROLS WAS NOT NAMED BUT A SIMILAR ACCUSATION AGAINST HAMILTON ROBINSON WAS INVESTIGATED BY A HOUSE EXECUTIVE EXPENDITURES SUBCOMMITTEE IN THE 80TH CONGRESS. NO ACTION WAS TAKEN.

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ADD 3 COMMUNISTS

SEN. HENRY CABOT LODGE, R., MASS., TOLD THE SENATE THAT ABOUT 45 TYPEWRITTEN PAGES OF QUESTIONS WHICH HE HAD POSED AT THE COMMITTEE SESSION ON JUNE 28 WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S PRINTED TESTIMONY. LODGE SAID HE SUGGESTED THE QUESTIONS BUT ADDED THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE DECIDED NOT TO ASK THEM.

FERGUSON ATTACKED THE "INTEMPERATE" TONE OF THE "BALDLY PARTISAN" SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT AND SAID ITS "TACTICS" HAVE "ALL THE EARMARKS OF DICTATORSHIP TECHNIQUE."

FERGUSON SAID HE IS SURE THAT SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TYDINGS DID NOT WRITE THE REPORT. TYDINGS, HE SAID, IS AN HONEST MAN.

"I AM SORRY THE SUBCOMMITTEE HAS BEEN DISCHARGED," FERGUSON SAID, ADDING THAT THE GROUP SHOULD "MAKE AN INVESTIGATION OF ITS OWN STAFF."

"WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORDING?" FERGUSON ASKED. "WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LEAVING OUT THESE QUESTIONS?"

FERGUSON CRITICIZED "WEASEL WORDS" WHICH HE SAID WERE USED IN THE REPORT TO CENSURE SOME OF THE FIGURES WHO WERE SPOTLIGHTED IN CHARGES BY MCCARTHY. HE ASKED WHY THE REPORT WENT SO FAR AS TO REPORT THE NUMBER OF COMMITTEE SESSIONS ATTENDED BY GOP MEMBERS.

THE REPORT, FERGUSON SAID, WAS "SO BALDLY PARTISAN THAT MINORITY MEMBERS WERE NOT PERMITTED TO SEE IT" BEFORE IT WAS ISSUED.

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ADD 4 COMMUNISTS

LODGE NOTED THE ALLEGED OMISSION FROM THE SUBCOMMITTEE PRINTED TESTIMONY AFTER FERGUSON HAD MENTIONED IT IN HIS SPEECH. LODGE SAID HIS LIST OF QUESTIONS DOES NOT APPEAR AT THE PROPER PLACE IN THE RECORD.

ONE VOLUME OF HEARINGS HAS BEEN PRINTED. ANOTHER VOLUME--INCLUDING AN APPENDIX--IS STILL IN PREPARATION.

WHEN LODGE MADE HIS COMPLAINT, OTHER REPUBLICANS, INCLUDING SEN. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, R., IA., A SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBER, AND SEN. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, R., CAL., SAID THEY HAD BEEN UNABLE TO OBTAIN COPIES OF THE PRINTED VOLUME. KNOWLAND SAID HE HAD BEEN ADVISED THAT TYDINGS WAS RELEASING THEM PERSONALLY.

A MOMENT LATER HICKENLOOPER ADVISED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A COPY. SENATE PAGES WERE APPARENTLY DISTRIBUTING THEM TO ALL SENATORS.

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ADD 2 COMMUNISTS

SEN. BRIEN MCMAHON, D., CONN., A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE, MADE AN IMMEDIATE REPLY TO THE FERGUSON SPEECH. HE SAID THAT "NOBODY HAS A BETTER RECORD THAN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION" FOR PROSECUTING AND JAILING COMMUNISTS AND SPIES.

IN RAPID SUCCESSION, MCMAHON LISTED ALGER HISS, JUDITH COPLON, MARZANI, AND THE 11 COMMUNIST LEADERS PROSECUTED IN NEW YORK. IN ADDITION, HE SAID, THE ADMINISTRATION "IS TAKING CARE" OF HARRY BRIDGES, WEST COAST LONGSHOREMEN'S LEADER, AND THOSE WHO HAVE REFUSED TO STATE UNDER OATH WHETHER THEY ARE COMMUNISTS.

"IT IS THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND NOT ANYBODY ON THIS FLOOR WHO HAS PROSECUTED THESE PEOPLE AND SENT THEM TO JAIL," HE SAID. "I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT IF ANYBODY IN THIS COUNTRY HAS INFORMATION ON SUBVERSION AND TAKES IT TO THE PROPER AUTHORITIES, THE PEOPLE INVOLVED WILL BE PROSECUTED AND, IF GUILTY, JAILED.

"BUT IF THE DAY COMES THAT WE IN THIS COUNTRY JAIL PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF A RUMOR, WITHOUT A HEARING AND WITHOUT A CHANCE TO PERMIT THEM TO PROTEST THEIR INNOCENCE, THEN THE KREMLIN WILL BE VERY HAPPY."

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

Committee Wants Names Turned Down In Inquiry by Tydings Whitewashers

By WILLARD EDWARDS

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

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

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

Tydings Shelved Offer

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

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

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

Named Hanson, Lattimore

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

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

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

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

Promises New Evidence

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

McCarthy announced further yesterday that he will produce "new espionage evidence" in connection with the Lattimore case. He also, he continued, will challenge Tydings to play publicly the phonograph record which the latter wanted to play on the Senate floor last Thursday when he was halted by objections. The exact contents of this record have not been disclosed, but Tydings has indicated it is of a speech made by McCarthy in February in which he charged there were 205 Communists in the State department.

Tydings has hinted playing the record will prove McCarthy is a "liar." According to Tydings, McCarthy subsequently denied ever making such an accusation. McCarthy said yesterday that the record will prove it is Tydings who is guilty of falsehood.

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The Senate Fights a Private War By Fred Othman

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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GOP Lashes Tydings on McCarthy Report

LOYALTY—From Page 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This, said Senators Smith (R., N. J.), Brewster (R., Me.) and Mundt (R., S. Dak.), was a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the American people, since the full committee had not adopted the Report, but merely transmitted it to the Senate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Referring to a remark Tydings made the day before that he had been decorated for World War I service, Jenner said he had no medals himself. He added that he didn't know Tydings had, until he heard it from "his own bitsy-bitsy lips." But Jenner concluded he thought Tydings would one day get another medal. [redacted] It will be large and emblazoned with a single name: Thanks from good old Joe for a job well done."

Tydings broke his silence during Jenner's speech only once. When Senator Connally (D., Tex.) asked that Jenner be silenced for violating Rule 19, and a Republican motion followed to permit Jenner to proceed, Tydings shouted a loud "Aye."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge

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GOP Lashes At Tydings Over Report On McCarthy

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

By Alfred Friendly
Post Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even the Republican lead-off man, Senator Ives (N. Y.), intimated that perhaps he had some

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Communists In The State Department

Senator William E. Jenner

Senator Millard E. Tydings

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Communists in State Dept.

Tydings Fires 2½-Hr. Blast At McCarthy From Floor

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

By Alfred Friendly
Staff Reporter

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

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

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

Day Long Awaited

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

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

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

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

Tydings stood on the floor during the

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

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

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

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

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

Wherry started to protest that "there are certain rules governing use of the Senate chamber," but Tydings cut him short, snapping: "I will play this record off the Senate floor at a later time, but admission will be by card only."

The Maryland Democrat proceeded to tell "what the record would say if I could play it," adding with heavy sarcasm:

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

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

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

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

It listed eight groups he said had found nothing in the 81 cases—four committes of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, former Representative Bartel Jonkman (R., Mich.), Senators Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R., Iowa) and Henry Cabot Lodge, jr. (R., Mass.) and "the entire Eightieth Congress."

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

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

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

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

When he sat down, Democrats applauded heartily, then lined up to shake his hand.

Republicans remained silent. McCarthy sat for a few moments looking at some papers. He got up, spoke for a moment to Senator John J. Williams (R., Del.) and left the chamber alone.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

McCarthy 'Golden Voice' To Be Heard in Private

By the United Press

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

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LOYALTY—*From Pg. 1*

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

In three votes, all on parliamentary questions but in effect all dealing with the same issue—to have the Senate refuse to accept the report and send it back to the Committee—Republicans lost to a Democratic majority.

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

Such comfort as the GOP Senators could take from them lay in the fact they had succeeded in corralling every member to "go down the line" in objecting to the majority report and, by inference, supporting McCarthy.

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

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

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

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

During a lull in Senate proceedings, he asked the subcommittee counsel, Edward P. Morgan, a 37-year-old 6-footer, if he had written the report. The two men argued, moving toward the Senate door, Morgan said he helped prepare and write the document.

At the door, Wherry is reported to have hurled an unprintable epithet at Morgan. While Senator Connally (D., Tex.), who was nearby, cautioned Wherry not to do such things on the Senate floor, Wherry pulled back his fist and apparently placed one punch.

Morgan told reporters later that Wherry "lost his wits and resorted to his fists."

The passage in the majority report that offended Wherry was a line from the testimony to the subcommittee of Emanual S. Larsen, a figure in the Amerasia case, describing an interview he had with Wherry shortly after McCarthy first made his charges last spring.

According to Larsen, Wherry said: "Oh, Mac (McCarthy) has gone out on a limb and kind of made a fool of himself and (..e. the Republicans) have to ba- him up now.

Wherry categorically denied to the Senate that he had ever made such a remark or anything like it.

[Long before Larsen testified to this effect to the Tydings subcommittee, he recounted to a reporter his version of his visit to Wherry.

He said that the Senator, in commenting on McCarthy's charges, said McCarthy got himself on "a helluva spot," because he could not build up a case against the man he first had thought of as the "Number One spy in America," and accordingly had to shift to Owen Lattimore to fill that billing. Editor's note.]

Before Tydings made his speech, his majority report came in for angry criticism by Republicans. Senator Hickenlooper (R., Iowa), a member of the subcommittee, claimed it had not called all the witnesses it should have, and said that virtually no effort had been made to study disloyalty in the State Department.

Senator Lodge (R., Mass.), the other member of the subcommittee, insisted the report would not make a "clean" end to the questions raised by McCarthy, and appealed for a plan he has previously offered. It calls for a bipartisan commission to investigate and report on the question of disloyalty in the State Department.

Armed with piles of paper, a small phonograph and records, charts and an easel, Tydings took the floor to talk about the report he had filed a couple of hours earlier.

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ADD 1 COMMUNISTS (111P)

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

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

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

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ADD 2 COMMUNISTS

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

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ADD 3 COMMUNISTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ADD 5 COMMUNISTS

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

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

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

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

"I DO NOT MEAN TO INSINUATE," KEM SAID. "I STATE IT AS A FACT."

KEM SAID THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE FBI ALSO "HAD THEIR HANDS TIED" IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE ALLEGED KANSAS CITY VOTE FRAUDS IN 1946.

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

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COMMUNIST IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

DD 4 COMMUNISTS (208P)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHERRY'S RESOLUTION WAS REFERRED TO THE RULES COMMITTEE.

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ADD 5 COMMUNISTS

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

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

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

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

7/20--T303P

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Communists In the State Department

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

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

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

Subcommittee Discharged

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

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

Election Battle Preview

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

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

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47 SEP 14 1950

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Date: JUL 20 1950

Communists In The State Department

"THE HERRING IS A LITTLE HIGHER NOW"

"THE REPORT NOBODY BELIEVES"

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TIMES-HERALD
WASHINGTON, D.C.
JULY 19, 1950

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TIMES-HERALD

A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman, of the next generation.
—JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

The Report Nobody Believes

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

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

PREMATURE DECISION

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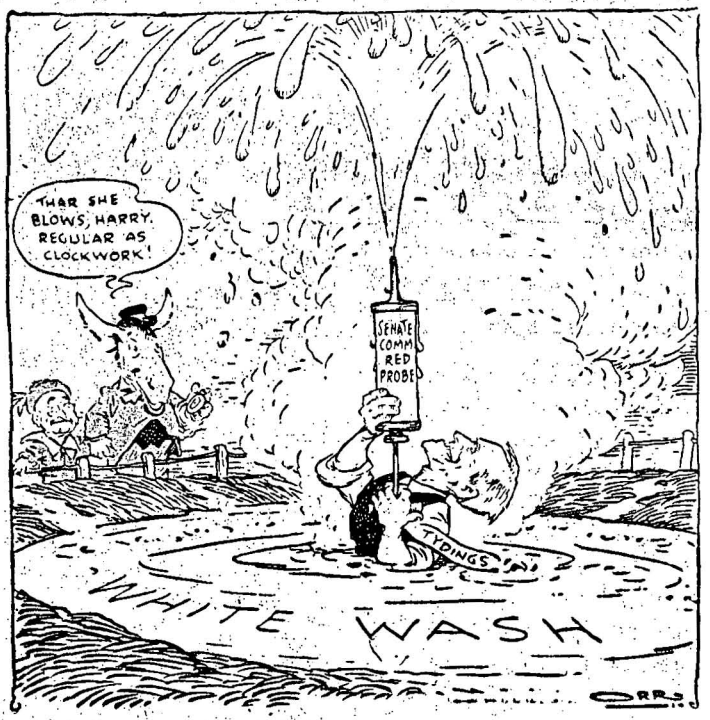

OLD FAITHFUL

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the Tydings whitewash majority is Brien McMahon, *an old hand at* sweeping New Deal dirt under the rug.

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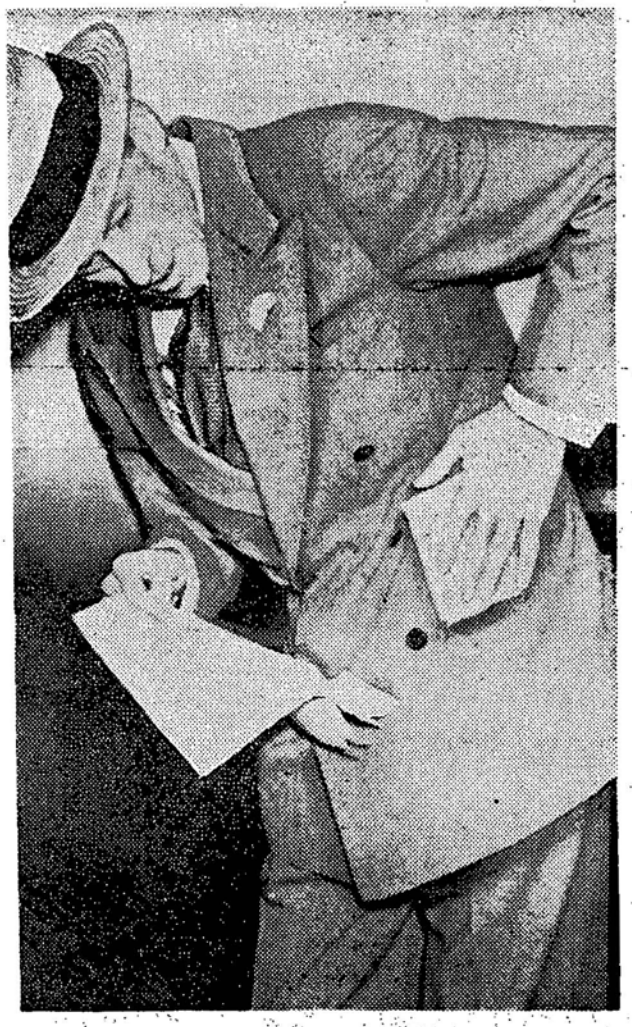

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THE BUCKET BRIGADE

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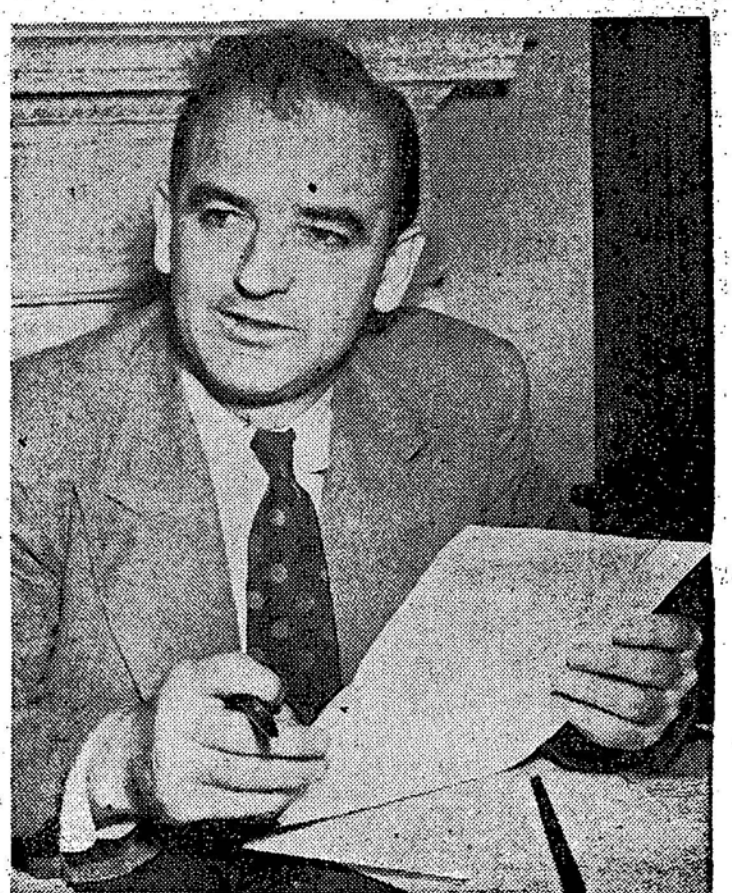

Sen. McCarthy

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Heat, but Little Light In Report Criticizing McCarthy Charges

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

By David Lawrence

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

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

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

People Want to Know.

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

To accept the denial of Communist sympathizers on the witness stand is to accept statements from persons who are trained to lie. Testimony that is based on mere denial is neither proof nor disproof. Too much of the subcommittee's report places reliance on the denials made by persons accused or directly affected by the charges. Very little original investigation appears to have been made.

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

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

Questions Unanswered.

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

Senator Lodge exposed some of the lame excuses and alibis given by the administration for failure to prosecute the case. The whole chapter needs reopening by an impartial tribunal. Surely the Senate and House together could appoint a disinterested committee to investigate and let the chips fall where they may.

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

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Communists in Dept. of State

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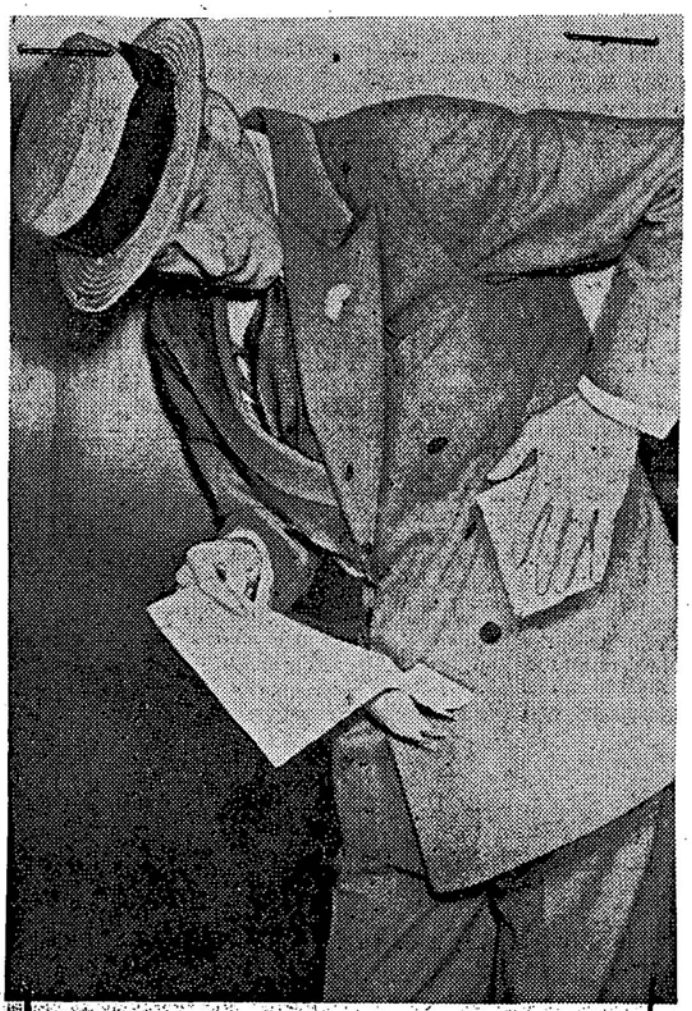
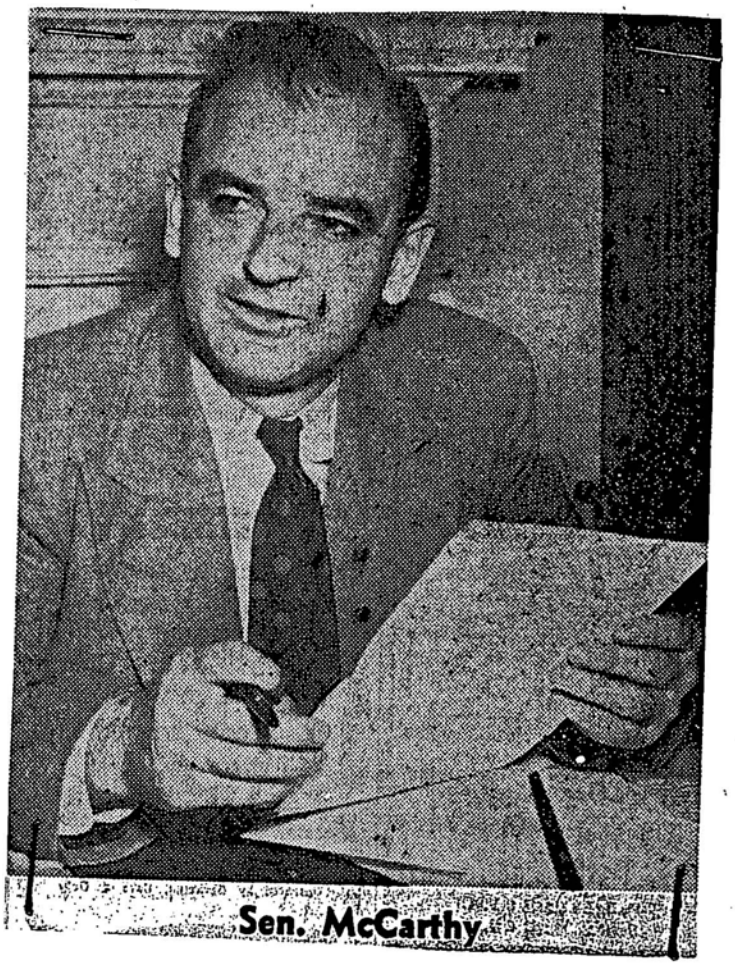


Sen. Tydings



Sen. McCarthy

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DEMOCRATIC WAIL: 'WE'D RATHER BE DIRTY!'

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Fraud, Hoax, Say Dem Senators To McCarthy

By MARVIN L. ARROWSMITH

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

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

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

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

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

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

Republican Sen. Lodge of Massachusetts filed a minority report which said the stormy four month investigation "must be set down as superficial and inconclusive . . . a tangle of loose threads . . . of leads which were not followed up."

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"TEXTUAL EXCERPTS FROM MAJORITY REPORT BLASTING McCARTHY CHARGES"

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WASHINGTON, D.C.
JULY 18, 1950
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Textual Excerpts From Majority Re

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

Findings and Conclusions.

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

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

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

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

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

At No Time Had Names.

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

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

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

Frederick L. Schuman John S. Service Owen Lattimore

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusions Restated.

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

(a) Esther Caukin Brunauer— . . . The evidence against Mrs. Brunauer, under impartial examination, reduces itself to the fact that she was a member of one organization 5 years before it was cited as a Communist front, and that in 1934 and 1936, over 14 years ago, she participated in two meetings sponsored by a pro-Soviet organization of which she was not a member. . . . The conclusion is inescapable, on the basis of our inquiry, that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk.

(b) Gustavo Duran—Duran was employed in the State Department from January 30, 1943, to October 3, 1946, when he resigned. In view of the fact that his employment in the department ceased before the loyalty program was and early 1940's. Significantly, however, though her name has been associated in one manner or another with 20 different cited organizations, she was found to be connected on but one occasion with an organization after it was cited as subversive. Moreover, many of the alleged associations were denied or explained. In other cases, she had a great deal of distinguished company. . . . We do not find that her employment in the past by the State Department is evidence of the fact that that department has employed disloyal persons.

Lattimore Influence Small.

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

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

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

Writer and Scholar.

Owen Lattimore is a writer and a scholar who has been charged with a record of procommunism going back many years. There is no legal evidence before us whatever to support this charge and the weight of all other information indicates that it is not true. For the greater portion of ground he could not 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 5 years. He has been cleared four times by either the State Department Personnel Board or the State Department Security and Loyalty Board. . .

Accepted Practice.

While not condoning it, we recognize that it was an accepted practice for State Department officials to impart some types of classified information to writers in order to give them background information for their articles. John S. Service was in an unusual position in China and, in accordance with Gen. Stilwell's wishes he maintained relations with the representatives in China of the American press in order to brief them on political and quasi-military developments in the China theater. He appears to have been allowed a greater freedom in contacts with the press than would an officer in a similar position in Washington. It should also e emphasized that both Mark Gayn and Philip Jaffe were considered reputable newsmen and writers by the public in the spring of 1945 when Service first met them. Mark Gayn was known for his articles in Collier's and The Saturday Evening Post and had also worked for Time and Fortune. Mr. Service was unaware of the changes in the editorial board of Amerasia and still considered it an impartial authority on Far Eastern affairs. Because of the limited number of writers specializing on China, it was natural that he would expect experts in that field, like Gayn and Jaffe, to show a greater interest in his material than the average writer. In addition, it is undisputed that Mr. Service was seeing other correspondents during this same period.

Service Was Indiscreet.

We must conclude that Service was extremely indiscreet in his dealings with Gayn and Faffe, a fact which he himself readily admits. Perhaps the State Department's admistration process was at fault in failing to brief its employes coming into Washington on short consultations on how they should treat the press during their stay. But we cannot and do not conclude that his indiscretion in the Amerasia matter is sufficient to brand an otherwise loyal employe of 17 years' service as disloyal, pro-Communist, a security risk.

(I) Harlow Shapley—Our in-

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Miss Dorothy Kenyon Dr. Harlow Shapley Philip C. Jessup

ign of unwarranted and unfair lification without parallel in e history of congressional in-stigations. This vilification in-uded repeated charges that we ere attempting to "whitewash" e State and Justice Depart-ents. . . .

The subcommittee, unfortu-ately, has been burdened in its ork by reason of the failure of e two minority members to at-nd subcommittee sessions with y degree of regularity. Out of sessions, the senior Senator om Iowa attended only 21 ses-ons, and the junior Senator om Massachusetts only 22. Sig-ficantly, a substantial percent-e of those absences occurred ring our consideration of the nerasia case.

Additionally, we were con-onted with the extremely anom-ous situation of the minority embers being unable to agree whether the sessions should be blic or executive. Senator Hick-looper insisted on public ses-ons; Senator Lodge insisted that he show be taken off the road" d all hearings be in executive ssion. . . .

The job of getting the facts ncerning disloyal persons and otecting the Government against reign penetration belongs es-ntially to the FBI. Inherent in e charges that have been made the suggestion that the FBI s not done its job well. We do t find this to be true; on the ntrary, all evidence points to e fact that the FBI is fully cap-le of discharging its responsi-lity now and in the future, as it s in the past. We are fully sat-fied that the FBI and the Secur-Staff of the State Department e eminently qualified to ferret t individuals who may be dis-yal in the State Department, d that the responsible officials that department possess the aracter, integrity, ability, and yalty to take appropriate correc-ve action in any instance where e facts as developed by investi-tion indicate the necessity there-. . . .

Complaint Found False.

We have found that the com-lint of Senator McCarthy con-rning disloyalty in the State partment, which precipitated an election year, some Americans may question the findings of any investigative body that may have any degree of political complexion, as, of course, is true of any congressional committee. With this in mind, together with the memory of repeated charges, however unwarranted, concerning the loyalty program throughout the Government service as a whole, we make the following recommendation:

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

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

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

(1) Two from the Federal service.

(2) Two from private life.

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

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

(2) Two from private life.

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

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

(2) Two from private life.

. . .

II

It is recommended that a joint committee of the House and Senate be appointed to make a careful study of the immunity from civil suit extended members of Congress by reason of statements made by them on the floor of either House and before congressional committees. Our experience in this investigation indicates that this privilege extended us should not become a license for the character assassination of American citizens. It is believed that from such a study it may be possible to a committee of the Congress has, in practical effect, been declared invalid by the Supreme Court in the case of United States v. Bryan (70 S. Ct. 724 [1950]); rehearing denied (70 S. Ct. 1018 [1950]). Two witnesses have appeared before us and refused to testify, claiming their privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment to the Constitution. While contempt citations have been recommended in the case of each of these individuals, it is apparent that even if they are convicted for contempt, we have still been deprived of testimony on matters deemed material to our inquiry. Such a situation tends to threaten the very foundation of the immemorial prerogative of the Congress to conduct investigations and hearings. It is accordingly recommended that the appropriate committee of each branch of Congress conduct an immediate study with a view to developing a statute which will provide the necessary immunity where testimony is material to an inquiry and at the same time not be a vehicle to be employed by unscrupulous individuals seeking to escape punishment for crimes committed.

V

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

VI

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

Respectfully submitted.

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otherwise, who is employed in the State Department.

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

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

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

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

Facts Misrepresented.

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

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

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

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

Senate Was Deceived.

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

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

We find that Senator McCarthy failed to co-operate with the sub-

that in 1934 and 1936, over 14 years ago, she participated in two meetings sponsored by a pro-Soviet organization of which she was not a member. . . . The conclusion is inescapable, on the basis of our inquiry, that there is no evidence that Mrs. Brunauer is disloyal, a Communist sympathizer or a security risk.

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

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

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

Primarily Private Feud.

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

We cannot also find any evidence to support the allegation that Dr. Jessup was in control of the publication Far Eastern Survey or that that magazine took

no more than that the Communists used Lattimore to project a propaganda line anent China. We have every confidence that were Mr. Lattimore an espionage agent the efficient FBI would long since have taken action against him.

Writer and Scholar.

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

Haldore Hanson Dr. Esther Brunauer John C. Vincent

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

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

Right to Express Views.

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

(G) Frederick L. Schuman—Our dealings with Gayn and Faffe, a fact which he himself readily admits. Perhaps the State Department's admistration process was at fault in failing to brief its employes coming into Washington on short consultations on how they should treat the press during their stay. But we cannot and do not conclude that his indiscretion in the Amerasia matter is sufficient to brand an otherwise loyal employe of 17 years' service as disloyal, pro-Communist, a security risk.

(I) Harlow Shapley—Our inquiry establishes that Dr. Shapley is not an employe of the Department of State in any real and proper sense. . . . Within the proper purview of our inquiry, no consideration need be given the charges made against Dr. Shapley.

(J) John Carter Vincent—While not among the nine individuals charged before us, Senator McCarthy has had a great deal of say reflecting upon the loyalty of Mr. John Carter Vincent, the American minister to Switzerland. He referred to Mr. Vincent, who was No. 2 among the so-called 81 cases, as (1) a big Communist tremendously important to Russia, as (2) a part of an espionage ring in the State Department, and (3) as one who should "not only be discharged but should be immediately prosecuted."

In passing, it should be stated that we have carefully reviewed the loyalty file concerning Mr. Vincent, and the McCarthy charges are absurd. The file does not show him to be disloyal or a security risk.

Amerasia Case Report.

Relative to the Amerasia case:

We find there is not one shred of evidence to support the unwarranted charge that the Amerasia case was "fixed" in any manner; and that responsible prosecutive officials had absolutely a free rein in handling the case in their best judgment.

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.

While the investigation by the FBI failed to establish foreign-

ruary 20, 1950, by Senator McCarthy, concerning "81" individuals identified by him only by numbers, was a colored and distorted version of material developed by investigators of the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 during the 80th Congress.

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

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

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

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

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

Files Reviewed.

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

Dr. Jessup had resigned.

Primarily Private Feud.

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

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

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

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

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

Right to Express Views.

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

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

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

not show him to be disloyal or a security risk.

Amerasia Case Report.

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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.

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

This subcommittee has been subjected to an organized cam-

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Complaint Found False.

We have found that the com-
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II

It is recommended that a joint committee of the House and Senate be appointed to make a careful study of the immunity from civil suit extended members of Congress by reason of statements made by them on the floor of either House and before congressional committees. Our experience in this investigation indicates that this privilege extended us should not become a license for the character assassination of American citizens. It is believed that from such a study it may be possible to evolve legislation which is designed to preserve this immunity without prejudice to the historic and necessary reasons therefore and at the same time insure that it does not become a shield to perpetuate injustice and fraud.

III

We earnestly recommend that all committees of the Congress exercise the utmost restraint in conducting public hearings relative to proceedings involving questions of the loyalty of a particular individual and that the same be held only in instances of compelling necessity in the public interest or in instances where an individual has been charged publicly and requests a public hearing to present his defense. By reason of the inveterate practice of congressional committees to receive evidence and information that are not admissible by legal standards, it is sincerely believed that public hearings involving the loyalty of an individual offer many opportunities for grave injustice to the individual for which there is no redress.

IV

The existing statute relative to immunity from criminal prosecution which is accorded a witness by reason of his testimony before

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"There is no proof of disloyalty and no rumor against his character."

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

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

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~~Highlights of~~ Probe Report

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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Tydings Committee Majority Findings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Tydings Group Declares 3 Out Of Probe's Scope

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

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

Shapely Not Employe

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

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

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

FBI Recording Revealed

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

Excerpts from this recording:

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

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

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

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

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

"Jaffe: To co-operate with them?"

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

Service "Extremely Indiscreet"

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

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

The majority report on other individuals accused:

1. Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins university professor, has never been in any proper sense a State department employe. Far from being the "architect of our foreign policy" he has had no controlling influence on that policy. We find no evidence to support the charge that he is a "top Russian spy" or any sort of spy—some of his friends, associates and contacts have been identified before us as Communists. In no instance has it been shown that he knowingly associated with Communists.

Jessup Not a "Dupe"

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

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

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

Mrs. Brunauer Exonerated

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

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

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Communist In the State Department

(COMMUNISTS)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By The Associated Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hits Tydings "Falsehood"

Then McCarthy said:

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

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

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

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

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

When newsmen asked Tydings if he had any comment, he first said:

"I don't think I'll bother with that."

Then he turned to the Hoover letter and said:

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

Statements Read to Senate

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I and the other clerks received instructions orally and by a form paper that we were to go through all the State Department personnel (sic) files and remove all papers, letters, memorandum and reports except administrative forms."

One is Now FBI Agent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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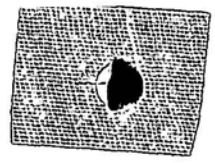

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Communist In the State Department

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ADD 8 MCCARTHY (249P)

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

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

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COMMUNIST IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

ADD 2 MCCARTHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ADD 3 MCCARTHY

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

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

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

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

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ADD 4 MCCARTHY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ADD 5 MCCARTHY

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

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

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

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

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ADD 6 MCCARTHY

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

7/12--JW1250P

...a Scapegoat

By Marquis Childs

Policy For The Future

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

Childs

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

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

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

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

There were those who accepted the fact but reluctantly and with the need to find a scapegoat. Conspicuous in this class was Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. And Taft found as his scapegoat—it hardly surprised anybody—Secretary of State Dean Acheson all its own. For at one point in the McCarthy barrage, and it may well have been the crucial point of acceptance or rejection of the assault, Taft gave his blessing to the technique of aiming at another victim if you miss the first one.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Tydings Group May Report Next Week

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Brannan Assails McCarthy in Home State

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

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

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

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

Brannan never once mentioned McCarthy by name on this subject, but he called him a "certain high-priced author on housing." This was a reference to McCarthy's sale of an article to the Government-aided Lustron house-building firm for $10,000.

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

This was a dig at McCarthy's income tax reports, public under Wisconsin law, which showed no tax payments for four years due to deductions for stock market losses and interest payments.

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

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

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

He spoke before the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner.

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McCarthy Is Assailed By Brannan in Talk to Party in Milwaukee

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

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

Doesn't Mention McCarthy.

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Republicans Scoped.

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

National Larder Prepared for War, Brannan Declares

By the Associated Press

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

"There is no call for hoarding," Mr. Brannan said in an interview. Mr. Brannan said there is a carryover of a half billion bushels of wheat although prospects are for a 980 million bushel crop, compared with 1,250,000,000 last year. There are a billion bushels of corn in storage and 7.5 million bales of cotton, he said.

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Tydings Favors 12-Man Red Probe

By Drew Pearson

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

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

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

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

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

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

Taft in Reverse

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

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

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

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

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

Earlier Invasion

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

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

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

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

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

Another Joe in Limelight

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

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State Department Guards Against Bad Risks

Only three security risks, two of them accused of Communist Party affiliations, were discharged by the State Department last year.

This was disclosed in secret testimony by department officials in hearings before a House Appropriations Subcommittee considering the regular money bill for the department. The testimony later was made public by the subcommittee.

Under questioning by Chairman Rooney (D-N.Y.) the head of the department's security office, Dennis A. Flinn, said only three security risks were uncovered and "separated" from their jobs, out of a total department personnel of 1,224.

Flinn also said the administration has discharged 104 on grounds of sex perversion, also considered security risks because of their susceptibility to blackmail by Communist agents. These included 83 in the foreign service and 21 departmental employes, according to Flinn.

This report can be taken as highly encouraging for two reasons. First, that it makes plain the State Department is maintaining a close scrutiny of its employes. Second, that very few Communist agents have been able to infiltrate the Department since the current system of security checks was set up.

This apparently has remedied a condition that brought much congressional criticism in the previous administration. It was frequently charged that under the regime of Dean Acheson, the State Department had been infiltrated by Red agents and Communist sympathizers, whose influence shaped U. S. foreign policies along lines formulated by the Kremlin. Also that highly important secrets found their way from the department into Soviet hands by means of these agents.

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EDITORIAL
STATE DEPARTMENT GUARDS AGAINST BAD RISKS
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His Old Admirers Rumble and Old Critics Cheer

Scott McLeod Is Satisfied With State Dept. Security

By ANTHONY LEWIS

When Scott McLeod took over as the State Department's security chief two years ago, he was denounced variously as "a spy for Joe McCarthy" and a ruthless Red-hunter who was using security for political ends and wrecking department morale.

This year some of Mr. McLeod's actions have brought him cheers from former critics and discontented rumblings from his old admirers. He cleared Wolf Ladejinsky for State Department work, for example, and stuck by the clearance even under Agriculture Department pressure.

Last week Mr. McLeod startled his old critics even more by telling a Senate committee that he would hire a communist if necessary to get a State job done. A reporter quipped after the hearing: "Scott, Joe McCarthy will have a subpena out for you in the morning."

MR. McLEOD

BETTER UNDERSTOOD

Mr. McLeod has noted the shifting opinions, but he doesn't think he is responsible. He believes he has stayed essentially the same since he took office, but people just understand him better.

"The apprehensions of two years ago about me just haven't worked out," he said today in an interview. "The actual record has alleviated fears.

"Remember that it was a change of administration anyway. (Mr. McLeod took over March 3, 1953.) There was bound to be concern.

EASY CHANGEOVER

"Except for some propaganda, I think this would have been the easiest changeover in history. We have made fewer changes in personnel than in 1933 . . .

"The State Department had two difficult problems. It mushroomed in size just after World War II. Then suddenly security was thrown in, and into the political arena.

"Politicians always exaggerate. The political boys made it appear that everybody was suspect."

Mr. McLeod said the lack of criticism of State's security program recently showed it must be working well—"We were in the spotlight, so if we didn't do things right we'd have heard about it."

He added that he had no personal objection to a broad study of security programs by a special bipartisan body if such a group had enough authority behind it to get the complete picture, including the official Government side. The Administration thus far has opposed such a study.

Mr. McLeod said his reinvestigation of State personnel is now complete for all practical purposes. There will be a continuing re-check of employe files, tho, with about 5 per cent of the staff being reinvestigated at a time.

KIND WORDS

He has not found any unusual number of security risks in the department, Mr. McLeod said. And he added specific praise for the "dedication" of Foreign Service officers, who he said work "in conditions overseas that the average American could not put up with."

Mr. McLeod conceded that some of the people who have been described as his good friends on Capitol Hill have raised some eyebrows about him lately.

"There was a period," he said, "when they were saying: 'McLeod has been taken over by the big domes.'"

SEEKS MIDDLE COURSE

Mr. McLeod insisted he has not been taken over by anybody and just wants to steer a middle course.

He has never had the working relationship with Capitol Hill that used to be charged to him, he said, and he believes State should be allowed to run its own security affairs. But he added that he would not get into a public fight with any congressman.

Some of Mr. McLeod's old critics do not agree with his view of himself as a constant in a changing landscape. They say he formerly used security for political purposes in political speeches himself and fed facts to attacking congressmen, whether innocently or not.

These old critics feel strongly that Mr. McLeod has changed, and for the better—toward a more understanding, sympathetic and sophisticated view of security.

Mr. McLeod would agree only to a small change, and then with a joke.

"You'd be a pretty stultified person if you didn't grow in two years of this kind of experience," he said. "But I don't know if I've grown bigger or smaller."

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BAUMGARDNER

3 Risks Fired in '54 In State Department

By the Associated Press.

Only three of the State Department's 11,282 employes were fired as security risks in 1954. Two of these were accused of Communist Party affiliation.

Dennis A. Flinn, the department's security director, so advised the House Appropriations Committee in recent secret testimony made public today. Mr. Flinn mentioned no names.

Under questioning by committee members, Mr. Flinn said that, in all, 104 State Department employes have been fired for sex perversion.

R. W. Scott McLeod, the Department's security administrator, also told the committee full field investigations of all department employes have now been completed to bring security records up to date.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE LOY W. HENDERSON SAID THERE IS "NO DOUBT" THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S RIGID SECURITY PROGRAM "HAD A DEMORALIZING EFFECT ON THE FOREIGN SERVICE."

HOWEVER, HE TOLD THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, "THINGS ARE SETTLING DOWN" NOW AND "I BELIEVE MORALE IS COMMENCING TO RISE" AMONG FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS.

HENDERSON, A VETERAN DIPLOMAT WHO RECENTLY RETURNED FROM BEING AMBASSADOR TO IRAN, TESTIFIED ON A BILL TO INCREASE NON-SALARY BENEFITS FOR FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL AND TO AUTHORIZE TRANSFER OF MORE STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES INTO THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY SAID THERE WAS "GREAT CONCERN" AMONG FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS BECAUSE OF THE UNSETTLING EFFECTS OF THE SECURITY CHECKS. HE SAID THEY OFTEN DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE PROGRAM AND WERE "BOTHERED A GREAT DEAL" OVER THE CHECKING UP ON THEIR PASTS.

ALSO, HENDERSON SAID, DEPARTMENT SECURITY OFFICERS ARE NOW ACTING IN A MORE CONSISTENT MANNER THAN ORIGINALLY."

HE SAID THAT "IN ANOTHER YEAR, THE SHOCK OF THE SECURITY PROGRAM SHOULD BE OVERCOME."

HENDERSON AND GEORGE WILSON, STATE DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL CHIEF, ACKNOWLEDGED UNDER QUESTIONING THAT THE SECURITY PROGRAM HAD MADE IT HARDER TO RECRUIT AND HOLD FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS. BUT NEITHER ADVOCATED ABOLISHING THE PROGRAM.

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ADD 5 SECURITY

MCLEOD SAID SUCH A PROCESS WOULD BE "CUMBERSOME" AND MIGHT WORK TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE APPLICANT BY NAILING DOWN THE FACT THAT HE WAS INDEED A SECURITY RISK.

BESIDES, HE SAID, "ALL THE COMMUNISTS WOULD APPLY FOR JOBS, JUST TO SEE IF WE KNEW ABOUT THEM."

MCLEOD AND HIS AIDES SAID THE STATE DEPARTMENT SUSPENDED 15 EMPLOYES AS SECURITY RISKS IN 1954. SIX WERE REINSTATED WITHOUT HEARINGS; SEVEN RECEIVED HEARINGS. ONE FOREIGN EMPLOYE WAS NOT ENTITLED TO A HEARING AND ONE CASE IS PENDING.

THREE PERSONS WERE FIRED AFTER HEARINGS, THEY SAID.

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Five Years And 80 Investigations Later

At Wheeling, West Virginia in the year 1950 a relatively unknown freshman senator named McCarthy shocked the nation by announcing that he had a list of 205 card-carrying Communists in the Department of State. Later he changed this figure to 81, still later to 57, and after much debate, he finally handed to the old Tydings Committee of the Senate a list of 80. No matter what figure he used, the shock didn't grow less. One Communist in the Department of State, card-carrying or not, is one too many.

Five years have passed, McCarthy has become a national figure, all the people he named on his list have been subjected to fear, and anguish, and scorn, and endless investigation, and now it appears to be finally and definitely established that there were no Communists in the Department of State in 1950, and that none of the people McCarthy named were disloyal. The determination has been made by a Republican administration, acting through its assistant secretary of state, Thurston B. Morton.

Here are the facts as Mr. Morton has given them in his letter to Senator Olin D. Johnston (D) of South Carolina:

Of the 80 employees charged by McCarthy, four have been removed from office finding of Communism or disloyalty; one was removed for "unsuitability," a personnel action not connected with security; three resigned while their cases were being investigated but the investigation concluded with the finding that they were not Communists or disloyal; 32 resigned after investigation but for other reasons; ten are still working for the government in other agencies; four had limited appointments for which time has now expired; eight were separated from the Department when it reduced its forces early in the new administration; one retired honorably; one is now dead; seven were never employed by the State Department, and the rest are still employed.

To give McCarthy his greatest due, it seems probable that the government might have been better off without some of the people McCarthy named as Communists. McCarthy adherants have always argued that they didn't mind his exaggerations so long as there was some truth in what he said. This argument has always seemed to us to be dangerous—would the same people teach a child to tell the truth part of the time?—but it is not pertinent anyhow.

The Republican administration has now revealed that there was no truth in what he said.

Saunder the security program but with no

San Diego Evening Tribune
Peoples Daily World
La Mesa Pictorial
Oceanside Daily Blade Tribune 1-24-55
Santa Ana Register
Imperial Valley Weekley
Calexico Chronical
Corona Daily INdependent
Perris Progress
Riverside Daily Press
Riverside Enterprise
Indio Date Palm
Escondido Daily Times Advocate

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For The Record, It's Still .000

SEN. OLIN D. JOHNSTON of South Carolina recently sent the State Department the names of some 80 persons said by Sen. Joe McCarthy in 1950 to be Communist employes of that department. Johnston asked what these persons' employment and security status was. Here is what he learned, from Assistant Secretary of State Thurston Morton, and announced this week:

Only 40 of the more than 80 were employed by the State Department in 1950.

Seven had never been employed by it.

Twelve are still working for it.

Ten have transfered to other agencies.

How many of the total were Communists? "Not one," said the Department spokesman, of the employes named by McCarthy in those charges was found to be "a Communist or disloyal to our government."

In other words, despite his more than 80 times at bat, and numerous fouls, the Wisconsin senator's batting average is still .000. The monicker "Triple O Joe" still fits. As Sen. Johnston observed, this check of the records by a Republican administration "should clear up this matter for all time."

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Mr. Belmont
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121-23278

RE: CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES
Charlotte News
1-19-55
B. S. Griffith, Executive Editor

121-23278
NOT RECORDED
161 FEB 9 1955

SEARCHED.... INDEXED....
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JAN 19 1955
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Johnston, McCarthy Again Clash On Alleged State Dept. Subversives

By Herbert Foster
United Press

Senator Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.) said yesterday a "great many" of the State Department employes named by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy as subversives in 1950 are "still working for the Government."

"And not one has been convicted," Johnston added.

McCarthy retorted that Johnston's statement was a "complete contradiction" of a State Department letter listing the action taken on 80 security cases McCarthy had cited.

McCarthy said the letter showed that 69 of the employes left the Department while under investigation or after formal charges had been filed against them. He said that was a "fairly good" average.

[According to Johnston, who received an additional non-publicized report from the State Department, the report showed "only 40 (of the main group of 80 persons) were in fact employed in the State Department in 1950," most of the remainder having resigned earlier.

[In another list of 10 additional names, the State Department letter said, only six were on the Department's rolls at the time of McCarthy's charges.

[In reaching his figure of 69 employes dropped out of the main group of 80, McCarthy included the employes which the Department listed as under investigation, removed, transferred, retired, died, separated by reduction-in-force, seven persons "never employed," and 32 who resigned for "other reasons."]

Johnston and McCarthy have been wrangling for three days over whether the letter disproved or substantiated McCarthy's charges that subversives had infiltrated the State Department under Democratic administrations. They renewed the argument on the Senate floor yesterday.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles refused to take sides in the controversy at his news conference yesterday. He told reporters the full facts are in the letter to Johnston and that interpretation is a question of individual judgment.

Later, Johnston and Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) got into a discussion over whether Johnston should put the 80 names in the Congressional Record. Dirksen said if the accused persons had faith in their own cases they should put them before Congress.

"Unless we get down to specific cases, we are chasing windmills," he said.

Johnston said the names were confidential and "I don't want an innocent person's name read out and his character besmirched when he's as innocent as a newborn babe."

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Wash. Post and Times Herald ✓
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
pg 2
Date: 1/19/55

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JAN 21 [illegible]5

Johnston 'Tortured' Facts of Letter on Reds, McCarthy Says

By James Y. Newton

Senator McCarthy said last night that a senatorial colleague "twisted and distorted the facts" in reporting what the State Department said they had found out about 80 employes whose names were sent them five years ago by the Wisconsin Republican.

Senator Olin Johnston had said that the State Department wrote him that none of the 80 persons named by Senator McCarthy was found to be a Communist or disloyal.

Senator McCarthy released the department's letter to Senator Johnston as he accused the South Carolinian of "torturing" the truth.

The Wisconsin Republican said that behind Senator Johnston's statement there appeared to be "an attempt to exhume" former Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, and "bring him back to life for the next campaign."

Probe Called "Whitewash."

Senator Tydings, who was chairman of the subcommittee that investigated in 1950 the McCarthy charge of communism in the State Department, was defeated for re-election later that year. The Tydings investigation, described by Senator McCarthy as a "whitewash," found there was nothing to the McCarthy charges.

Shortly after Senator McCarthy released the department's letter to Senator Johnston, dated January 10, the department released other copies to reporters.

The letter listed what had happened to 69 of the 80 individuals whose names originally were turned over by Senator McCarthy to the Tydings subcommittee. It made no mention of 11 others, presumed still to be on department personnel roles.

Breakdown Given.

In the letter, Assistant Secretary Thruston B. Morton said that it was not up to the department to find whether any of the persons were (A) Communists or (B) disloyal to the United States.

The letter to Senator Johnston gave the following breakdown:

Removed as security risks—2; removed for "suitability reasons" under personnel regulations—1; resigned during proceedings instituted against them under presidential security orders—3; resigned (other persons)—32; transferred to other agencies—10; termination of limited appointment—4; separated by reduction in force—8; retired—1; died—1 and never employed—7.

Charges Deception.

Saying that Senator Johnston made a "completely deceptive statement," Senator McCarthy said that some of the 32 who had resigned were under investigation at the time. He added that the seven who were listed as "never employed" included Owen Lattimore, one-time State Department consultant under indictment on perjury charges, and William Remington, who was recently murdered in prison, where he was serving a term for perjury.

The Wisconsin Republican said that in addition to the original list of 80 names sent to Senator Tydings, he later sent two other lists totaling 35 names of other State Department employes.

The Senator said that he was asking the department for additional information concerning what happened to the other 35 employes and also requesting the names of those on his three lists who are still employed.

He claimed that the State Department's letter confirmed the correctness of his charges in 1950. Senator McCarthy said that he had never accused the persons of being Communists or even necessarily of being disloyal. He said the names he gave the Tydings Committee were of those persons against whom he had evidence that they belonged to the party or Communist front groups. He said the evidence "all the way from extremely damaging to less damaging" and he presumed that some of them were not guilty of any Communist tinge.

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FEB -9 1955

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION - STATE DEPARTMENT

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Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star AS
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror

Date: Jan 1955

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(MCCARTHY)

SEN. OLIN D. JOHNSTON (D-S.C.) STOOD FAST IN THE FACE OF A BLAST FROM SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY IN HIS CONTENTION THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD DISPROVEN MCCARTHY'S CHARGES OF WIDESPREAD COMMUNISM IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

JOHNSON CALLED UPON MCCARTHY TO NAME ONE STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYE WHO HAS BEEN CONVICTED OR PROVEN TO BE A COMMUNIST AFTER BEING CITED BY MCCARTHY AS A COMMUNIST OR COMMUNIST SUPPORTER.

THE JOHNSTON-MCCARTHY WRANGLE STARTED OVER THE WEEKEND WHEN JOHNSTON SAID A STATE DEPARTMENT LETTER TO HIM MADE CLEAR THAT "NOT ONE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES CHARGED (BY MCCARTHY) IN 1950...HAS BEEN FOUND TO BE A COMMUNIST OR DISLOYAL TO THE UNITED STATES."

MCCARTHY IN TURN CHARGED THAT JOHNSTON "TWISTED AND DISTORTED THE FACTS" IN INTERPRETING THE STATE DEPARTMENT LETTER ABOUT ACTIONS TAKEN AGAINST 90 EMPLOYES CITED BY MCCARTHY IN 1950.

MCCARTHY BRANDED JOHNSTONJS INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTER AS "AN ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT THE FIGHT TO EXPOSE COMMUNISTS."

JOHNSTON AT FIRST DISMISSED MCCARTHY'S BLAST WITH THE COMMENT: "HE HASN'T SAID A THING." BUT THEN HE ADDED:

"ASK MCCARTHY TO NAME ONE PERSON (ON HIS LIST) THAT HAS BEEN CONVICTED AND PROVEN TO BE A COMMUNIST IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS."

MCCARTHY CONTENDED THAT IT WAS NOT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S JOB TO PROVE THAT A SUSPECTED EMPLOYE ACTUALLY IS A COMMUNIST BUT ONLY TO DECIDE WHETHER HE IS A SECURITY RISK--A FACT WHICH HE SAID WAS EMPHASIZED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT LETTER SIGNED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE THRUSTON B. MORTON.

1/18--EG1233P

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161 JAN 25 1955

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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ADD 1 MCCARTHY (1233P)

MEANWHILE, MCCARTHY DEMANDED THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT CLARIFY HOW MANY EMPLOYES IT STILL RETAINS OF THE 90 HE ACCUSED OF BEING COMMUNISTS OR COMMUNIST SUPPORTERS IN 1950.

FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT BREAKDOWN, MCCARTHY SAID IT IS APPARENT THAT MOST OF THE 90 ARE NO LONGER EMPLOYED AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT. BUT MCCARTHY SAID THE STATE DEPARTMENT LEFT THE FATE OF 11 UNACCOUNTED FOR, AND APPARENTLY THEY ARE STILL WORKING AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

1/18--JE1245P

Dulles Sidesteps Johnston-McCarthy Tiff on Communists

Secretary of State Dulles today fled from a senatorial dispute over whether the State Department has discharged any Communists.

The tiff started Sunday when Senator Johnston, Democrat, of South Carolina reported that the State Department had informed him that it had found no Communists among some 80 persons accused by Senator McCarthy, Republiacn, of Wisconsin.

Senator McCarthy replied last night that Senator Johnston "twisted and distorted the facts."

Everybody agreed that "the facts" were contained in a letter which Assistant Secretary of State Thruston B. Morton wrote to Senator Johnston. The State Department and Senator McCarthy made the text of the letter public.

Quizzed by Press.

Mr. Dulles was asked at a news conference today whether Senator Johnson or Senator McCarthy was right. Mr. Dulles replied that the full facts were in the State Department letter. The dispute, he said, was a question of individual judgment.

A reporter asked whether Mr. Dulles could state, without regard to the letter whether the State Department has discharged any one because of Communist affiliation.

Mr. Dulles told the reporter sharply to read the letter.

The reporter replied that he had read the letter and that was exactly why he was asking the Secretary the question.

Mr. Dulles ended the exchange by stating that he was afraid he could not clarify the letter.

McCarthy on Tydings.

Senator McCarthy said that behind Senator Johnston's statement there appeared to be "an attempt to exhume" former Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, and "bring him back to life for the next campaign."

Senator Tydings, who was chairman of the subcommittee that investigated in 1950 the McCarthy charge of communism in the State Department, was defeated for re-election later that year. The Tydings investigation, described by Senator McCarthy as a "whitewash," found there was nothing to the McCarthy charges.

The letter listed what had happened to 69 of the 80 individuals whose names originally were turned over by Senator McCarthy to the Tydings subcommittee. It made no mention of 11 others, presumed still to be on department personnel roles.

Breakdown Given.

In the letter, Mr. Morton said that it was not up to the department to find whether any of the persons were (A) Communists or (B) disloyal to the United States.

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Pg. No.

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

Date: Jan. 18, 1955

No More Funds Should Be Appropriated'

Hill Unit Chairman Threatens to Scuttle Super-Carriers

(For other budget stories see Mr. Cramer on Page 2, stories on Page 21, Editorial and Mr. Othman on Page 22.)

The House Appropriations Committee chairman called the Navy's supercarriers outnoded weapons today and said no more funds should be appropriated to build them.

Chairman Clarence Cannon (D., Mo.) revived the long debate over the place of gigantic aircraft carriers in atomic war as the Democrats prepared to scrutinize the Administration's defense budget.

"Very careful scrutiny," were the words of Senate Democratic leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.). He said the Democrats, starting with hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee Thursday, will try to find out whether future Administration defense policy is going to follow the "off again, on again, gone again approach of the past two years."

Indications were that the Democrats will concentrate their attack on budget cutbacks for the Army. The Administration has ordered a sharp cutback in the size of the Army in a move toward greater reliance on air power and atomic bombs.

Rep. Cannon, whose committee will have a lot to say about funds for the Navy, said the $180,000,000 in the new budget for a fifth supercarrier ought to be eliminated. He quoted unnamed authorities as saying "not one carrier will be afloat for more than 10 hours after war is declared." (UP)

Other Congressional news:

BUDGET

Democrats attacked President Eisenhower's $62,400,000,000 budget from both flanks today—for his failure to get the Treasury out of the red and for some economies he recommended. Many Democrats and Republicans who still hoped to balance the budget were pointing to an expanded foreign aid program—totaling $4,700,000,000—as the top priority target for Hill budget cuts. (UP)

TARIFFS

Four more Cabinet officers present their views today to try to persuade Congress to approve President Eisenhower's three-year tariff-cutting program. Scheduled to testify before the House Ways and Means Committee were Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, Treasury Secretary George M. Pumphrey, and Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell. (UP)

STATE DEPT. 'REDS'

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy accused Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.) of "twisting and distorting facts" about what has happened to 90 State Department employes Sen. McCarthy accused of being communists or communist supporters in 1950. Sen. Johnston, after receiving a report from the State Department, said "not one (of the 90) has been found to be a communist or disloyal to the U. S." (UP)

MILITARY

The Defense Department formally asked Congress to raise the pay of military men who have two or more years of service. The pay boosts, designed to make military careers more attractive, would cost a total of $729,700,000 annually. (UP)

MAIL

A reliable source said the Administration will ask Congress to raise by 1 cent the price of mailing letters locally as well as those sent out of town. (UP)

DIXON-YATES

Opponents of the proposed Dixon-Yates power project disclosed they will try to block appropriations for a transmission line linking the Government-owned TVA with the privately owned power plant. (UP)

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Wash. Post and Times Herald
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Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News 7
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
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Date: 1-14-55

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McCarthy Ridicules Johnston's Report

By Murrey Marder
Staff Reporter

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) yesterday accused Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.) of "torturing the truth" by claiming that McCarthy's 1950 charges of Communists in the State Department failed to disclose a single Red.

Johnston, in a weekend statement, said the Republican-directed State Department has informed him that "not one" of its employes named in McCarthy's Reds-in-Government charges was found to be "a Communist or disloyal."

Old Dispute Revived

As chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which is about to launch an investigation of the current Federal security program, Johnston said that report "should clear up this matter for all time."

McCarthy told newsmen yesterday that Johnston had "garbled and misstated the facts," and "stretched and tortured the truth."

The dispute, brought back into the news the controversy which first plunged McCarthy into the headlines five years ago with a shower of figures over "205," "81," and "57" alleged Communists, or Communist supporters.

McCarthy charged that the Johnston action was an attempt to "bring back to life" former Sen. Millard E. Tydings (D-Md.) for the next election. Tydings headed a 1950 subcommittee which called McCarthy's charges a "hoax". McCarthy called that report a "whitewash."

In the State Department's report, which was made public yesterday, the Department said it is not required to find that a person is a Communist before he may be discharged.

The report made no findings to that effect, and the Department said that its records also show no present or former employe has been indicted or found guilty of charges that he accepted Government pay while advocating the overthrow of the Government.

McCarthy's contention was that his effectiveness cannot be measured by such a yardstick. He said he had no dispute with the report, but believed it could have been more detailed. He said he will seek additional information on it.

Johnston, who originally released his own statement on the report but not the report itself, was in South Carolina last night. There was no immediate additional comment from him.

None Held Communists

The State Department report, Johnston had said, showed that only three of the persons whom McCarthy had "originally charged" had resigned or been dropped by State, and that none was found to be a Communists or disloyal employe. Johnston said the report also showed that out of a McCarthy list of 80 persons, only 40 were employed at State in 1950 and today there are still 12 working there.

The report, which contains no names, is a four-page letter signed by Assistant Secretary Thurston B. Morton. Not included with the version given to newsmen was a list of 80 names referred to in it.

It answers Johnston's inquiries in two portions. First it refers to action in the cases of "10 persons publicly accused" by McCarthy.

One of these employes, the report said, was discharged under a general security law (Public Law 733, now used as the legal authority for the present Federal Employes Security Program); one was discharged under the old Truman loyalty program, and one was dropped for failing to meet Foreign Service standards. Two of the eight were not State Department employes, the letter said, and the other three of the eight were transferred, resigned or retired.

The following breakdown is then given on "80 other alleged employes," who Johnston said were on a list which McCarthy gave to the Tydings Subcommittee:

Removed under Public Law 733—2.

Removed for suitability under personnel regulations—1.

Resigned during proceedings instituted against them under the provisions of Executive Order 9835 (the old loyalty program—2.

Resigned during proceedings instituted against them under the provisions of Executive Order 10450 (the present security program)—1.

Resigned (other reasons)—32.

Transferred to other agencies—10.

Termination of limited appointments—4.

Separated by reduction-in-force—8.

Retired—1; Died—1; Never employed—7.

Principle Explained

Morton stated in the letter that in the two cases of discharges referred to in the "publicly accused" group of 10, the law does not require "that it be proved that a person is a Communist before he may be discharged, and no findings to this effect were made in either of the two cases . . ."

The same principle, said Morton, applies to the two removals listed under the "80" cases, where "the Department has the responsibility of separating from the rolls of the Department those persons whose continued employment is deemed to be not clearly consistent with the interests of the national security."

If there is no overlapping between the two lists, it would mean that four persons were removed under laws or executive orders and two others were removed on "suitability" grounds, in addition to three who resigned while being investigated.

State Department officials declined to make any comment on that, or on Johnston's or McCarthy's interpretations of the figures.

All of those he named, McCarthy insisted yesterday, were "employed" by the State Department—despite its report to the contrary. He contended, as he has in the past, that some were "advisers" such as Owen Lattimore and that others, such as the late William Remington, were "working on State Department matters" in other agencies.

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Wash. Post and Times Herald ✓
Wash. News
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N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror

Date: 1/18/55

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161 JAN 20 1955

Johnston 'Tortured' Facts of Letter on Reds, McCarthy Says

By James Y. Newton

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Charges Deception.

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Joseph R. McCarthy

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State Department Clears 80 Accused By McCarthy in '50

By L. Edgar Prina

The State Department has informed Senator Johnston, Democrat, of South Carolina, that none of the 80 persons investigated in 1950 by the Tydings subcommittee, following charges by Senator McCarthy, has been found to be a Communist or disloyal.

Senator Johnston, who is chairman of the Senate Civil Service Committee, said the finding by "this present Republican administration" . . . should "clear up this matter for all time."

Former Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, was chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee which investigated Senator McCarthy's charges of Communists in the State Department.

Cleared by Tydings.

The Democratic majority of the Tydings group reported the charges were false and accused the Wisconsin Republican of engaging in a hoax. Senator McCarthy called the report a "whitewash." He helped Senator Butler in his campaign to unseat Senator Tydings in 1950.

Senator Johnston, whose committee is planning a broad inquiry into the Eisenhower administration's employe security program, said he asked the State Department to check their records on the 80 individuals. The department's reply was signed by Thurston B. Morton, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations and a former Congressman.

According to Senator Johnston, Mr. Morton informed him that 12 of the employes accused by Senator McCarthy were still working in the State Department and that 10 others had transferred to other Government agencies where they were now employed. He added:

"The State Department . . . further verifies the findings of the Tydings Committee by stating that, of the 80-odd names given to the Tydings Committee by the Wisconsin Senator as persons then employed, only 40 were in fact employed in the State Department in 1950. 33 had resigned or left the State Department prior to that year and seven . . . had never been employed by the State Department."

Clears Ex-Workers.

The Senator said that three of the persons accused by Senator McCarthy had resigned or been dropped from the Government rolls, "but that none of these three was found to be Communists or disloyal to our Government."

The State Department letter to the South Carolinian was not released, but it is understood the three persons referred to above were the diplomats John Paton Davies, jr., John Carter Vincent and John Stewart Service.

A hearing board found that there was a "reasonable doubt" as to Mr. Service's loyalty because he made unauthorized disclosures of classified documents in the famous Amerasia case, but emphasized that it was not required to find him disloyal and "we do not do so."

Mr. Vincent was ousted in 1953 after Secretary of State Dulles found that his work had been below standard, and Mr. Davies was released last November on grounds that he lacked "judgment, discretion and reliability."

Start at Beginning.

Senator Johnston said he went back to the original McCarthy charges because "in order to proceed in an orderly manner, I thought it desirable to start at the very beginning."

He said he sent the names of the 80 individuals to the State Department for a check last month.

"By letter the State Department has now informed me that not one of these persons who were investigated by the Tydings Committee in 1950 has been proved to be or found to be a Communist or disloyal to our Government," he asserted.

Senator Johnston said that he hoped "in due time" to look into "charges in other departments and agencies to ascertain what the facts are in such cases as I have already done in this case."

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Date: JAN 17 1955

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Tydings Report 'Whitewash' Upheld

State Found No Reds Among 80 Joe Named

(See stories by Anthony Lewis and Jack Steele on Page 19.)

Not a single one of the State Department's employes involved in Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's celebrated numbers game back in 1950 turned out to be a communist, Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D., S. C.) has revealed today.

Sen. Johnston recently asked the Department for a report on the group that launched the Wisconsin fire-eater in the Red-hunting business.

CONFUSION

Sen. McCarthy had originally accused 205 State Department workers, but later changed the figure a number of times, finally resolving on 57. As a result a Senate committee, headed by Maryland Democrat Millard Tydings, undertook an investigation of 80 employes. The committee found no communist affiliation.

Sen. McCarthy called the Tydings Committee report a "whitewash."

The State Department now has informed Sen. Johnston that 40 of the 80 named were not working for the department in 1950—33 had resigned or left before then and 7 had never worked there at all.

Of the remaining 40, 12 are still with the Department, 10 have transferred to other Government agencies and 18 have left. State Department officials told Sen. Johnston that communist charges were never proved against a single one.

"It is gratifying," Sen. Johnston said, "to have confirmed that the charges . . . put out when the Democrats were in control of our National Government, has now been contradicted by a letter to me from the present Republican Administration.

"Realizing that the 1950 investigation by the Tydings Committee of the accused State Department employes and the publicity following that investigation has left a great deal of doubt and confusion in the public mind as to the true facts in the case, the letter to me from the State Department, stating that none of the employes have been found to be communists or disloyal to our Government, should clear up this matter for all time," Sen. Johnston said.

Sen. Johnston is chairman of the Civil Service Committee.

Cain Wants Changes in Security Program

Harry P. Cain, ultra-conservative former Senator from Washington and member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, has blasted the Federal security risk program for its failure to protect individuals in the search for national security.

Mr. Cain, in a speech Saturday, said the program has in some instances "failed completely" to prevent abuse of basic rights. He cited the case of Wolf Ladejinsky and said it "points up practically every weakness which we can find or trace in our prevailing security system."

He said the case showed "evidences of the short-sightedness, ruthlessness, smugness and brutality of bureaucracy at their worst."

Mr. Ladejinsky was hired by the Foreign Operations Administration after being fired by the Agriculture Department as a security risk. Mr. Cain said the GOP should move quietly to correct the mistakes.

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Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

State Dept. Finds No Red In Lists by McCarthy

Sen. Johnston Says Check of Records Verifies Report of Tydings Committee

By Murrey Marder
Staff Reporter

Senator Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) yesterday said the State Department has informed him that "not one" of its employes named in Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's original 1950 Red charges has been found to be "a Communist or disloyal to our Government."

This check of the records by "the present Republican Administration," said Johnston, "should clear up this matter for all time."

The report "further verifies the findings of the Tyding Committee" whose Democratic majority in 1950 declared that McCarthy's charges of widespread communism in the State Department were untrue, said Johnston. McCarthy had assailed that report as a "whitewash."

Johnston is chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which is about to launch an investigation of the Eisenhower Administration's security risk program. He has charged the Administration with playing a "numbers racket" with statistics in that program.

He said the report which the State Department prepared at his request shows that 12 of the employes accused by McCarthy in 1950 are still working in the State Department.

Johnston said he asked for this information in order to get the facts on alleged communism in Government.

"In order to proceed in an orderly manner," he said, "I thought it desirable to start at the very beginning."

Therefore, he said, he started with the highly publicized report that McCarthy, at Wheeling, W. Va., in February, 1950, said he had "the names of 205 members of the Communist Party now employed in the State Department," and the subsequent McCarthy charge that he had "the names of 57 card-carrying Communists" in State.

(McCarthy later denied he had said "205" Communists; he then said, in effect, he didn't mean "57 card-carrying Communists" either, because Communists at that time did not carry cards. But he persisted in his charges of widespread communism and disloyalty in the Department and said he could supply the names.)

Johnston said he started with the files of the Subcommittee headed by the then Sen. Millard

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Not a Red Found by State Department From McCarthy List, Johnston Says

JOHNSTON—*From P. 1*

E. Tydings (D-Md.), whom McCarthy helped defeat for re-election in 1952.

He said, "I secured from the committee files the names of the employes of the State Department against whom the Wisconsin Senator had made charges—there being some 80 in number—as well as the names of 10 other individuals whom he had publicly charged."

"I sent these names to the State Department in December, 1954," said Johnston, "and asked the department to inform me, first, if any of these employes had been found to be Communists or disloyal to our Government."

"By letter the State Department has now informed me that not one of these persons who were investigated by the Tydings Committee in 1950 has been proved to be or found to be a Communist or disloyal to our Government," he said.

"In that letter to me," Johnston continued, "the State Department stated that three of the persons the Wisconsin Senator had originally charged had resigned or been dropped from the State Department rolls, but that none of these three was found to be Communists or disloyal to our Government . . ."

"The State Department . . . further verifies the findings of the Tydings Committee by stating that, of the 80-odd names given to the Tydings Committee by the Wisconsin Senator as persons then employed, only 40 were in fact employed in the State Department in 1950; 33 had resigned or left the State Department prior to that year and seven of the (persons) . . . had never been employed by the State Department."

"The State Department further reports that 12 of the 40 who were working in the State Department in 1950 are still employed in the State Department in 1955 and that 10 others who were working for the State Department in 1950 have been transferred to other United States Governmental agencies . . ."

This information, said the South Carolina Senator, should resolve the "great deal of doubt and confusion in the public mind as to the true facts in the case . . ."

"It is gratifying," he said, "to have confirmed that the charges of widespread communism in the State Department, put out in 1950 when the Democrats were in control of our national Government, has now been contradicted by the letter to me from the present Republican Administration."

"I hope in due time," Johnston concluded, "to look into charges in other departments and agencies of the Government to ascertain what the facts are in such cases as I have already done in this case."

Johnston did not release the text of the State Department letter, which was reportedly signed by Thruston B. Morton, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

The three cases of persons accused by McCarthy in his original series of charges, and referred to having resigned or "been dropped," are understood to have been diplomats John Stewart Service, John Carter Vincent and John Paton Davies.

In Service's case, a final board in 1951 found no evidence that he was a Communist or a member of any subversive group, but found "a reasonable doubt" of his loyalty because he made "unauthorized disclosures of documents" in the Amerasia case. The board said, however, "We are not required to find Service guilty of disloyalty, and we do not do so . . ."

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in March, 1953, cleared Vincent of any suspicion of disloyalty, but forced him out of the Foreign Service on grounds that his work had fallen below its standards.

Davies, in the most recent and controversial of these cases, last November was cleared by Dulles on all charges of disloyalty or Communist leanings, but fired on grounds he lacked "judgment, discretion and reliability."

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Benton Refusal to Give Communists' Names To McCarthy Upheld

By the Associated Press

A Federal judge ruled yesterday that Senator Benton, Democrat of Connecticut, need not tell Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, the names of Communists in the State Department when Mr. Benton served as an assistant secretary.

Judge Matthew McGuire also ruled that Mr. Benton need not tell Senator McCarthy what persons have contributed, or have offered to contribute, to a fund to aid Senator Benton in defending a $2 million libel-slander suit filed by Senator McCarthy.

Senator Benton refused to answer the questions during the taking of depositions in connection with Senator McCarthy's suit. The suit accusses Senator Benton of unlawfully seeking to oust Senator McCarthy from the Senate.

Senator McCarthy contended the questions were relevant, but Judge McGuire disagreed.

Senator Benton has testified he knew there were Communists in the State Department when he was assistant secretary in 1945-47, that he fought them and had some of them fired.

But he refused to name names. He suggested that Senator McCarthy get in touch with State Department officials and "do this on an authoritative basis, rather than by naming names in public hearings on the basis of a recollection many years back."

Senator McCarthy has let it be known that he will go ahead with the suit against Senator Benton despite the latter's defeat in the recent election.

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McGranery Charges McCarthy Distorted Justice Brief on Reds

By the Associated Press

Attorney General McGranery last night challenged a quotation read by Senator McCarthy, Republic, of Wisconsin, from a Justice Department document in an effort to support Senator McCarthy's contention that the State Department harbors Communists.

In a formal reply, Mr. McGranery said in effect that Senator McCarthy had lifted the quotation out of conext so that its meaning was distorted.

Senator McCarthy said in a speech at Milwaukee that a Justice Department brief made reference to Soviet plans for obtaining blank American passports "from Communists employed in the State Department."

Mr. McGranery said there had been testimony that Russian secret police in 1928 worked on a plan to have Communists employed in the State Department so it would be easier to obtain illegal passports. But there has been no testimony that the plan was put into effect, he said, and so the sentence did not mean there were Reds in the State Department.

Paragraph Quoted.

The prepared text of Senator McCarthy's Milwaukee address contained this paragraph:

"There are those who say there are no longer Communists in Government. I am not going to ask you to take my word for that. I have in my hand the brief prepared by seven lawyers of the Justice Department dated July 28, 1952. Let me read to you from it. 'Illegal passports have been used to expedite travel in foreign countries by members of the Communist Party. Plans have been discussed by leading members of the party and agents of Soviet secret police to obtain blank American passports from Communists employed in the State Department.'"

Mr. McGranery's formal reply said in part:

"The brief to which the Senator referred was the Government's proposed findings of fact submitted to the Subversive Activities Control Board in the case against the Communist Party. The department is pressing proceedings before the board in an effort to force the party to register as a foreign-controlled organization.

"The proposed findings to which the Senator referred were based on testimony of witnesses which appeared before the board. His reference to 'plans' discussed to obtain blank American passports from Communists employed in the State Department does not mean that there were Communists employed in the State Department."

Mr. McGranery then said Paul Crouch, an acknowledged former Communist, had testified that in 1928 he was introduced to a man identified as the head of the Russian secret police in the United States.

Mr. McGranery said Crouch testified in part:

"'Then this official . . . proceeded to ask a number of questions, primarily about the employment of Communists in Washington, in the State Department, asking if any members of the Young Communist League had jobs in the State Department, where it might be possible for them to secretly obtain possession of blank passports, which, he stated, were needed very much by the Soviet government, and I replied there were no such members, and he directed me if it were possible to try to get such members employed with the State Department and they would be very, very important if the Soviet government could obtain American blank passports.'"

Mr. McGranery added:

"Nowhere in the entire hearing is there any testimony that the plan was put into effect."

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More McCarthy Suit Data Due Friday

Additional pre-trial testimony in Senator McCarthy's libel suit against Senator Benton, Democrat, of Connecticut, will be heard Friday in the Senate Office Building.

Four witnesses will appear for Senator Benton in connection with the 10 "case histories" of fraud and deceit which Senator Benton cited before the Senate subcommittee on privileges and elections last September.

Two witnesses will be officials of a Wheeling, W. Va., radio station which presented a speech by Senator McCarthy on February 9, 1950.

Senator Benton has charged the Wisconsin Republican with making false charges during this address to the effect that many known Communists were in the employ of the State Department.

The other witnesses will be ex-Senator Millard E. Tydings of Maryland and Edward P. Morgan, Washington attorney and counsel of the Tydings subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950.

Senator McCarthy has charged that this committee "whitewashed" his claims that the Reds had infiltrated sensitive departments of the Government.

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Wisconsin Voters Get Choice Of Two 'Records' of McCarthy

By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Pro and anti-McCarthy forces in Wisconsin are each now armed with diametrically opposed "records" of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's (R-Wisc.) Communists-in-Government campaign.

The "records," in the form of booklets, are likely to be a significant factor in the current primary campaign in which McCarthy is seeking reelection for a second term.

McCarthy's defense of his record is in a 101-page volume he recently published, bearing the McCarthyesque title, "McCarthyism: The Fight for America."

His publication, in question and answer form, has a sales price of 50 cents. In it, McCarthy contends that his picture of a Government rampant with Communists has been borne out by the fact that 10 persons he named at various times have either been dismissed, suspended pending investigation, or, as he says, "allowed to resign."

The list, he states, "is growing month by month."

McCarthy's volume contains some of the most bitter attacks he has ever directed at sections of the American press which he accuses of engaging in a "viciously intense smear attack against him."

A completely different version of McCarthy's activities is contained in a new 134-page booklet entitled, "The McCarthy Record."

Published by the Wisconsin Citizens Committee on McCarthy's Record, this volume, in pocket-magazine form, sells for $1. This committee describes itself as a nonpartisan group, composed of Republicans, Democrats and "some independents."

It presents a relatively detailed and illustrated study which includes McCarthy's political beginnings, his controversial status as a Wisconsin judge, his tax records and his Communists-in-Government campaign.

"The record shows," it states, that McCarthy "has failed to produce a single Communist although he has been given countless opportunities to name names and prove his case.

"Even now, when pressed for names, he either lists those who were exposed by other agencies, or cites cases which the FBI and other investigating bodies are totally unable, on the evidence, to classify as Communists."

Head of the Wisconsin committee which compiled the book is Carlisle P. Runge, member of the University of Wisconsin Law School faculty. Treasurer is Francis H. Wendt, former mayor of Racine.

The booklet bears the indorsement of Oliver S. Rundell, dean of the Wisconsin law school; Sverre Roang, former commander of the Wisconsin Veterans of Foreign Wars; Nathan M. Pusey, president of Lawrence College at Appleton, Wis.; Ellis H. Dana, executive secretary of the Wisconsin Council of Churches; Herman Steffes, president of the Wisconsin State CIO, and others.

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M'CARTHY SAYS KEFAUVER WOOS PINKO SUPPORT

Charges Bribe Offerer Was Protected

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin started another political uproar yesterday with publication in magazine form of a documented report on the fight he has waged since February 1950, against communism in the government.

McCarthy accuses Sen. Kefauver (D) of Tennessee, a Democratic Presidential aspirant, of bidding for the support of "left-wing and Communist-controled elements of press and radio" by attacking the McCarthy exposure of Red burocrats.

He followed up with a charge that Kefauver has suppressed the identity of the man who offered him a bribe of $100,000 or more to protect "certain racketeering activities" when the Tennessean was chairman of a crime investigation committee.

The McCarthy report, published by Devin-Adair Co. to sell at 50 cents a copy, is entitled "McCarthyism, The Fight for America." It contains the answers to hundreds of hostile questions flung at McCarthy during the last two years as he named federal officials who were either Communists or supporters of Communist objectives.

Names 10 Officials

In this review, the Wisconsin senator names ten officials, originally accused by him, who have since been removed from the government on the grounds that they were either disloyal or bad security risks. He includes a sizzling section on Owen Lattimore, the State department consultant whom he labeled a Soviet agent, and who has just been barred by the State department from leaving the country.

McCarthy leveled his guns on Kefauver in a discussion of congressional immunity. He noted that Kefauver used congressional immunity to charge people with being crooks, gamblers and racketeers but attacked McCarthy for using the same immunity to expose Communists in government.

Noting that his latest publication was not immune from libel action, McCarthy wrote:

"Sen. Kefauver in his bid for the support of the left-wing and communist-controled press and radio in his campaign for the presidential nomination, has conducted a running public attack on my exposure. He has been unable to find one single thing good for America in my fight against Communists. He has parrotted the stock left-wing phrases about 'smearing innocent people' without of course being able to name a single innocent person who has been smeared. No mention is made of the fact that a sizable number of the 'innocent' people have since either gone to jail or have been gotten rid of under the loyalty program."

Recalls Bribe Offer

McCarthy then recalled that in a magazine article in April, 1951, Kefauver declared he had been offered a bribe "in six figures" to prevent a committee investigation. "offering to pay a public official a huge bribe is a serious crime," McCarthy wrote. "Unless the criminal who makes the offer is exposed and prosecuted, he and other criminals and racketeers will rightly understand this is a green light to attempt to buy protection from other public officers."

McCarthy asked if the bribe-offerer got the protection from the Kefauver committee which he tried to buy or was investigated.

"Only Kefauver can answer that question," he remarked, and he has refused to disclose either the name of the individual or the racket in which he was involved. Kefauver's story merely shows that this racketeer was worried about being exposed and that he tried to buy Kefauver off by offering to contribute $100,000 or more to the Democratic National committee or to hire workers for Kefauver or to send out campaign material for him.

"Obviously, Communist traitors would pay a much higher price to have their activities covered up and whitewashed. Why does Kefauver so bitterly condemn McCarthy for refusing where Communist traitors are concerned, to follow the same cover-up rule that he followed where this cheap racketeer was concerned? I would prefer not to speculate as to Kefauver's motives."

In an introduction to the McCarthy booklet, Prof. William M. McGovern of Northwestern university asserts that McCarthy "has been able to awaken the American public out of its complacent slumber and make it realize that there was something radically wrong with the caliber of our leadership in international affairs."

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Benton Says Ouster Of McCarthy Would Be Blow at Red Cause

By W. H. Shippen

Senators McCarthy and Benton were back in the ring today, after a wordy exchange which bruised tempers on both sides.

The Wisconsin Republican still was firing the questions. Once he opened a line of attack, however, he appeared to take at least as much punishment as he handed out.

The hearing room in the Senate Office Building was crowded with spectators for the second, pre-trial phase of Senator McCarthy's $2 million suit against the Democrat from Connecticut.

Sees Blow to Reds.

The opponents sought to score these points in the opening bout:

1. Senator Benton said Senator McCarthy's removal from public life would be a blow at the Communist cause. He added he doubted if the Politburo would trade the Senator for a billion dollars worth of propaganda.

2. Senator McCarthy tried to show that the case against him was prepared by Senator Benton with the aid of the Democratic National Committee. He declared the move had the backing of the Communist press and party.

3. Senator Benton said he began his fight on communism long before Senator McCarthy entered the field. He pointed out that the Daily Worker was attacking him years before the Red mouthpiece ever heard of Senator McCarthy.

4. Senator McCarthy declared he would ask District Court to compel Senator Benton to name the friends who offered to help raise $50,000 to defend him from the suit for damages.

5. Senator Benton said Senator McCarthy's "loaded" questions were part of a "pattern of fraud and deceit," which he had charged in his statement to the investigating subcommittee.

6. Senator McCarthy brought out that Senator Benton had conferred with Columnist Drew Pearson in recent months. Mr. Pearson is suing Senator McCarthy and others for $5.1 million on charges of assault and conspiracy to run him out of business.

"What Would You Do?"

Senator McCarthy kept asking his opponent a hypothetical question. He asked Senator Benton to assume that he had learned of "dangerous" employes from a loyalty standpoint in the Government and had been unable to obtain action, either from the proper Federal agencies or the President.

"What would you have done in my case?" he demanded.

The Senator was referring to his statement in the Senate that he had the names of 57 card-carrying Communists employed in the State Department.

...tor Benton replied he would ...eported the matter to the ...y Board or to the FBI. He ...e would have sought action ... those delegated to investi... such cases. If no action was ...n, he added, he could "imagine ...ase" that might have com...ed him to report to the Senate.

Cites John S. Service Case.

Senator Benton refused, however, to comment on a specific case Senator McCarthy mentioned—that of John S. Service, who has been dismissed from the State Department.

Senator McCarthy said that here was a case where a man was known to be living with a Chinese spy in the employ of the Soviets.

"If you could not get rid of that man by any means, what would you have done?" Senator McCarthy asked.

Senator Benton pointed out this was a problem for the Loyalty Board and not to be decided on "casual," one-sided statements.

He raised the possibility that a Foreign Service employe might be instructed to go and live with a Chinese, under certain circumstances.

Senator Benton added he was "not prepared to defend the State Department" at the pre-trial hearing. He said that while he could visualize circumstances that would force him to take a case to the floor of the Senate, he would do so with extreme reluctance, after exhausting every other remedy.

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Warns of Reds' Benefit.

"This is a time of great danger to the country, because of Communist imperialism," Senator Benton said. "When a Senator goes on the floor with that kind of a charge, he adds immeasurably to the danger."

Such an action, he said, would make headlines all over the world, which would be used by the Reds to undermine confidence in the leadership of the United States.

"These matters are seized by our enemies and turned against us," he said. "We should recognize the menace.

"I know of no way to further Red propaganda more effectively than to take such cases to the Senate in an attack on our leaders. The first Red objective is to destroy the faith of our people in their leaders."

Under questioning, Senator Benton said Kenneth Birkhead helped provide him with some of the material he used in a statement before the subcommittee inquiring into Senator McCarthy's fitness to hold his seat.

The witness explained Mr. Birkhead's primary work was in behalf of the election of Democratic Senators. He said Mr. Birkhead "did some leg work" and collected material "wholly from the public records."

Senator Benton explained he rewrote the statement he submitted to the subcommittee four times and took sole responsibility for it.

Says No One Helped Him.

"Who on the Democratic National Committee aided you in preparation of material for the statement?" Senator McCarthy asked.

Senator Benton said no one from the committee had helped him, but that he regretted having mentioned casually to a publicity man on the committee that he was introducing a resolution last August looking toward the ouster of Senator McCarthy.

He said he felt this was unfortunate because the impression was given that someone had advised him on his plan to seek the expulsion of Senator McCarthy. Senator Benton claimed responsibility for this idea without assistance from anybody.

Senator McCarthy asked who had promised Senator Benton they would help to raise $50,000 to defend him against the suit.

Senator Benton's attorney, Theodore Kiendl, instructed him not to answer the question.

Senator Benton said, however, he hoped the money would be contributed. He explained he already had received many offerings in small sums from well-wishers, none except one over $10. He refused to say if garment union leaders and others had offered to help raise the $50,000.

Was at Pearson Home.

Asked about his association with Mr. Pearson, Senator Benton said he talked with the columnist at the latter's home last fall and they had lunch at a local hotel several months ago.

He denied, however, he had ever seen the record of the pre-trial hearings in the Pearson vs. McCarthy suit.

At the conclusion of yesterday's all-day session, Senator McCarthy remarked that he could get the proceedings over with in a few hours if Mr. Benton would stop giving such long answers to his questions.

Senator Benton's lawyer reported the hearing would be expedited if Senator McCarthy would quit asking such lengthy questions.

Mr. Kiendl stated he wanted the record to show that while Senator McCarthy had announced he would represent himself at the hearings, he was flanked by two attorneys.

Senator McCarthy replied that Attorney Edward Bennett Williams represented him in the Pearson suit, and that Attorney Warren Magee was his lawyer in a $500,000 suit he has brought against a Syracuse (N. Y.) newspaper.

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Communists in State Department

State Dept. Loyalty Files Denied Senate

By the Associated Press

President Truman yesterday ordered Secretary of State Dean Acheson to turn down a Senate committee request for detailed information and complete files on the State Department's loyalty-security cases.

The President told Acheson in a letter that granting the request would be "clearly contrary" to the public interest and mean:

"The reputations of hundreds of loyal Government employes would be pilloried and the entire Civil Service would be severely demoralized."

He also said that if all Government agencies were to release such information, "the overall result would be to wreck the Federal employes loyalty program."

The request for the files came from a Senate appropriation subcommittee.

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(LOYALTY)

PRESIDENT TRUMAN TOLD SECRETARY ACHESON NOT TO TURN OVER DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S LOYALTY-SECURITY PROGRAM TO A SENATE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.

MR. TRUMAN SAID THAT IF THE STATE DEPARTMENT WERE TO COMPLY WITH THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S REQUEST, "THE OVER-ALL RESULT WOULD BE TO WRECK THE FEDERAL EMPLOYES LOYALTY PROGRAM."

THE SUBCOMMITTEE HAD ASKED ACHESON FOR THE FILES IN SPECIFIED LOYALTY-SECURITY CASES, NAMES OF ALL PRESENT AND FORMER EMPLOYES WHO HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATED UNDER THE LOYALTY PROGRAM, AND THE DISPOSITION OF THE CASES; NAMES OF ALL STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES WHO RESIGNED OR RETIRED WHILE BEING INVESTIGATED, AND THE NAMES OF STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICERS WHO SAT AS MEMBERS OF THE LOYALTY SECURITY BOARD ON A PARTICULAR CASE AND THE WAY EACH OFFICER VOTED.

THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT IF THE REQUEST WERE GRANTED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT ALL OTHER GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES EVENTUALLY WOULD HAVE TO RESPOND TO SIMILAR DEMANDS.

"IN THE PROCESS," MR. TRUMAN WROTE ACHESON, "THE REPUTATIONS OF HUNDREDS OF LOYAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES WOULD BE PILLORIED AND THE ENTIRE CIVIL SERVICE WOULD BE SEVERELY DEMORALIZED. ACCORDINGLY, I MUST ADVISE YOU NOT TO FURNISH THE INFORMATION REQUESTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE, FOR TO DO SO WOULD BE CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST."

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Communists in State Department

D 1 LOYALTY (208P)

MR. TRUMAN OBJECTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S EFFORT TO MAKE PUBLIC THE NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS DETERMINED TO BE SECURITY RISKS MIGHT BE USEFUL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES IN LESS SENSITIVE POSITIONS.

"THE REPUTATIONS OF THESE PERSONS SHOULD NOT BE BESMIRCHED UNNECESSARILY BY MAKING THEIR NAMES PUBLIC," MR. TRUMAN SAID.

HE SAID THE SAME POLICY DICTATED AGAINST PUBLICIZING THE NAMES OF PERSONS WHO LEFT THE DEPARTMENT PRIOR TO COMPLETION OF THEIR LOYTALTY-SECURITY PROCESSING. THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT SOME EMPLOYES WERE DRAFTED, SOME GOT PREGNANT AND SOME WENT INTO PRIVATE BUSINESS.

"TO PROTECT THE INNOCENT FROM GROUNDLESS ACCUSATIONS AND UNWARRANTED INFERENCES, THEREFORE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THESE NAMES SHOULD NOT BE RELEASED IN RESPONSE TO BLANKET REQUESTS," THE PRESIDENT SAID.

MR. TRUMAN HAD NO OBJECTION TO MAKING AVAILABLE THE NAMES OF THE AGENCY'S LOYALTY BOARD MEMBERS BUT OBJECTED TO SAYING HOW THEY VOTED IN PARTICULAR CASES ON GROUNDS THAT IT MIGHT LEAD TO INTIMIDATION.

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0 Communists in State Department

ADD 2 LOYALTY (228P)
SEN. HOMER FERGUSON (R-MICH.), A SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBER WHO HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN OBTAINING THE REQUESTED INFORMATION, SAID MR. TRUMAN'S DIRECTIVE IS "THE SAME OLD STORY."
"THE PRESIDENT IS SAYING THAT THE BODY DEALING WITH THE FUNDS FOR THIS (LOYALTY) PROGRAM IS NOT ENTITLED TO THE FACTS OR TO KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT HOW IT IS RUN," HE SAID. "I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT THAT TYPE OF GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR TAX DOLLAR."
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Truman Bans Release Of Data on Employes In State Department

Cites 'Public Interest' In Order to Acheson; Tightens Information Rules

By Joseph A. Fox

President Truman today told Secretary of State Acheson not to turn over requested departmental loyalty-security data to a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, declaring that such action "would be clearly contrary to the public interest."

At the same time, the President tightened the rules under which loyalty or security information may be given to Congressional investigators.

In a long letter to the Secretary of State, the President stood on a four-year-old order safeguarding employe loyalty data against unrestricted circulation, declaring that to do otherwise would mean "the reputations of hundreds of loyal Government employes would be pilloried and the entire civil service would be severly demoralized."

Detailed Data Asked.

The State Department, long under fire by Capitol Hill loyalty probers, received a request from the Appropriations Subcommittee for detailed information on the departmental loyalty-security program, which fell into four categories:

1. Complete files on specified cases. Detailed information concerning the substance of investigative reports in certain additional cases and the procedural steps taken in the handling of various individual cases.

2. The names of all present and former State Department employes who have been investigated under the Federal employes' loyalty program or the department's security program, along with the status or disposition of the respective cases.

3. Names of all employes who resigned or retired from the Department while under investiga-

(See LOYALTY, Page A-3.)

Loyalty

(Continued From First Page.)

tion or during processing of their loyalty-security cases.

Asked Loyalty Boards Votes.

4. The names of State Department officers who sat as members of the loyalty-security board on a particular case and the way each officer voted.

The President ruled out response to the first three questions entirely, and while he said there was no objection to giving the names of officers who have sat as members of the loyalty-security board, it would be "entirely improper" to disclose individual votes.

"If this type of information were divulged freely," the President said, "the danger of intimidation would be great and the objectivity, fairness and impartiality of board members would be seriously prejudiced."

Permits Two Queries.

In tightening up the regulations, the President said: "Hereafter no information regarding individual loyalty or security cases shall be provided in response to inquiries fro moutside the executive branch unless such inquiries are made in writing. Where proper inquiries are made in writing, replies will be confined to two categories of information as follows:

"1. If an employe has been separated on loyalty grounds, advice to the effect may be given in response to a specific request for information concerning the particular individual, and (2) if an employe has been separated as a security risk, replies to request for information about that individual may state only that he was separated for reason relating to suitability for employment in the particular agency."

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Monroney Will Seek Senate Decision on McCarthy Inquiry

To Suggest Move At Subcommittee's Meeting Next Week

By the Associated Press

Senator Monroney, Democrat, of Oklahoma, said today he will press for a Senate vote on whether to continue an inquiry into demands that Senator McCarthy be ousted from Congress.

Senator Monroney said he plans to propose at a meeting of a Senate Elections subcommittee next week that the Senate be given a chance to decide on the investigation. The Oklahoman, a member of the subcommittee, added that he wants the inquiry continued.

Demands that Senator McCarthy be expelled have come from Senator Benton, Democrat, of Connecticut, sponsor of a resolution aimed at ousting the Wisconsin Republican.

Investigation Conducted.

The resolution has been before the Elections subcommittee for study since last August. In October, the group instructed its staff to conduct an independent investigation of the Benton contentions, which included charges that Senator McCarthy had committed perjury and fraud and had engaged in "calculated deceit" of the American people.

During the staff inquiry, Senator McCarthy challenged the subcommittee's jurisdiction and said it was spending "tens of thousands of dollars" without authorization in an effort to dig up material for the Democrats to use against him.

Challenged to Make Move.

Alluding today to those charges, Senator Monroney told a reporter:

"Senator McCarthy has challenged the jurisdiction of our subcommittee and the integrity of its members. When the subcommittee meets next week I shall propose that McCarthy himself or one of our members move in the Senate that the Benton resolution be taken away from the subcommittee.

"I will suggest that McCarthy be told: 'You make the discharge motion or we will.' The vote on such a motion would in effect be a Senate decision on whether our investigation should go ahead."

Several weeks ago Senator Monroney challenged Senator McCarthy to make such a motion in the Senate. Senator McCarthy refused at that time, saying it would be "dishonest."

Ready to Initiate Vote.

Explaining, he said the subcommittee has no jurisdiction to consider any of Senator Benton's charges but one dealing with Senator McCarthy's role in the 1950 Maryland senatorial election.

Senator Monroney said he now is ready to initiate a Senate vote on the issue if Senator McCarthy again refuses to do so. Senator McCarthy was not immediately available for comment.

The subcommittee staff recently completed its inquiry into Senator Benton's charges. Published reports yesterday said the staff had recommended that the subcommittee go ahead with hearings on some of the charges, including some based on Senator McCarthy's Communist-in-Government charges.

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McCarthy Passes Up Tydings' $25,000 Bid

Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin has passed up the chance to collect the $25,000 reward offered him by former Senator Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, if he would go before a grand jury before February 9 and prove there were either 205 or 57 card-carrying Communists in the State Department. Today is the deadline on the offer.

From his home at Havre de Grace, Md., Mr. Tydings said the Senator has not accepted "and he isn't going to, and he hasn't proved a single State Department official is a Communist." The Senator said he fixed February 9 as the deadline because it is the second anniversary of the original McCarthy charge.

Meanwhile, Senator McCarthy is back today in Wheeling, W. Va., where he made the original speech two years ago charging Communist infiltration of the State Department.

A member of the Senator's office staff here said the Senator turned his information over to the FBI and that it is the administration's job to present evidence to grand juries.

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McCarthy Charges White House Aide

Phillco Nash Was a Communist

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By Murrey Marder
Post Reporter

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.), charged yesterday that FBI reports show Philleo Nash, a White House aide, was a Communist.

McCarthy said they disclose that Nash "had been in close contact with the Communist underground in Washington and in the early 1940s permitted his home in Toronto to be used by members of a Canadian spy ring."

Nash, a special assistant to the President on minority problems, immediately branded the accusation "a contemptible lie."

He flatly denied that he is or was a Communist or had "anything to do with the Communist movement."

Nash, who is 42, and a native of Wisconsin, said McCarthy apparently "has been stung" by an anti-McCarthy advertisement signed by Nash's sister, Jean, and 12 other Democrats and Republicans.

The advertisement last Monday in the Wisconsin Rapids Daily Tribune dealt with "the menace of McCarthyism" under the heading, "Citizens vs. McCarthy."

Nash, a former lecturer on anthropology at the University of Toronto, worked for the Office of War Information during World War II. In 1945 he came to the White House as assistant to David K. Niles. When Niles resigned, Nash succeeded to his job.

"I have absolutely nothing to hide and never have had," Nash said last night.

McCarthy referred to him as a $17,500-a-year aide, while the White House said Nash's salary is $10,800.

The Wisconsin Senator, whose "advice" is anathema to the President, said yesterday that he was speaking "principally for the ear of President Harry Truman." He said "I assume" the President is unaware of the reports on Nash.

McCarthy also had some advice for the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board, from whose confidential files he has repeatedly disclosed excerpts that have resulted in an investigation of the board's own security.

"I may say for the benefit of the Loyalty Review Board," said McCarthy, that they need not investigate their staff to find out how I got this material." All reports on it went to the White House, he said.

McCarthy said Nash was cleared by the White House Loyalty Review Board and the FBI subsequently turned in "10 separate reports" on Nash.

Although the Review Board then ordered a new hearing for Nash, McCarthy said, Presidential Aide Donald S. Dawson "asked that the complete files be sent to the White House." They were, said McCarthy, and were never returned to the board.

McCarthy, on January 15, similarly charged the White House with intervening to obtain loyalty files on Aide David Demarest Lloyd. Lloyd replied that he was ready to answer all questions at all times, and had done so.

There were nine points in the FBI reports on Nash, McCarthy said. For reasons he did not disclose, he said he would not read four of them into the record.

They show, said McCarthy, that Nash in the "early 40s was attending Communist meetings and had officially joined the Communist Party;" "That during the early '40s parts of the Communist spy ring in Canada were using his home in Toronto as a point of rendezvous, and some of them were living there."

McCarthy said they also show Nash was "a close associate of one of the convicted Canadian Communists" and had "financially contributed to the support of the Canadian Tribune, the official organ of the Communist Party in Canada."

He said he will "assume" President Truman does not know that, but when he does he should "get rid of" Nash.

White House Aide Accused As Ex-Red

BY WILLARD EDWARDS

Charges of communism in both the White House and the State department seized the Senate's attention yesterday. The twin developments:

1. Sen McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, in a Senate speech, revealed loyalty board files on Philleo Nash, 42, a $17,500 adviser to President Truman, which showed that Nash had been accused of membership in the Communist party "in close contact with the Communist underground in Washington" and whose former home in Toronto, had been used by a Canadian spy ring in the early 40s as a rendevous.

Rosinger Testifies

2. The Senate internal security subcommittee heard Lawrence K. Rosinger, one of State Secretary Acheson's China policy advisers in 1949, refuse to answer the testimony of three previous witnesses that he was a Communist party member. Rosinger pleaded possible self-incrimination. He also refused to discuss his relationships with a number of individuals, in the government and out, on the ground that he might involve himself in trouble with the law.

Nash, McCarthy's White House target, succeeded David K. Niles as an assistant to the President in charge of advising on "minority problems."

He was a lecturer on anthropology at the University of Toronto from 1937 to 1941, then came to Washington as special assistant to the director of the domestic branch of the office of war information. He was assigned to the White House on June 7, 1941, from the OWI.

The White House loyalty board cleared Nash some time ago," McCarthy declared. "Thereafter, the FBI conducted a thoro investigation. Ten separate reports were made and sent to the White House loyalty review board.

Called Friend of Reds

"After the White House cleared Nash, the review board asked for a new hearing. Shortly thereafter, Donald Dawson (White House administrative assistant on personnel) called for the complete files which were sent to the White House and never have been returned to the review board."

The FBI reports, said McCarthy, reading from documents, said Nash had been a close friend and

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White House Aide Accused As Commie

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close associate of one of the convicted Canadian Communists.

"During the early 40s," he continued, "parts of the Communist spy ring in Toronto were using his home as a rendezvous and some of them were living there. Nash was attending Communist meeetings and had officially joined the Communist party. The reports also show that he had been in close contact with the Communist underground in Washington."

McCarthy said he "assumed" Mr. Truman had never seen the BIF reports. He suggested that the President call upon Dawson for the file and after reading it get rid of Nash.

From Nash in the White House came a denunciation of the charges as "a contemptible lie." He denied ever having been a Communist party member and blamed his sister's anti-McCarthy activities for the senator's blast.

The Senate subcommittee's questioning of Rosinger, 36, now a free-lance writer, was featured by his sparring with acting chairman Ferguson (R) of Michigan. At the end, Ferguson said pending legislation, compelling witnesses to testify before congressional committees by granting them immunity from future prosecution, must be approved quickly if the investigating processes are to continue.

Rosinger was confronted by subcommittee counsel Robert Morris with earlier testimony of William Canning, Karl Wittfogel and Louis Budenz that Rosinger had been a Communist party member and was known to them as such. He asked if he was now or ever had been a Communist.

"I respectfully decline to answer, relying on my privilege under the fifth amendment to the Constitution," he answered.

Admits Knowing Some

Rosinger was asked concerning his relationships with persons identified as Communists before the subcommittee and with other persons not thus identified. He pleaded possible self-incrimination in refusing to answer questions about a number of persons, but freely conceded his acquaintance with others.

Among those about whom he refused to testify were Alger Hiss, State department official serving a five-year sentence for perjury to conceal espionage; Frederick V. Field, financial sponsor of Communist movements; Andrew Roth, a Navy lieutenant involved in the Amerasia espionage case of 1945; Julian Wadleigh, a State department officer who confessed espionage during the Hiss trial, and many others of lesser note.

The witness said he knew Ambassador Jessup only slightly. He at first denied knowing John S. Service, diplomat recently fired after a loyalty board hearing, but later admitted having met him once or twice.

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David Lawrence:

Official Reply Called Misleading

Records of Testimony Made Before Congressional Committees Contradict Snow's Statement on State Department Reds

To what extent have Communists and Communist sympathizers infiltrated the United States Government and particularly the State Department in recent years?

An answer to this question is attempted in a speech by Chairman Conrad E. Snow of the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department. He has made some very significant statements which unquestionably will attract the attention of Congressional Committees as they examine further what appears to be an official reply to various charges leveled in recent months.

The first point that strikes the eye is the argument that, even if there were Communists or sympathizers in the State Department, they did very little harm at most. Here is the exact language by Chairman Snow on this point:

"I can say confidently that there are no known Communists in Government. If there are any secret Communists—Communists who join no Communist fronts and speak no Communist sentiments—of course I cannot say, for they are not known.

"The Hiss case and the case of Judith Coplon in the Justice Department have done more harm in terms of public confidence than any harm Hiss or Coplon ever did in the delivery of classified papers. Both worked in absolute secrecy—their best friends were ignorant of their acts. Neither would have been employed by Government for a day after their acts were discovered. But a swallow does not make a summer—neither do these two cases make out an infiltration of Government by Communists."

The foregoing assertion will be challenged, and, in fact, is contradicted by records of the testimony made before congressional committees.

Thus, the declaration that Alger Hiss, for example, would never have been kept in Government employ for a day after his acts were discovered, is not borne out by the testimony given by Whittaker Chambers, a confessed Russian spy, who has told congressional committees that as early as 1939 he notified the State Department that Hiss had given him secret papers. The record shows that Hiss not only continued in the State Department for years afterward, but that he played a very important part in the preparations for and in the discussions which went on at the Yalta conference as recently as 1945.

The statement by chairman Snow says also:

"Since December 17, 1947, when the President's loyalty program was implemented by directive of the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission, the Loyalty Security Board of the State Department has had before it over 500 cases of State Department employes who have been investigated for loyalty by the Federal Bureau of Investigation—the FBI—and not one case has been found of a present Communist working in the State Department.

"Over that period eight employes have been held to be security risks, but not one of those admitted present membership in the Communist Party, nor was there evidence of present membership."

A reading of the foregoing statement by those who have not followed closely the controversy over the loyalty program would lead to the impression that infiltration in the State Department hasn't occurred because no "present" Communist can be found. The strongest argument of the anti-Communist group in America has been that former Communists either stayed on in Government employ or were permitted to resign without an explanation of what harm they had done while in Government employ.

In the statement above quoted, the words "present Comunist" or "present membership" were not underlined by the speaker, but there are many observers who insist that the presence of former Communists today in highly confidential posts is bad security.

Chairman Snow reveals that since 1947 "about 40 other employes have elected to resign during the process of investigation and adjudication of loyalty." He adds:

"What might have been found in their cases, had they gone to hearing, of course, I do not know. But this small number—less than 50 in all—out of a department of 94,000 employes—who have either been held to be security risks or who have for one reason or another desired not to face investigation, does not indicate any noticeable infiltration of Communists in Government."

What is the importance of the word "noticeable"? It will be noted that Klaus Fuchs, who was cleared through a faulty system in which the State Department shares responsibility, stole American atom-bomb secrets. Yet it can be said he is just one employe out of the thousands of employes of our own and foreign governments who have dealt with classified information in recent years. To use 50 in ratio to 94,000 is misleading in itself. Not all the 94,000 employes of the State Department have anything to do with confidential information. It is a rather small group which has access to secrets, and there is no way of knowing whether the 50 who have either been dismissed or resigned had such access. The public is entitled to information on this point as well as to information as to just what part was played by Alger Hiss and others who are admitted now to have been bad security risks.

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No Names

Carlisle H. Humelsine, above, deputy Undersecretary of State for security, said on a TV show last night that 13 of 26 department officials recently brought under a new investigation have been cleared by the department's loyalty-security board. Recently, Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R., Wis.) gave 26 names to the Senate and said they included Ambassador-at-Large Philip Jessup, but Mr. Humelsine declined to give any names because of the 13 cases still under scrutiny.

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McCarthy Is Declared Riding Piggy Back On Disproved Charges

Acheson and Humelsine Fire Double-Barreled Blast at Senator

Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin today stood accused of lying and "riding piggy back" on rehashed, old and completely disproved charges of Communist infiltration in the State Department, as the department loosed a double-barreled blast at critics in the controversial issues of personnel loyalty and foreign policy.

The attack on Senator McCarthy, long-time foe of the department, came from Deputy Undersecretary Carl Humelsine, in charge of the department's loyalty-security program, who discussed the Senator's charges in a television interview. He said that they are disrupting the department's work to some extent, and added that if he finds any one in the department feeding information to Senator McCarthy they will be fired.

The other rebuttal came from Secretary Acheson, who denounced as "either entirely incorrect or distortions of the truth" 12 accusations made against him by Lt. Gov. Goodwin J. Knight of California. The criticism ranged from Mr. Acheson's handling of Formosa policy, through State Department security questions, to the Alger Hiss case.

Detailed Answer Asked.

They were formulated by Mr. Knight, a Republican, after he had been challenged by John B. Elliott, Los Angeles civic leader and Democrat, to back up criticisms of Mr. Acheson he made in a speech at Chico, Calif., April 17.

The Knight complaints were sent to the State Department by Mr. Elliott with a request that they be answered in detail.

The Humelsine slap at Senator McCarthy brought a prompt reply from the Senator, who said that if the offices charge of rehashing means that the State Department employes in question "have not newly joined the Communist Party, he's right. I have submitted cases with long records of Communist activity, but the State Department still has refused to fire them."

He also said that his charges "are not interfering with the work of any honest American" in the department.

Statement Declared Untrue.

Mr. Humelsine disclosed that of 28,000 department employes, "several thousand" have access to secret papers.

In connection with the department's loyalty program, he said 800 employes have been under such suspicion that "detailed, serious" investigations were made, and 15 have been found unfit, while 188 quit while under scrutiny.

This is one of the points on which Mr. Humelsine directly charged Senator McCarthy with making a statement that "isn't true." The Senator has contended the department's loyalty board has never found one of its employes unfit for government service, because of Communist activity.

The department official was asked about charges that the State Department has cleared employes who would not have been passed "if the FBI had its way."

Decisions Up to Department.

Mr. Humelsine said "that couldn't be true" because the FBI makes the investigations for the department in all major cases. In answer to further queries, however, he said the FBI doesn't evaluate its reports—the evaluations and the decisions are made by the State Department.

—AP Wirephoto

LT. GOV. GOODWIN KNIGHT

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Asked how many new leads Senator McCarthy had given on possible subversive employes, Mr. Humelsine replied "very few indeed." He said the Senator has been picking up old lists of employes already cleared. He added that Senator McCarthy provided "a couple of new names" but each of these cases was carefully investigated and the employes were cleared.

Mr. Humelsine said it's true that because of Senator McCarthy's repeated charges, some employes—even high officials—"are becoming afraid to make candid reports to the State Department."

He said in some cases, "it depends on circumstances," employes mentioned by Senator McCarthy and others as possibly subversive, who have been cleared, have access to secret papers.

Aid to Nationalist China.

At one point in the Acheson-Knight exchange the State Department said approximately $90,000,000 in arms and ordnance has been given Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese forces on Formosa, and $300,000,000 more is scheduled this year.

In addition, the department mentioned a "600-man" United States military mission on Formosa "assisting in the reorganization of Chiang's forces."

On June 24, Maj. Gen. William C. Chase, head of the mission, said in Taipeh, Formosa, the United States group had 1,250 members.

Apparently the State Department information was based on figures obtained several weeks or months earlier, indicating a rapid increase in size of the United States mission.

Propaganda Directive Cited.

Here is a summary of the charges and replies:

1. Charge—"on December 23 Acheson sent out instructions to diplomatic and consular personnel in Asia that Formosa was doomed and expendable."

The repl yis that what the department sent out was a propaganda directive designed to minimize the unfavorable reaction in case Formosa should fall.

2. Charge—Mr. Acheson approved a $90 million loan to "Communist Poland" in 1946 against the advice of United States Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane. Counsel in the deal was Donald Hiss, a brother of Alger Hiss and a member of Mr. Acheson's law firm, and the firm got a $50,000 fee.

The State Department said the "inferences" of this charge were "false" and based upon a "distortion of the public record."

Denies Reds Are on Staff.

3. Charge—Mr. Acheson said July 20 there were no Communists in the State Department and "this statement has since proved to be completely false and untrue."

The State Department replied that Mr. Acheson said only that he "knew of no Communists" in the State Department. Furthermore the department said a security investigation staff of 100 persons which has operated with the FBI also does not know of any Reds in the Department.

4. Charge—Mr. Acheson "has never repudiated his support of Alger Hiss."

The State Department said Mr. Acheson's answers to questions about Hiss, now in prison on a perjury conviction, had been "widely misinterpreted."

5. Charge—Mr. Acheson "recommended the abandonment of Formosa" after the Chinese nationalist government had fled there.

The State Department said that charge "is entirely false."

References to Lattimore.

6. Charge—Mr. Acheson joined with friends "including Owen Lattimore" to encourage a Communist rebellion in China and they referred to the Communists as "agrarian reformers."

The State Department reviewed American aid to Chiang Kai-shek from the end of World War II. It said Mr. Acheson has testified that he does not remember even meeting Owen Lattimore, also that a check of his speeches shows he does not refer to the Chinese Reds as agrarian reformers.

7. Charge—Mr. Acheson acted as counsel to Lauchlin Currie when Mr. Currie appeared before a congressional committee looking into Communist espionage charges.

The State Department said Mr. Acheson was retained by Mr. Currie in connection with a volunteer appearance the latter made before the House Committee on Unamerican Activities in August, 1948, to discuss statements made about him by Elizabeth Bentley. The department added: "The committee unanimously observed that no charge of Communist Party affiliation was made against Mr. Currie. . . . It is a fact that since Mr. Currie's testimony . . . no further action has been taken" on the Bentley charges.

Views on Japan Cited.

8. Charge—Mr. Acheson told a Senate committee before he was confirmed as Undersecretary of State that Russia should share in the administration of Japan.

The State Department answered that the records showed no such statement by Mr. Acheson. It said he had testified in September, 1945, that the United States was trying to "go forward with the job" in Japan and had "no disposition . . . to exclude anybody."

The department added that the fact is the machinery for administration of Japan "completely recognized the major role of the United States."

9. Charge—Mr. Acheson insisted on a veto in UNRRA organization to please Russia and supported all Soviet demands "thus leaving the United States impotent to control UNRRA although the United States put up all the money.

The State Department replied that "this allegation is false." They said there was no veto in UNRRA decision making except for a few specific matters such as amending the charter and nominating a director general.

Hiss Appointment Denied.

10. Charge—Mr. Acheson obtained appointment of Alger Hiss "to Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta."

Asserting that Mr. Acheson never recommended Hiss for either of these missions to international conferences, the department said "this statement is false."

11. Charge—On December 16, 1945, Mr. Acheson "received Juan Negrin, head of the Spanish Communists, while he refused at the same time to meet Fernando de los Rios, head of the anti-Communist group in Spain."

The Sttae Department said Mr. Acheson did receive De Los Rios on December 21, and both the opposing Spanish leaders talked to him "in a private capacity."

12. Charge—Mr Acheson gave an interview to "Milton Wolff, commander of subversive Abraham Lincoln brigade and pro-Communist Vito Marcantonio, promising them to intervene with Franco on behalf of two condemned Communists in Spain."

To this the State Department said that Mr. Acheson had received a delegation of three House members—Representatives Healy of California, Savage of Washington and Marcantonio of New York—and five other persons including Wolff but that he "made no special promises of intervention to the group."

The State Department said Mr. Acheson explained that the two men were Argentine and Cuban nationals and any action by the State Department would have to be limited "to expressions of interest on humanitarian grounds."

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(1) Communists in the State Department

Security Group May Referee In McCarthy Fight

By Associated Press

McCarran (D) of Nevada, said yesterday his internal security subcommittee might be willing to act as referee in the quarrel between Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin and the State department over the loyalty of department employes.

On the Senate floor Thursday McCarthy named 26 persons, including Ambassador-at-large Philip Jessup, whose loyalty he said had been challenged. The Wisconsin senator accused Jessup and others of Communist sympathies.

Willing To Be Judged

When some fellow senators accused him of smearing and called him "a character assassin," McCarthy offered to let a "committee headed by a good Democrat" decide whether his charges are justified. He mentioned McCarran as the type of Democrat he had in mind.

"We don't crave it and are not asking for it," McCarran said in referring to the possibility that his Senate group might make an inquiry. "But it might be our staff could analyze it and present it."

Among those named by McCarthy was John Carter Vincent, former minister to Switzerland and now chief of the American mission in Tangiers.

Vincent said at Tangiers he is disgusted with McCarthy's "nefarious campaign of attack against State department officials."

Proud of His Service

"As for myself," his statement said in part, "the fact that the loyalty board may be conducting an investigation on my behalf causes me no—emphasis on the no—concern whatsoever. I am proud of my 27 years of service. It will stand the test of malicious misrepresentation regardless of source or character."

Another man named by McCarthy was Herbert Fierst, who is a special aide to Assistant Secretary of State Hickerson, director of United Nations affairs.

Fierst, on vacation, telephoned a reply to the State department. "I have just received word of Sen. McCarthy's charges against me Thursday," Fierst said. "The charges are entirely false. I am not and have never been a Communist, pro-Communist or fellow-traveler. I am a loyal American in every sense of the word."

Once Was Investigated

Fierst said that in 1946 State department security officers reported to the department "certain of my activities about which they were not fully informed." He said they investigated further and "learned that these activities were actually part of my official duties, designed to further our national interests."

"What Sen. McCarthy has done," Fierst said, "is to repeat a distorted version of the original 1946 reports as justification to include my name again on his most recent list."

McCarthy also pointed a finger at Sylvia Schimmel, an official in the division of international information and educational exchange of the State department.

Miss Schimmel declared that she has been cleared twice by the State department's loyalty security board.

She said there is no case against her now pending before the board. She declined to give the dates of the two clearances given her by the board.

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You Could Be on McCarthy's List

In closing his Senate speech in which he gave the names of State Department employes who, he says, are suspected of disloyalty, Senator McCarthy made this statement in the form of a rhetorical question addressed to himself:

> If an individual is accused of reckless driving, jumping a stop sign, or embezzling from a bank, the American people get that information. So why should not the American people be informed when their servants are accused of Communist activities as a result of FBI investigations?

Senator McCarthy knows the answer to his own question:

When laws are violated in this country—such as laws against reckless driving, disobeying traffic regulations, embezzlement, etc.—the accused person has a right to a public trial. The charges must be proved in court beyond a reasonable doubt. The accusers must face the accused. The accused has the right of counsel, the right of appeal, the right to a jury and all the other rights a free people have secured to prevent the tyranny of injustice by Government or anybody else.

A charge of disloyalty, based on information furnished to a Government department by the FBI or by other sources—other sources including Senator McCarthy—does not necessarily mean that the person so charged has violated any law. If there is valid reason to believe a law has been violated, the accused is prosecuted in open court with resulting publicity.

There is no law against membership in the Communist Party, unless such membership involves a charge of conspiracy against the Government. There is no law against membership in the subversive organizations listed by the Attorney General. Such membership, in itself, involves no violation of law.

But the Government has wisely decided against employment of Communists, those who are affiliated with subversive organizations or those whose associations with such organizations cast doubt on an employe's loyalty. If the evidence against such an employe is not complete, yet a doubt remains, that doubt is resolved in favor of the employing Government—not, as in a court of law, in favor of the defendant.

When the FBI obtains information which reflects on the loyalty of an employe, that information is forwarded to the Government department concerned. As Senator McCarthy knows, and as FBI Director Hoover has taken pains to point out time and again, that information is not evaluated by the FBI. In other words, the FBI does not undertake to say that the information is to be accepted on its face as evidence of disloyalty or other guilt. The evaluation is left to others, such as the loyalty boards, which investigate the nature of the information, hear the accused, and attempt to reach a fair conclusion. If doubt remains, the employe is fired or permitted to resign.

In Senator McCarthy's list of State Department employes, about half of them have already been cleared after investigation. Some are awaiting hearings. Some of them are going through the business twice. The question posed by Senator McCarthy is why they should be protected by secrecy during this process.

The Government's position is that it is unfair to subject an employe to the opprobrium of publicity, linking his name with an unproved allegation of disloyalty and thus condemning him, without the benefit of any semblance of trial, to the resulting stigma.

Is that right or is it wrong?

Would you, a citizen convinced of your own loyalty to your Government, welcome publicity if the FBI turned in a report to your employer based on the unevaluated information of anonymous informers to the effect that you were a Communist, and if it were publicly announced that you were under investigation for disloyalty on the strength of "FBI investigation"?

If you believe that this would be fair to you, you agree with Senator McCarthy in making public the names of people who may be entirely innocent of any disloyalty yet, in Senator McCarthy's own words, "are accused of Communist activities as a result of FBI investigations."

But if you do agree that in your own case this would be unjust, you cannot agree with Senator McCarthy.

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McCarran May Pass On McCarthy Charges

By The Associated Press

Senator McCarran (D-Nev.) said yesterday his Internal Security Subcommittee might be willing to act as referee in the quarrel between Senator McCarthy (R-Wis.) and the State Department over the loyalty of department employes.

On the Senate floor Thursday McCarthy named 26 persons, including Ambassador-at-Large Philip Jessup, whose loyalty he said had been challenged. The Wisconsin Senator accused Jessup and others of Communist sympathies.

When some fellow Senators accused him of smearing and called him "a character assassin," McCarthy offered to let a "committee headed by a good Democrat" decide whether his charges are justified. He mentioned McCarran as the type of Democrat he had in mind.

"We don't crave it and are not asking for it," McCarran said in referring to the possibility that his Senate group might make an inquiry. "But it might be our staff could analyze it and present it."

Among those named by McCarthy Thursday was John Carter Vincent, former Minister to Switzerland and now chief of the American mission in Tangiers.

Vincent said at Tangiers yesterday he is disgusted with McCarthy's "nefarious campaign of attack against State Department officials."

"As for myself," his statement said in part, "the fact that the loyalty board may be conducting an investigation on my behalf causes me no emphasis on the no—concern whatsoever. I am proud of my 27 years of service. It will stand the test of malicious misrepresentation regardless of source or character."

Jessup's office said he had no comment on McCarthy's charges.

Another man named by McCarthy was Herbert Fierst, who is a special aide to Assistant Secretary of State John D. Hickerson, director of United Nations Affairs.

Fierst telephoned a reply to the State Department yesterday. Department officials said Fierst was on vacaton.

"I have just received word of Senator McCarthy's charges against me yesterday," Fierst said. "The charges are entirely false. I am not and have never been a Communist, pro-Communist or fellow-traveler. I am a loyal American in every sense of the word."

Fierst said that in 1946 State Department security officers reported to the department "certain of my activities about which they were not fully informed." He said they investigated further and "learned that these activities were actually part of my official duties, designed to further our national interests."

"What Senator McCarthy has done," Fierst said, "is to repeat a distorted version of the original 1946 reports as justification to include my name again on his most recent list.

"He has produced no information to support his charges. To repeat these same charges, which have been shown to be false, over and over again, is to use the big lie technique."

Fierst said that his case illustrates a problem "we have not yet worked out in this country which he described as being "how to protect an innocent man against McCarthyism." McCarthy also pointed a finger at Sylvia Schimmel, an official in the Division of International Information and Educational Exchange of the State Department.

Twice Cleared, She Says

Miss Schimmel declared yesterday that she has been cleared twice by the State Department's loyalty security board.

She told a reporter: "During my various employment I was associated with certain individuals who had been involved in recent charges and as a result of that I was asked to explain the nature of my acquaintance with them. The loyalty board accepted my explanation."

She said there is no case against her now pending before the board. She declined to give the dates of the two clearances given her by the board.

Another of those listed, Robert Voss, Voice of America radio information specialist, issued a statement in New York denying the charges.

"Senator McCarthy's accusation has no basis in fact," he said. "He is quoted as saying that I was employed by the Amtorg Trading Company. I have no knowledge of this company and certainly have never been connected with it."

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Senate Given 26 Names By McCarthy

By the Associated Press

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy listed for the Senate yesterday what he said were the names of over 20 State Department officials and employes whose loyalty is under question. He topped his roll call with Ambassador Philip C. Jessup as "the prize of them all."

The State Department shortly afterwards got out a statement in which it said the Wisconsin Republican had used "smear tactics" and was deliberately violating the fundamental tenet of "freedom from intimidation."

The statement said McCarthy's list includes the names of "persons who are not employes of the Department of State, employes who have been cleared by the Department's Loyalty Security Board, as well as individuals in process through the loyalty program."

No names were mentioned in the statement.

In his Senate speech, McCarthy declared that Jessup, ambassador-at-large, has "negotiated with the Russians much as Hiss negotiated with them at Yalta."

This was a reference to Alger Hiss, former State Department official now serving a prison term on conviction of lying when he swore he never gave secret papers to a Communist spy ring courier.

McCarthy said he had turned over a total of 106 names of Government employes suspected for loyalty but that 28 of them had been cleared.

McCarthy delivered his speech before crowded galleries but only about half the Senators were at their desks.

He twitted the Democrats by noting that former Senate Democratic Leader Scott W. Lucas (Ill.), who challenged McCarthy last year to make names public "is no longer with us," and that Sen. Millard E. Tydings (D-Md.) "also is no longer with us."

Tydings conducted an investigation last year of McCarthy's charges of Communis
tion of the State D
and was one of a D
committee majority wi
the charges a "fraud."

Both Lucas and Tyd
defeated for reelection.

McCarthy took a personal hand in helping John Marshall Butler, Republican, in his campaign against Tydings. A Senate investigating committee has criticized McCarthy's conduct in the campaign.

Alluding to that, McCarthy said that if he had not gone into Maryland to "expose the whitewash job I'd be as guilty as Tydings."

Most of those McCarthy named as under loyalty investigation hold relatively minor posts in the Government.

At the outset, McCarthy said he had "no doubt" that all would be cleared by the State Department's own loyalty board.

But he said the persons face "letters of charges" and their cases are under review by the board.

The first name he mentioned was that of John Carter Vincent, consul general at Tangiers and former minister to Switzerland.

The second person named by McCarthy was "William T. Stone, information and editorial specialist, Department of State."

McCarthy said Stone formerly was associated with the magazine "Amerasia" and that the FBI classed this as a "tool of espionage."

He added that Stone also was a former officer in the Institute of Pacific Relations, an organization now being investigated by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Senator Pat McCarran (D-Nev.).

McCarthy next named Robert Warren Barnett, assistant advisor on Japanese economic affairs, and Mrs. Barnett, consultant, foreign affairs specialist. He said Barnett was "brought into the State Department" by the Institute of Pacific Relations."

McCarthy said the Barnetts had "constant contacts with Soviet espionage activities."

He described the case of Sylvia Schimmel, whom he listed as an administrative analyst, as "similar" to that of the Barnetts.

McCarthy said Philip J. Raine, listed as a regional specialist, was "closely connected with Robert G. Miller," whom he identified as a "Communist agent."

He said Gertrude G. Cameron, listed as an information and editorial specialist, had "contacts with a subject presently under investigation."

McCarthy said Paul A. Lifentieff-Lee, listed as an economist, had been recommended for his State Department job by "three individuals who appear in the FBI files as known Communists." He added that a naval intelligence report turned over to the State Department said secret State Department documents were found in his room.

McCarthy named without comment Franz Leopold Neumann, consultant; John Tipton Deshburn, labor economist, and Victor Myron Hunt, Office of Educational Exchange.

He said Arpad Erdos, listed as an information specialist, was "really a prize one," but did not elaborate.

McCarthy said John Patton Davies had been cleared by the State Department and now was being "promoted" and sent to Berlin to become an adviser there to High Commissioner John J. McCloy.

Without comment, McCarthy also named Francis M. Tuchscher, editor-writer; Nelson Chipchin, radio information specialist, and Esther Lee, an announcer.

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He said Esther Caukin Brunauer, United States representative to the preparatory commission of the United Nations Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organization, also was on the list. McCarthy then named these others:

Herbert Fierst, foreign affairs specialist. He said Fierst for a period "was in constant contact with members of an espionage ring."

Marcia Ruth Harrison, divisional assistant, whom he described as a member of the Young Communist League.

Robert Ross, radio information specialist. McCarthy said Ross once worked for Amtorg Trading Co., Russian government trading firm.

Ella M. Montague, a clerk-stenographer.

Olga V. Osnatch, clerk-typist who, he said, worked for the Russian Embassy in Turkey for three years.

Stella Gordon, correspondence and research employee.

Daniel F. Margolies, "assistant chief, Department of State."

McCarthy said the "letters of charges" against the State Department employes were based upon information gathered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

He did not tell the Senate how he learned about them or the charges involved.

He said he regarded them as similar to indictments by a grand jury, or informations filed by a prosecuting attorney.

McCarthy said the "letters of charges" did "not mean all are guilty."

The State Department definition of "letters of charges" was this:

They are letters sent to individuals after the loyalty board has decided to investigate.

The worker is advised in the letter, the department said, of the nature of the charges and is invited to appear before the board.

[In some of the cases which McCarthy named, his own previous charges are responsible for loyalty questions being raised in the first instance, and also in later "reviews."]

[McCarthy failed to point out that the State Department has previously announced that all of its loyalty cases "cleared" since 1947 are now being reviewed. This is the result of the department's cautious interpretation of a Review Board order to all agencies to review all "doubtful" cases.

[Nearly 500 State Department cases are presently involved in this reviewing process.

[The department announced in June that:

["Out of fairness to the people concerned, this (review) included all persons whose cases came to the board's attention because they had been attacked by Senator McCarthy.

["Among these cases were those of Ambassador Philip C. Jessup and John Carter Vincent."—Editor's Note.]

When McCarthy concluded, Democratic Leader Ernest W. McFarland (Ariz.), his face flushed, took the Senate floor and said: "It does not behoove the dignity of this Senate to smear any individual."

Without naming McCarthy, the Democratic leader said attacks upon individuals, without full evidence and proper hearings "tear down the dignity of the Senate."

Senator Herbert H. Lehman, (D-N.Y.), said the Senate had again been forced to listen to "irresponsible charges." He called this a "form of character assassination we all should abhor."

Lehman said Jessup "whom I know well" was one of the Nation's most distinguished public servants and said McCarthy had subjected Jessup to "shabby and dastardly treatment."

Republican leader Kenneth S. Wherry (Neb.), protested that Lehman had violated the Senate rule against making improper remarks about a fellow Senator.

"I move to amend my remarks by striking out dastardly and substituting cowardly," Lehman shouted.

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Sen. M'Carthy Lists 26 Under Loyalty Quiz

Jessup and Vincent Accused of Red Ties

By PHILIP DODD

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin yesterday gave the Senate the names of 26 State department employes who, he said, had been charged with communistic activities but were kept on the department's payroll and had access to secret material.

Heading McCarthy's list were Ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessup and John Carter Vincent, former minister to Switzerland and now consul general at Tangiers. Others on the list ranged from a clerk-typist to a divisional assistant.

McCarthy's Senate speech was another chapter in his running fight with the Administration over charges of communism in the State department. He said he made yesterday's list public because the department would not assure him the accused individuals would be denied access to secret data while their cases were pending.

Galleries Applaud Him

McCarthy was angrily denounced by the only Democrats on the floor—majority leader McFarland of Arizona and Sen. Lehman of New York. But he was loudly applauded by the packed galleries.

The Wisconsin senator said he originally had a list of 29 names and had given them to the State department. Three of them have been cleared by the department loyalty board, he said, so he kept them off the list he made public yesterday.

One of those on his latest list, John Patton Davies, also has been cleared, McCarthy said. Davies, he said, had been sent to Germany as an adviser to the occupation authorities.

McCarthy said he "understood" two others have been suspended by the department. They were Mrs. Esther Caukin Brunauer, an American representative to the United Nations economic and social council, and Val R. Lorwin, an economist.

Smear Tactics Charged

The State department issued a statement charging McCarthy had used "smear tactics" and had made public a "misleading" list of names. Deputy State Undersecretary Humelsine said McCarthy's list included the names of persons not employed by the State department, employes who have been cleared by the loyalty board, and others in the process of being cleared.

"I can only hope," Humelsine said, "that the men and women who have been or may be cleared realize they have become the victims of a bitter attack not subscribed to by responsible citizens."

McCarthy told the Senate "letters of charges" based on "adverse information" developed by the FBI have been filed against the persons on his list.

The Wisconsin senator said chairman Hiram Bingham of the

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government's loyalty review board had confirmed his information.

In addition to Jessup, Vincent, Mrs. Brunauer, Davies, and Lorwin, McCarthy said charges had been filed against:

Herbert Fierst, foreign affairs specialist; Frances M. Tuchscher, editor-writer; Marcia Ruth Harrison, divisional assistant; Nelson Chipchin, radio information specialist; Esther Less (also known as Esther Less Kopelwich), announcer; Robert Ross, radio information specialist;

Others Are Named

Ella M. Montague, clerk-stenographer; Olga V. Osnatch, clerk-typist; Stella Gordon, correspondent and research; Daniel F. Margolies, assistant chief; William T. Stone, information and editorial specialist; Robert Warren Barnett, assistant adviser on Japanese economic affairs; Mrs. Robert Warren Barnett, consultant and foreign affairs specialist; Sylvia Schimmel, administrative analyst; Philip Raine, regional specialist; Gertrude G. Cameron, information and editorial specialist; Paul A. Lifantieff-Lee, economist; Franz Leopold Neumann, consultant; John Tipton Fishburn, labor economist; Victor Myron Hunt, office of educational exchange, and Arpad Erdos, information specialist.

McCarthy said he had no doubt that all 26 would be cleared because of the "very unusual record" of the State department's loyalty board.

"In four years of operation," McCarthy said, "with hundreds and hundreds of cases coming before the board—cases which came up as the result of investigations conducted by the FBI—the board has not found a single man unfit for government service."

Charges Arrogant Reply

McCarthy said he wrote State Secretary Acheson July 23, after learning of the cases he listed yesterday, stating that unless he were assured the 29 employes would be denied access to secret data, he would have no choice but to call the Senate's attention to the list.

"I received from the Secretary's office, under date of July 25," McCarthy said, "a very arrogant letter in which he indicated he thought it was no business of the Senate, that within his own little private kingdom he can do what he pleases, and he refused to assure me that these men would be denied access to secret material."

Jessup has been one of McCarthy's principal targets since he started his campaign against the State department early in 1950. McCarthy recalled yesterday that Jessup had termed as "outstanding" the integrity, loyalty, and veracity of Alger Hiss, convicted perjurer-spy and former high State department official.

McCarthy said Jessup had been affiliated with at least five organizations "officially named as fronts for and doing the work of the Communist party" and had been active in the Institute of Pacific Relations. The activities of which are being investigated by the Senate internal security subcommittee.

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 82d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 97 WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, AUGUST 9, 1951 No. 146

Senate

(Legislative day of Wednesday, August 1, 1951)

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

Dr. Gerhard E. Lenski, pastor, Grace Lutheran Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Almighty and Eternal God, Thou who dost rule with power in human affairs, Thou who dost give power unto men that they may rule and govern for Thee, grant, we beseech Thee, unto those to whom Thou dost commit the solemn trust of the management of this world such knowledge of Thee and such reverence that in all things they may ever seek to serve, honor, and obey Thee.

We pray for the rulers of the United Nations that Thou wouldst enable them to defend our world from aggression and to preserve for us and all men the sanctities of life and law and liberty. We pray for the rulers of great lands more distant, for those more hostile, that Thou wouldst turn their minds from suspicion and distrust to thoughts of understanding, cooperation, and good will. We pray for those who negotiate peace in Korea and for our soldiers who carry our standards on the field of battle. We pray for our Chief Executive, that Thou wouldst strengthen and uphold him, for our Congress, for this Senate group, and for all our citizenry, that in all things we may walk the way of Thy commandments, building righteousness on the earth, serving the common good and evermore glorifying Thy holy name through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Saviour, and our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. McFARLAND, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, August 6, 1951, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on August 7, 1951, the President had approved and signed the following acts:

S. 360. An act for the relief of Stefan Lepartowicz and his wife, Irene; and

S. 1229. An act for the relief of Jan Josef [illegible]kowski and his wife and daughter.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of Hon. Wilson D. Gillette, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, and transmitted the resolutions of the House thereon.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

The message announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 29. An act for the relief of Teresa E. Dwyer;

S. 236. An act for the relief of Nicholas George Strangas;

S. 350. An act for the relief of the Z. D. Gilman Co., Inc.;

S. 526. An act for the relief of Dr. Lorna Wan-Hsi-Feng;

S. 543. An act for the relief of Elizabeth Jean Clarke;

S. 581. An act for the relief of Kiyoko and Chiyiko Ishigo;

S. 585. An act for the relief of Shizu Fujii and her son, Suenori Fujii;

S. 674. An act for the relief of Arthur Hoestler;

S. 885. An act for the relief of Wong Thew Hor;

S. 1105. An act for the relief of K. C. Be, Swannio Be, Wie Go Be, Wie Hwa Be, Wie Bhing Be, and Swie Tien Be;

S. 1281. An act for the relief of Eric Adolf Lenze;

S. 1282. An act for the relief of Cecil Lennox Elliott;

S. 1362. An act for the relief of Howard Lovell;

S. 1417. An act for the relief of Lefrancois & Chamberland, Inc.;

S. 1442. An act for the relief of Marie Louise Dewulf Maquet; and

S. 1443. An act for the relief of Rev. Thomas K. Sewall.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3282) making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments and funds available for the Export-Import Bank of Washington for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes; that the House had receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 34 to the bill, and concurred therein, and that the House receded from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 13 to the bill, and concurred therein with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 400), to provide for the expeditious naturalization of former citizens of the United States who have lost United States citizenship through voting in a political election or in a plebiscite held in Italy.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3795) to provide for the use of the tribal funds of the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, to authorize a per capita payment out of such funds, to provide for the division of certain tribal funds with the Southern Utes, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 34) favoring the suspension of deportation of certain aliens, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 700. An act for the relief of Dora Jenny Wagner;

H. R. 894. An act for the relief of Sisters Maria DeRubertis, Agnese Cerina, Marianna Bonifacio, Dina Bonini, and Edvige Gasparini;

H. R. 1252. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Miroslav Kudrat;

H. R. 1265. An act for the relief of Zora Novacek, Daniela Novacek, and Frantisek Novacek;

H. R. 1413. An act for the relief of Franz Geyling;

H. R. 1463. An act for the relief of David Lee Harrigan;

H. R. 1672. An act for the relief of Bank of America National Trust and Savings Association;

H. R. 1831. An act to admit Luigi Morelli to the United States for permanent residence;

H. R. 1911. An a t for the relief of Chikako Shishikura;

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H. R. 2165. An act for the relief of Matthew Terry;

H. R. 2307. An act for the relief of Jean (John) Plewniak and Anna Piotrowska Plewniak;

H. R. 2444. An act for the relief of James A. Vines;

H. R. 2503. An act for the relief of Maria Rosa Bardales Arias;

H. R. 2505. An act for the relief of Carl Wejtlanner;

H. R. 2621. An act for the relief of Mrs. Giulia Di Gaetano Coccia;

H. R. 2821. An act to enact certain provisions now included in the Defense Appropriation Act and the Civil Functions Appropriation Act, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3504. An act for the relief of Nison Miller;

H. R. 3830. An act to authorize the construction and equipment of a geomagnetic station for the Department of Commerce;

H. R. 3838. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to Joseph Pickett;

H. R. 3840. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to Laura A. Craig;

H. R. 3965. An act for the relief of five sisters of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary;

H. R. 4121. An act for the relief of Rafael Alemany;

H. R. 4127. An act for the relief of Mrs. Doris Ellen Young;

H. R. 4288. An act granting the consent of the Congress to the negotiation of a compact relating to the waters of the Sabine River by the States of Texas and Louisiana;

H. R. 4463. An act for the relief of Nadine Carol Heslip;

H. R. 4674. An act authorizing the Secretary of State to continue Herve J. L'Heureux to serve as Chief of the Visa Division for an additional year commencing September 1, 1951;

H. R. 4693. An act to amend section 77, subsection (c) (3), of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended;

H. J. Res. 281. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim a special period for intensified voluntary contributions of clothing and kindred supplies in connection with the collection effort of American Relief for Korea, Inc.; and

H. J. Res. 311. Joint resolution making a supplemental appropriation for the Department of Labor for the fiscal year 1952.

The message also further announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 111) favoring the granting of the status of permanent residence to certain aliens, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 1246. An act to amend certain laws relating to the submission of postmasters' accounts under oath, and for other purposes;

H. R. 400. An act to provide for the expeditious naturalization of former citizens of the United States who have lost United States citizenship through voting in a political election or in a plebiscite held in Italy;

H. R. 3795. An act to provide for the use of the tribal funds of the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, to authorize a per capita payment out of such funds, to provide for the division of certain tribal funds with the Southern Utes, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 78. Joint resolution to make restrictions of the Federal Reserve Act on holding office in a member bank inapplicable to M. S. Szymczak when he ceases to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

On his own request, and by unanimous consent, Mr. YOUNG was excused from attendance on the sessions of the Senate for all of next week.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. HOLLAND, and by unanimous consent, the Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations were authorized to meet this afternoon during the session of the Senate.

On request of Mr. LEHMAN, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was authorized to meet this afternoon during the session of the Senate.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators be permitted to make insertions in the RECORD and to transact other routine business without debate.

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

ORDER FOR CONSIDERATION OF UNOBJECTED-TO BILLS ON THE CALENDAR

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after the completion of the transaction of routine business the calendar be called for unobjected-to bills, beginning where the last call ended.

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

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND—COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 225)

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, which was read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, August 9, 1951.

The honorable the VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I am writing to ask that the Congress authorize a contribution of $12,000,000 by the United States to the International Children's Emergency Fund. This sum would be authorized for the current fiscal year.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, on December 1, 1950, extended the operations of the Children's Fund for a period of 3 years. Since the authorization to make financial contributions to the fund expired last June 30, we can now make no further contribution without this new authority from the Congress.

The United States has a long tradition of participation in, and financial support for, international children's welfare work. Nothing is more consistent with our basic interests or more representative of our humanitarian ideals.

The Children's Fund has done a most constructive job over the last 4 years. In Europe, it has helped more than 15,000,000 children. The main work of the fund has now shifted from Europe to the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Latin America. Here the fund will bring supplies and services to help meet urgent needs of children and to strengthen the permanent child welfare programs of the countries themselves.

I know that the Congress is aware of the many past accomplishments of the Children's Fund. I am confident that the people of this country want to continue to support the great work the fund is doing. There is real need to carry on this work. Millions of children will be helped.

I have asked the Secretary of State to prepare draft legislation to carry out this recommendation. It is my hope that the Congress will find it possible to give early consideration to this measure.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE FOR CIVIL FUNCTIONS, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY (S. DOC. NO. 54)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting proposed supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1952, in the amount of $21,800,000, for the Department of Defense for Civil Functions, Department of the Army, in the form of amendments to the budget for said fiscal year (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT, RELATING TO SUBSCRIPTIONS TO CAPITAL STOCK OF FEDERAL LAND BANKS

A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act, as amended, to repeal the provisions therein for additional subscriptions on behalf of the United States to the capital stock of the Federal land banks (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT ON TORT CLAIMS PAID BY AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on tort claims paid by the Agriculture Department, for the period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1951 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TEMPORARY ADMISSION OF CERTAIN ALIEN SEAMEN

Two letters from the Attorney General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of an order of the Acting Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, dated October 20, 1950, authorizing the temporary admission into the United States, for shore-leave purposes only, certain alien seamen (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF TRANSPORTATION FURNISHED CERTAIN PERSONNEL

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on furnishing transportation for certain Government and other personnel by the Department of the Air Force

and Capt. James Clyde Waller, Jr., for appointment, by transfer, in the Judge Advocate General's Corps, Regular Army of the United States;

Paul DeWitt Adams and sundry other officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States;

Leslie A. Knickern and sundry other officers for temporary appointment in the grade of rear admiral in the Navy;

Norman R. Gearhart and sundry other persons for appointment in the Navy; and

Thomas J. Cushman and several other officers for temporary appointment to the grade of major general in the Marine Corps.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION FOR DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I now renew my request for unanimous consent to have the Senate consider the joint resolution to which I referred a few minutes ago.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I should like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee first to explain the joint resolution, which he will do in any event, I am sure.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, I am glad to do so.

Mr. WHERRY. Then I should like to ask the Senator to tell the Senate once again whether in this case there is such an emergency that the House joint resolution cannot at least be considered by the full membership of the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. McKELLAR. The reason is that the Department does not have sufficient funds with which to proceed to undertake a function with which it is charged, and it must be undertaken promptly.

Mr. McCARRAN. That is a very good reason.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I deeply appreciate the answer the Senator has given, and I respect him highly. However, sometimes that reason—a lack of money—is a good one why a measure should not be passed, of course.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, very frequently that is so; I agree entirely with the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. President, I read from the report:

The Department of Agriculture has ruled that all cotton stalks in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas must be plowed under by September 16 in order to control the pink ball worm. Stalks in Laredo, Winter Garden, and Eagle Pass areas must be plowed under by October 1. In the Rio Grande Valley alone the crop, which is now being harvested, comprises approximately 900,000 acres, yielding about 700,000 bales. The domestic labor force will have to be augmented in these areas to prevent losses in this important crop.

Other Texas areas and the States of Arkansas, Arizona, Missouri, Louisiana, and New Mexico have requested and will require Mexican Nationals to harvest cotton, while California will require them beginning the middle of August for the fruit, vegetable, and cotton harvests, according to the testimony received by the committee.

The basic law requires that employers reimburse the Government in amounts up to $15 per worker to cover the costs of transportation and subsistence en route and at reception centers. Of the $950,000 recommended in this resolution $750,000 is for a working fund to be reimbursed by these payments. The remaining $200,000 is for administrative expenses, including operation of migration, or recruitment centers in Mexico, reception centers in the United States, and the costs of medical examinations for the workers.

The committee in reporting this interim appropriation expects the Department to assign only the skeleton forces necessary to begin partial operations, and not build up complete personnel complements until the Congress has considered and passed upon the full supplemental request for 1952 now pending before the committee.

That is the situation, and the Department must have the funds for that purpose. The House has passed the joint resolution.

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

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. When the Senator refers to "the committee"——

Mr. McKELLAR. I was referring to the House committee, not the Senate committee.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is what I thought. This matter has never been before the Senate committee; has it?

Mr. McKELLAR. No, it never has; although it has been before a subcommittee of another Senate committee.

Mr. BRIDGES. Has it been before the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee, headed by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL]?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; I think not.

Mr. President, the following message is from the Secretary of Labor:

The Secretary called for you, and said to tell you that you would have before you today the joint resolution for a very prompt appropriation to take care of migrant Mexican labor. He said to please tell you that if you could get it out today, he would be deeply grateful. It is in the supplemental appropriation bill, Department of Labor, governing migrant foreign labor.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] spoke to me a few minutes ago and wanted to know whether this measure applies only to Mexican labor or whether it applies to foreign labor generally. I advised him that it applies only to Mexican labor.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further to me?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. BRIDGES. Let me say that what I object to in this case—and I think the point was raised by the distinguished minority leader—is that this measure has come to us from the House of Representatives only today. It has not even been before either a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee or before the full Senate Appropriations Committee. I do not believe there is any pressing need for the passage of this measure. It may be desirable and may have a great deal of merit, but I think the distinguished chairman of the committee will agree with me that this is not the way to legislate. Certainly this sort of high-pressure tactics by those down town to get measures enacted does not appeal to me.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not agree that it is high-pressured at all.

Mr. BRIDGES. I did not mean that the Senator is engaging in high-pressure tactics, but I meant that the Department is using high-pressure tactics.

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator from Arizona tells me that a meeting is intended for tomorrow. I would be perfectly willing to have this measure brought up before the committee. The full committee is to meet tomorrow.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes; and following favorable action by the committee, the joint resolution could be taken up in the Senate on Monday. Certainly no emergency will develop in connection with this matter during the next 3 days.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes, although I should like to see prompt action taken on the joint resolution.

Mr. BRIDGES. Certainly. However, I do not think that a few days delay will do any harm. Therefore, I shall object to the present consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I withdraw the request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request is withdrawn.

MORRIS KLEINMAN (S. RES. 119) AND LOUIS ROTHKOPF (S. RES. 120)—MOTIONS TO RECONSIDER

Mr McFARLAND. Mr. President, it is now our intention to take up the motions of the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] to reconsider the votes by which Senate Resolutions 119 and 120 were agreed to. I have conferred with the distinguished Senator from Washington and with the distinguished Senators from Tennessee and Maryland, who tell me they have no objection to the adoption of the motions, with the express understanding that the resolutions be made the unfinished business, and disposed of immediately. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the motions be agreed to, and that the votes by which these two resolutions, Senate Resolution 119 and Senate Resolution 120, were agreed to, be reconsidered. I further ask that Senate Resolution 119 be made the unfinished business before the Senate, and that, following the disposition of Senate Resolution 119, Senate Resolution 120 be made the unfinished business.

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

DISCLOSURE OF NAMES OF PERSONS ALLEGED TO BE SECURITY RISKS

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, last year I gave the Senate the names of 81 individuals whom I considered dangerous to this country, if allowed to remain in positions of power. At the time that was done, there were constant demands upon the floor of the Senate, many of them made by the then majority leader, former Senator Lucas, who is no longer a Member of the Senate, that I make the names public on the Senate floor. As I have stated, the majority leader was joined in this demand by a number of other Senators. At that time I refused to comply with the request, and explained why. I told the Senate I felt that, of the 81 cases given the Senate, some were marginal cases, in which the parties might well prove themselves to be neither bad security risks nor disloyal, and that for that reason I felt that the names should

be given to the committee which was to be appointed, and should be given to it in private, and th[illegible] then, after the committee had completed its investigation, it should decide which names were to be made public.

In that connection, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD, at this point, statements by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] and myself, explaining how it happened that certain names were made public.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXPLAINING WHY NAMES WERE MADE PUBLIC

1. Remarks of Senator HICKENLOOPER, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 5, 1950, pages 4957, 4958.

2. Remarks of Senator MCCARTHY, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 30, 1950, pages 4434, 4435.

Senator HICKENLOOPER, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 5, 1950:

"As a member of the subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations now engaged in the inquiry into the charges of the Senator from Wisconsin, I should like to say that on the day on which the Senator from Wisconsin made his speech at some length on the floor of the Senate, in which he referred to certain cases by number, and so forth—I think it was the 20th of February—at that time the Senator from Wisconsin repeatedly stated and restated on the floor of the Senate that he did not want to make names public, that he would not tell the names to the Senate in public; and, time after time, the Senator from Illinois, the majority leader, rose to demand that he give the names in public, so the whole country would know who the people were that were suspected.

"The Senator from Wisconsin repeatedly said, 'No, I will not make them public.' The Senator from Kentucky, Mr. WITHERS, rose and said he wanted to see the list of names. The Senator from Wisconsin said, 'Come to my office in the morning and I will show you the names.' The Senator from Kentucky said, 'Can I make them public? I intend to make them public if I see them.' The Senator from Wisconsin said, 'No; if you are going to make them public, I shall not give you the names.'

"The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is replete with such statements on the question of the publicity of the names.

"It is a matter of fact also that the junior Senator from Massachusetts and I, both at the first executive meeting of the subcommittee, suggested and proposed the procedure, that the subcommitee meet in executive session, call the Senator from Wisconsin before it, and ask him to disclose the names in private, together with whatever information he had in connection with the names; but the majority of the subcommittee said no, this must be brought out in public. So they held their first hearing, requiring the Senator from Wisconsin to come, in public, to name the names. I tell the Senator that, if he is not familiar with it, merely to keep the factual history of the publicity of these names accurate.

"I should like to say also that so far as I am concerned, while we did not have the machinery to set up a court of inquiry such as the Canadian spy-ring case called for, we did propose and urge that an inquiry in secrecy without naming names be made with the facts collected. But we were overruled, and the Senator from Wisconsin was required, or requested, to come before the committee in public hearing, with klieg lights, television, and all the rest of the fanfare of such an emotional occasion, there to bring out his cases, name names, and produce facts."

Senator MCCARTHY, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 30, 1950:

"There has been considerable criticism by a number of well-meaning people of the naming of names in public before the individuals have an opportunity to be heard.

"It might be well, therefore, to briefly cite the record as to why names have been named in public rather than in private. On the 20th of February, as the Senate will recall, I gave to the Senate in some detail 81 cases of individuals whom I stated the files indicated ranged all the way from being bad security risks to very dangerous individuals.

"At that time I pointed out that perhaps some of these individuals would be able to produce facts to offset the effect of the material in the files and show that they were actually loyal employees. I stated in effect—and while I have not had an opportunity to check the number of times in the RECORD, my office tells me that I did so over a dozen times—that I would consider it extremely improper and unfair to name names in public before the individuals had a chance to appear in executive session.

"The leader of the Democratic Party, Mr. Lucas, however, on five separate occasions, demanded that the names be publicly named. His first demand was on page 2043 of the RECORD. Again, on page 2046, he had this to say:

" 'I want to remain here until he names them. That is what I am interested in.'

"Again, on page 2049, he said:

" 'Will the Senator tell us the name of the man for the RECORD. We are entitled to know who he is. I say this in all seriousness.'

"Again, on page 2053, he said:

" 'The Senator should name names before that committee.'

"Again, on page 2063, he said:

" 'Why does the Senator refuse to divulge names before the Senate?'

"Mr. Withers, also, on almost countless occasions heckled me for the names, stating, on page 2063:

" 'Does the Senator realize that I, like all others, am curious to know the names? When the Senator gives the cases the people and the country at large are entitled to know who they are.'

"At that time I, in answer to the urging of the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from Kentucky, stated that I would not give the names in public unless a majority of the Senate demanded that they be made public, and this is all a matter of record.

"After the committee had been appointed and Senator Tydings made chairman, he saw me on the floor of the Senate and stated that a public hearing had been scheduled and asked if I would be ready to appear and testify. At that time I urged that the hearings be in executive session and reminded him of the statements which I made on the Senate floor.

"He informed me that the first hearings would be public and that later we would go into executive session. Later I was informed by the press that Mr. Tydings had made a statement that I could present my cases as I saw fit.

"I again contacted him and told him that, if such were the case, I thought the names should be given in executive session, but was again informed that the first hearings would be public.

"I then contacted my colleague, Senator HICKENLOOPER, and told him that while I thought this might be good politics for the majority members of the committee because of the position in which it would place me, that it was so unfair to some of the individuals who might be able to produce evidence giving them a clean bill of health something should be done.

"Senator HICKENLOOPER informed me there was nothing that he or Senator LODGE could do because Senator Tydings had made the announcement that the first hearings would be open and it was not even brought to a vote, inasmuch as Senator MCMAHON and Senator GREEN so obviously went along with him.

"At the time of the first public hearing, after I had begun to testify, and had already passed out to the members of the press the first case covering Judge Kenyon, Senator Tydings then told me that if I cared to, we would go into executive session.

"He, of course, knew full well that to go into executive session, so far as the Kenyon case was concerned, would be meaningless after I had commenced the case and handed the evidence thereon to the press.

"I had tried to make it clear that the Kenyon case was presented as one of a sequence which I had hoped to present the first morning, if I had been allowed to proceed. I felt that it was important, not so much from the standpoint of Judge Kenyon, but rather as a typical case to show the complete incompetence of the Loyalty Board for the reason that in this case the files contained more than 28 documents showing membership in organizations listed as subversive or Communist-front—that regardless of this, the Loyalty Board never even went through the motions of asking the judge for an explanation as to why she joined these organizations, which the Secretary of State himself had stated were evidence that an employee was a bad security risk.

"After being held to the Kenyon case by petty bickering for 2 days during which, according to my staff, I occupied approximately 5 percent of the time, the committee adjourned over the week end and stated that Judge Kenyon would be called as a witness.

"The chairman of the committee then magnanimously offered that the other cases which I was prepared to present the first day be given in executive session. I do not condemn or criticize the chairman for this maneuver. Politically, it was extremely clever. However, after presenting one case to show how the Loyalty Board worked, a case which happened to be a woman, it would seem unusual in the extreme that the committee retire into executive session to consider the cases of these prominent State Department officials in whose activities the public was so vitally interested.

"I might say that while at the time I felt that the Senator from Illinois was wholly wrong in demanding the names be made public and while I originally was very much disturbed by Senator Tydings' very clever maneuvering of the names into public print, I am not too sure that perhaps some good has not been accomplished.

"After all, an individual who takes a high Government position must realize that for the good of the country his actions and motives should be subjected to the closest scrutiny. After all, the aims and objectives of the group who have been formulating a rather disastrous far eastern policy should be subjected publicly to a cold and searching light. Therefore, I am not too sure that the Senate majority leader and the chairman of the committee may not have performed a service to the country when one insisted that the names be made public and the other maneuvered those names into the public press."

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, as was pointed out so clearly by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], former Senator Tydings, then chairman of the subcommittee making the investigation, who is no longer with us, insisted that the first sessions be held in public, and

consequently about 9 or 10 of the 81 names were made public. Since that time I have been trying to follow the progress of the individual cases which were given to the Tydings Committee, 81 in number, plus 25 additional names which were developed during the hearing. I found that a considerable number had been cleared by the State Department, 28, to be exact; and, at a later time, I intend to read into the RECORD the dates of their clearance. Another list of 29 names is still pending before the Loyalty Security Board. As to the remainder, nothing was done.

In the 29 cases, what is known as "letters of charges" have been filed. Those letters of charges were not filed by McCARTHY, they were not filed by anyone outside the Department. They were filed as the result of adverse information developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or by some of the State Department investigators. How to describe "letters of charges" best I do not know, except to say that the best analogy perhaps would be that of an information filed by a district attorney, or perhaps an indictment returned by a grand jury. The fact that letters of charges have been filed against these 29 individuals does not necessarily mean that all of them are guilty of the charges. Some of them may well be able to prove their innocence.

Incidentally, Mr. President, there is no doubt that they will all be cleared. The State Department's Loyalty Board has a very unusual record. In 4 years of operation, with hundreds and hundreds of cases coming before the Board, cases which came before the Board as the result of investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the State Department's Loyalty Board has not found a single man unfit for Government service.

The Commerce Department comes next. The Commerce Department has found somewhat less than 7 percent of the cases which came before its Loyalty Board unfit for Government service. However, that resord is not so bad as it may look, because Secretary Sawyer, upon his own authority, discharged a number of questionable characters before their cases even came before the Loyalty Board.

I think we can safely say that all these individuals will be cleared, as they were cleared by the Tydings committee last year.

Upon learning that these individuals were formally charged, Mr. President, I wrote to former Senator Hiram Bingham, who succeeded Seth Richardson as Chairman of the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board, and asked him whether he would confirm the information which I already had as to which cases were pending. Under date of June 13 he wrote me confirming the information which I had. This letter is available to any Senator who indicates a desire to see it.

I then found that all these individuals, even though they had been formally charged with communistic activities, still, as of this moment, have access to top secret and other classified material in the State Department. I accordingly wrote the State Department and made a very, very reasonable request. I wrote them under date of July 23, 1951. I ask that this letter be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point in my remarks, omitting the list of names contained in the letter.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JULY 23, 1951.

Mr. DEAN G. ACHESON,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I would appreciate receiving information as to the status of the following 29 cases which I understand are pending before the State Department's loyalty board:

* * * * *

I would also appreciate knowing—

1. Whether the above individuals have access to classified material while their cases are pending;

2. Whether letters of charges have been filed in all of the above cases.

A short time ago when it was announced that the cases of John Paton Davies and Oliver Clubb had been reopened and they had been suspended, the State Department announced that, under the law, suspension was mandatory, I thereupon wrote the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission Loyalty Board and asked him why others whose cases were pending before the Loyalty Board, such as John Carter Vincent and Phillip Jessup, and so forth, were not also suspended. The Chairman wrote me under date of July 16, stating that the law does not make suspension mandatory, but leaves the question of suspension entirely within the discretion of the Secretary of State. Do you so understand the law?

If steps have been taken to deny individuals such as Vincent, Jessup, and others whom I have named above, access to secret and other classified State Department material I would appreciate being so informed. If no such steps have been taken, I would appreciae receiving your comments as to whether you consider it safe practice to give individuals being investigated for Communist activities free access to State Department material of such a secret nature that it is not available to Members of the Congress.

Unless I receive your immediate assurance that steps will be taken to deny access to secret material to those whose cases are pending before your loyalty board and those who have been formally charged with Communist activities, I shall feel forced to bring the individual cases to the attention of the public with the hope that public opinion may force sensible action on your part.

Sincerely yours,

JOE MCCARTHY.

Mr. MCCARTHY. In that letter I called to the Secretary of State's attention to the very dangerous practice of giving these individuals access to secret material after they had been charged with communistic activity. To my mind, it is like a man who is indicted for embezzlement having completely free access to the funds of the bank while he is being tried.

I told the Secretary of State that unless he would assure me that these persons would be denied access to secret material until his own loyalty board would clear them, I felt I had no choice but to bring the cases to the attention of the Senate and give the Senate a résumé of the "letters of charges" filed against them, hoping that action by the Senate or perhaps public opinion would make the Secretary change his policy and adopt a sensible, safe attitude.

I received from the Secretary's office, under date of July 25, a very arrogant letter in which he indicated that he thought it was no business of the Senate, that the State Department is his own little private kingdom where he can do what he pleases, and he refused to assure me that these men would be denied access to secret material.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter be inserted in the body of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, July 25, 1951.

The Honorable JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR MCCARTHY: As the officer in charge of the operation of the loyalty and security program of the Department of State, I am answering your letter to the Secretary of July 23.

You begin your letter by stating that it is your understanding that the 29 individuals whom you list are "cases * * * pending before the State Department's Loyalty Board." Your understanding is incorrect. The 29 individuals—all of whom you have cited, of course, in your former lists—fall into varying categories. Like your previous lists, this one also includes the names of persons who are not employees of the Department of State, employees who have been cleared by the Department's Loyalty Security Board, as well as individuals in process through the loyalty program. Your indiscriminate lumping together of names and the threat to make them public is tantamount to holding hostage the reputation and rights of those employees who have been or may be cleared of the allegations against them. The President's directive of March 13, 1948 (Federal Register, March 16, 1948) precludes me from furnishing any reports, records, or files relative to the loyalty of employees. Disclosure of such information would be prejudicial both to these people as individuals and to the Government's ability to conduct a sound, just, and honorable loyalty security program.

Let me once again remind you that the Department of State is operating under the loyalty program laid down by the President in Executive Order No. 9835, as amended by Executive Order No. 10241. This Executive order, which anyone interested in our national security safeguards should feel dutybound to study, prescribes a loyalty system which even the most critical have endorsed. This system offers as much protection to the Government as any ethical and American system which could be devised. That it is subject to attack for purely political reasons without regard for the facts is unfortunate.

The Department of State, operating under the authorities of the so-called McCarran Security rider and Public Law 733, carries out a total security program. When I say total, I mean total: If an individual is found to be a security risk, he is separated from the Department.

Now, the following points with regard to the Department's loyalty and security program have been said many times, but I will repeat them again for your benefit as simply and as briefly as possible.

1. Both the loyalty and security programs of the Department are under my immediate supervision, and they are being carried out honestly and effectively. We are and will continue to operate a program to secure (1) maximum protection to the Government

and (2) due regard for the rights of the individual.

2. Under this program, all departmental and Foreign Service officers receive complete security investigations. These investigations are exhaustive and are made by trained investigators, operating under the direct supervision of a former FBI agent, Mr. Donald Nicholson.

3. The Department does not permit any employee to have access to secret material when it has determined that such access might constitute a danger to the security of the United States. To do otherwise would be contrary to the established security principles of the Department.

4. Questions as to the loyalty of any employee of this Department or the Foreign Service result in an up-to-date and full-scale investigation of the individual employee by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The evaluation of this investigation is made by a competent Loyalty Security Board which operates under the chairmanship of Gen. Conrad E. Snow, an experienced and able lawyer of distinguished reputation and unquestioned integrity.

5. This Board is made up of men of such high qualifications and unquestioned loyalty that I doubt that even the most suspicious person could be able to challenge their credentials.

6. The work of the Board is reviewed administratively by my immediate office and by the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission. Mr. Seth Richardson, a former Assistant Attorney General under ex-President Herbert Hoover, was formerly chairman of the Loyalty Review Board. He was succeeded by the present chairman, ex-Republican Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Hiram Bingham.

7. In the more than 4 years of operation under this procedure, the Loyalty Review Board has never reversed the Department's adjudication of a case.

8. In conducting this program, the Department has uncovered some employees who did not meet its high security standards, and these employees have been separated.

As should be perfectly clear from the foregoing, the conduct of the Department's loyalty and security programs are predicated on thoroughly tried and proven American principles. We will continue to operate this program in the same straightforward manner in the future, confident that we are taking every reasonable step to assure a completely loyal and trustworthy group of employees. But we will not abandon adherence to those concepts so carefully and deliberately laid down in the President's loyalty program, and we will not compromise our legal and ethical responsibilities under pressure of political stratagem or threat.

Sincerely yours,

CARLISLE H. HUMELSINE.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I find an interesting passage on page 3 of the letter, which reads as follows:

> In the more than 4 years of operation under this procedure, the Loyalty Review Board has never reversed the Department's adjudication of a case.

In other words, Mr. Acheson's man is telling how good their board is because it has never been reversed. In view of the fact that they have never found an individual unfit for service, there could never have been an appeal to the Loyalty Review Board. Therefore, since there was never an appeal, there could not have been a reversal.

However, the Review Board has the power to take up a case on post audit and indicate dissatisfaction with the case. That has been done time and time again. Even though the Secretary says this is not a reversal. As an example of such a case I invite the attention of the Senate to the case of Service. I informed the late unlamented Tydings committee that the Service case had been post-audited, sent back to the Loyalty Board, and that the Review Board said it was handled so badly that it wanted to call in an entirely new board and also asked that Service be brought back from a key spot in India. The State Department immediately issued a press release or called a press conference, I don't recall which, and announced that this was untrue; that McCARTHY was lying and that Service's case had not been ordered reopened. I called the Department and told them unless they would issue a true statement of the facts, I would make public the photostats of the Review Board's ruling. Within a half an hour the State Department mysteriously found that the Service case had been ordered reopened and so announced.

I merely mention it because it sheds light on how much credit we can give to the official statements from the State Department. It would seem officials of the Department, who are, like Members of the Senate, servants of the people, would have the decency and honesty to tell the American people the truth.

So much for that.

I should like to make it very clear as I refer to the loyalty board of the State Department that I am not referring to the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board. That Board, as we all know, was doing an extremely foul job until its head, Seth Richardson, was promoted, and his place was taken over by former Senator Bingham, of Connecticut. I think Senator Bingham is doing the best job anyone could do under the circumstances.

I hesitate praising Senator Bingham because I know any words of praise from me for any Government official certainly endanger's that person's job.

Mr. President, I very much dislike bringing in the names of these individuals, but I frankly do not think I have any other choice. I think, so long as they are being given access to secret material and have been officially charged, that they have no more right to have their names remain secret than would someone who might be charged with reckless driving, embezzlement, or with any other crime or misdemeanor.

I shall briefly run through the cases, Mr. President. The first case is that of an individual well known to all of us, John Carter Vincent. Please keep in mind that these "letters of charges" were not prepared by me; they were prepared as the result of investigations by the FBI or State Department investigators.

Vincent is charged with being a member of the Communist Party, and to the best of my knowledge he is also charged with espionage activities while in Switzerland.

I would suggest to the McCarran committee that if they can obtain the correspondence between the Central Intelligence Agency and Dean Acheson's office they will find the correspondence very revealing. I doubt if they will be able to get it, in view of what happened in the committee this morning. A very fantastic thing occurred before the McCarran committee this morning. General Willoughby was before the committee and was asked to give information on the communistic activities of certain Government employees, and he read into the record an order which he received from the Army saying to him, "General, you must not give the Senate committee any information about any employee of this Government."

Inconceivable? Yes. But it is true. It is part of the record.

So, Mr. President, I am not too hopeful that the McCarran committee will be able to get that correspondence.

One of the members of the Loyalty Board informs us that Acheson has assured them that the Department will not call Vincent back from Africa.

Some of the additional information is not contained in the letter of charges, which I commend to the attention of the McCarran committee. I refer to the activities of George Ottlik who has been working hand in glove with Vincent in Switzerland. Ottlik represented the short-lived Hungarian Communist regime of Bela Kun. He was stationed in Berne, Switzerland.

While he was Director of the Far Eastern Division in 1945 Vincent wrote a memorandum, which is in his State Department file, strongly urging that General Hodge establish a coalition government between North Korea and South Korea. He objected strenuously to Syngman Rhee and urged that the State Department assist a Moscow-trained Communist by the name of Kem Koosek to get the presidency of South Korea. As we also know, Vincent has been a very close associate of Owen Lattimore. Lattimore has been named by two witnesses as a Communist and as an agent of the Soviet Secret Police, respectively.

On page 172 of Wallace's book it is pointed out that in 1944 a high official of the Soviet Government proposed a toast to Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent.

He proposed a toast, which was quoted by Wallace as follows:

> To Owen——
>
> Here we have the top representative of the Soviet, and here is his toast, as quoted by Wallace—
>
> To Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent, American experts on China on whom rests great responsibility for China's future.

That is to be found on page 177 of Wallace's book. So much for John Carter Vincent.

The next case is the case of William T. Stone. Stone's Communist activities are legion, and I will not attempt to describe all of them. It is of some interest to note that he was one of the co-editors of Amerasia. Amerasia has been described by the FBI as a "tool of Soviet espionage." He was also one of the high officers in the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Prior to the formation of the present Loyalty Board in the State Department there was a board—I believe it was referred to as the Security Board—and there were some good men on that board but, of course, they are no longer in the Department. In 1946 that Board recommended as follows with regard to this man Stone:

In behalf of the above mentioned it is recommended that action be instituted to terminate his services with the State Department immediately.

The date of that, incidentally, was March 22, 1946. I continue to quote from the Security Board report:

It is suggested to achieve this purpose that an appropriate officer of the Department should inform Mr. Stone that his continued employment in the Department is embarrassing to the Department, and he should be given an opportunity to resign. If he should not resign voluntarily, action should be immediately instituted under Civil Service Rule No. 8 to terminate his services with the Department.

That was ignored by Acheson, who was then Undersecretary of State, and ignored by Stone's immediate superior, who was a man from Connecticut by the name of WILLIAM BENTON. Stone was working immediately under BENTON. As to some of Stone's additional activities—incidentally he formed a Washington branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations together with Esther Brunauer, whose husband resigned from the Navy while his loyalty case was pending, and who has been suspended, I understand, from the State Department.

Stone was also involved in innumerable Communist-front activities. It perhaps should also be mentioned that William Stone was the man who succeeded in keeping George Shaw Wheeler on in an important position in the State Department. Wheeler had been ordered discharged from a key position in the State Department on the ground that he was an active and important member of the Communist Party. William T. Stone, however, intervened in Wheeler's behalf and succeeded in keeping him in his position. Stone labeled Wheeler as the ideal State Department employee. As the Senators will recall, Wheeler left the United States and went behind the iron curtain, at which time he issued a statement viciously condemning everything America stands for and applauding communism.

On August 4, 1948—this is a matter of interest which is not in the letter of charges, but I call it to the attention of the Senate—on August 4, 1948, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, the exposed Communist spy, testified under oath that William T. Stone gave him naval-intelligence records. At that time, Stone was Assistant Director of the Board of Economic Warfare. Stone, of course, will be cleared by Acheson's loyalty board. There is no question about that.

Apparently the reason why one of my colleagues [Mr. BENTON] has been squealing so loudly about MCCARTHY'S attacks on Communists is that some of his friends, such as William T. Stone, are going to be exposed. Stone's name has already cropped up in the McCarran hearings. As I said, the immediate superior of Stone in the State Department was the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BENTON].

The next case, Mr. President, is the case of Herbert Fierst. Herbert Fierst is a foreign-affairs specialist in the Department of State. A memorandum of August 2, 1946, by Mr. Bannerman, one of the security officers in the Department of State, is to the effect that physical surveillance showed that this man Fierst was in constant contact with members of an espionage group and that he recommended Communists for State Department employment, and was engaged in a number of other Communist activities.

Incidentally the Loyalty Review Board which post-audited the Fierst case about 2½ years ago, after he had been cleared and ordered it back to the State Department and said, "We are not satisfied with this. This man is obviously either a Communist or following the line. We cannot approve having a man handling top secret material who is chumming with espionage agents."

What do you think happened to the case? The State Department said, "The case is closed."

Another is Marcia Ruth Harrison, divisional assistant, Department of State. I will not read all the charges. One is that she belonged to a vast number of Communist fronts, plus a Communist organization; that she belonged to the Young Communist League was a paid-up member of it.

Next is Robert Ross, radio information specialist, Department of State.

Mr. President, I am not going to read the letters of charges in all these cases, but I will give a few typical cases.

The next is Ella M. Montague. She was born in Russia in 1896. She worked for the Amtorg Trading Corp. The testimony before 3 different committees is that only top members of the Communist Party could work for Amtorg. The Senate will recall that 5 or 6 of the officers of Amtorg were picked up about a year ago and charged with espionage. Under pressure from the State Department they were allowed to return to Russia.

Next is the case of Olga V. Osnatch. At the time of our original investigation she was not yet a citizen of the United States. She may have gotten her papers since, but I do not know. She worked for the Russian Embassy in Turkey for 3 years. Then with the Russian Welfare Society and so forth. One of the significant things here, of course, is that the Russians do not hire people in their embassies unless they are Communists.

Another is Stella Gordon, also known as Estella Gordon, correspondent and research clerk, Department of State. Incidentally, Mr. President, I know that after I have given these cases and the summary of the letter of charges against some, there will be the usual high-pitched screaming and squealing that McCarthy has done this under senatorial immunity. I thought that charge should be laid to rest once and for all, so the other night before I went on a television broadcast I offered the sponsors to name these individuals. The sponsors' lawyers said "No, we do not want you to do that"—and I do not blame them. I think it was good legal advice which they gave because, as Louis Budenz and some of the other top former Communists have testified, up to 1945 the orders of the party to members were "Don't under any circumstances sue. We do not want to bring the party into prominence in that way."

In 1945, according to the sworn testimony of reputable witnesses like Budenz, the party line changed, and Communists have standing orders to sue in every case in which anyone was accused of Communist activity. They were told, "Sue, even though you have no chance of winning. If you can bring 5 or 10 or 15 suits against a man you can bleed him white while he is defending them, and take up all his time, and he can spend no time in the fight against communism."

A good example was William Remington. The Senate will recall that Remington was named on a radio broadcast—Meet the Press, I believe—as a member of the Communist Party. He promptly filed suit. The radio chain and the insurance company, of course, had no access to Remington's files. They could not prove that he was the Communist he was, so they paid him $10,000. The Senate knows that since that time Remington has been convicted. He was indicted by a New York grand jury and then convicted by a New York jury. The conviction was upheld by a court. It was a conviction based upon perjury, when he said that he was not a Communist. In other words, he was found to be a member of the Communist Party.

I mention that to show that I do not at all blame the sponsor for not wanting me to name these people on his program.

Some members of the press have been shouting that MCCARTHY has been giving this information under immunity, so I notified the three press services that if they would have representatives at my office at 10 o'clock the next morning I would give them all the information about these individuals, and give them their names, if I could have some assurance that they wanted to print them, knowing, of course, that they would not, because all of us have had the experience of members of the press telling us that they cannot use certain information because it might subject their papers to suits for libel or slander. Again, I do not blame them, because if 10 or 15 or 20 Communists started libel and slander actions against the newspapers it would cost them a fortune, and they would be busy defending lawsuits.

The three press services said, "No; we will take the names, but we will give you no assurance that we will print them." I was assured by one of the men that he knew that under no circumstances would they print them unless

I used the names on the floor of the Senate.

Some members of the press also asked if their newspapers could get the information. I said, "Yes; if your editor will simply tell me that he wants to use the names, he can have them." I received no calls from any editors.

That should, I hope, lay at rest once and for all the silly, asinine claim that A Senator can expose corruption or communism, somewhere other than on the Senate floor or before a committee. If he went off the Senate floor and exposed it, no one would hear about it except those within the range of his voice. If we are to have a housecleaning, the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from New Orleans to St. Paul, should have the information about these dangerous characters.

The next one is Daniel F. Markolies, one of the top security men in the State Department. Originally the appointment of this man was disapproved on the ground that he was a bad loyalty and security risk. He was hired anyway.

The next name is that of Robert Warren Barnett. This is one of the men who was brought into the State Department on the recommendation of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Edward Carter testified to that the other day: He has been active in the Institute for a number of years.

The letter of charges against the Barnetts—both Robert Warren Barnett and his wife, Mrs. Robert Warren Barnett, charges them with close association and constant contact with known Soviet espionage activity.

The next is Sylvia Schimmel, an administrative analyst in the Department of State. The letter of charges in her case is briefer, but substantially the same as that in the case of the Barnetts.

The next is Philip Raine, a regional specialist in the Department of State. He is tied up, in the letter of charges, very closely with Robert T. Miller, who has been identified under oath several times as a Russian espionage agent.

The next is Gertrude Cameron, information and editorial specialist in the Department of State. I recommend this case especially to the McCarran committee.

The next is Paul A. Lifantieff-Lee, an economist in the Department of State. He was born in Russia. His file in the Navy Department, which was transmitted to the State Department, shows that he took secret State Department documents, which were found in his room and picked up by naval intelligence. That is shown by the naval intelligence report.

The next name in Franz Leopold Neumann, a consultant in the Department of State.

The next is John Tipton Fishburn, labor economist in the Department of State.

The next is Victor Myron Hunt, in the Office of Educational Exchange, Department of State.

The next is Arpad Erdos. He is an information specialist in the Department of State. For some time this man was with the Voice of America, but he was promoted, and now has a higher-paid job.

The next is an editor-writer by the name of Frances M. Tuchscher.

The next is Nelson Chipchin, a radio information specialist. This is another case that I recommend especially to the McCarran committee.

The next is Esther Less, also known as Esther Less Kopelewich, an announcer in the Department of State.

The next is Esther Caukin Brunauer, United States representative to the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO, Department of State.

The next is John Patton Davies. Incidentally, since I wrote the State Department, Davies has been cleared, despite the vast amount of information on his communistic activities. I understand he is being promoted and sent to Berlin to act as adviser to McCloy.

One final phase, the prize of them all, against whom charges are now pending, is Philip C. Jessup. The history of this man Jessup is so unusual that I assume some day we shall look back and say: "No; it is impossible. The State Department certainly would not have given this man the top job that he had over in Paris, negotiating with the Russians even as Hiss in a less important capacity did the negotiating at Yalta."

I am not going to take much of the Senate's time on this case. I wish briefly to go through some of the material I have in my hand. Testimony was given by Jessup on two different occasions, the occasion of the first trial of Alger Hiss, and the second trial.

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

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I notice on the list read by the Senator the name of Esther Caukin Brunauer. It seems to me that I recall reading in the newspaper that she had been removed, along with her husband, from Government employment. Am I correct in my recollection?

Mr. McCARTHY. I understand that two of the individuals were suspended. They are Brunauer and Val R. Lorwin, the economist in the State Department. The information is to the effect that they are still on the payroll of the State Department, pending inquiry. Mrs. Brunauer's husband, Stephen Brunauer, was employed in the Navy Department as head of the High Explosives Section. He was named before the Tydings committee last year. The Senator will remember that I asked the Tydings committee to go into executive session and take up his case. They refused to do so. They said, "No, Brunauer has been cleared by the Loyalty Board, and we will not let you smear him."

Former Secretary Matthews did a pretty good job in the case. He took all the evidence against Brunauer and suspended Brunauer. Brunauer would not wait until his case had been decided, but resigned.

I may say, Mr. President, that Brunauer was a very close friend of Noel Field, who, since the Tydings hearing of last year, has disappeared behind the iron curtain. How many of our secrets he has taken with him behind the iron curtain, I do not know. I am giving to the Senate a list of 26 names. Of the 26 I understanding two have been suspended, but the State Department will neither admit nor deny it. My letter of June 23 gave the State Department a list of 29 names. Of the 29, 2 have resigned, and they are no longer with the State Department. The third individual, who holds an important position in the point 4 program, has been cleared. Today I am not giving the names of any of the individuals who have been cleared. Twenty-eight of the one hundred and five have been cleared. I am not giving their names to the Senate, but instead am giving them to the McCarran committee.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of North Carolina in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. Were those cases passed upon by the new Loyalty Board under former Senator Bingham?

Mr. McCARTHY. Oh, no. I may say to the Senator from South Dakota that if the cases of the individuals involved had been before the Bingham Board, and if former Senator Bingham had the power to deny them access to secret material, I would not have to get up on the floor of the Senate to give this information. If the case were before the Bingham Board it would certainly not be necessary to give this information. Senator Bingham's Board has no jurisdiction whatever over these cases until the State Department find a man unfit for service. In that case the individual involved can appeal to the Bingham Board. If they do not find him unfit for Government service, his case does not come before the Bingham Board. After the State Department clears an individual the Bingham Board can, however, pick up that case on what is called a post-audit and send it back to the State Department, saying, "We want this case reheard." If the State Department again clears the individual the Bingham Board I understand takes the position—which is the opposite from the position taken by the Richardson Board—that it can take up the case again and order the man removed if that Board finds him unfit. Whether he has the power to do so under the law, I am not certain. However, I am glad to hear that he is adopting that position. None of the cases covered today have been cleared by the Bingham Board.

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

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Former Senator Bingham has publicly announced, however, that he has reversed the policy of the Richardson Board, which Board said that when there was any doubt as to whether or not a man was actually a Communist spy or a good American, and they could not resolve the evidence definitely one way or another, that it was their policy to give the benefit of the doubt to the individual, and let him

continue to hold his security position. Former Senator Bingham announced immediately when he took over the post that in his opinion such procedure was an utterly indefensible attitude to take, either in a time of war or in a time like this, and he announced that if his board was unable to resolve definitely the question of whether or not a man was actually a Communist spy working for the Government, or a good citizen, and there was no conclusive proof either way, his board would give the benefit of the doubt to the Government and to the 130,000,000 good patriotic Americans, whose interest and future is jeopardized when Communist spies are permitted to remain in the Government service. Is that correct?

Mr. McCARTHY. I believe the Senator from South Dakota has stated the situation very correctly. The Richardson Board apparently took the opposite position. They took the position that unless they could find a man had committed an overt act of disloyalty, they would not recommend his discharge.

Mr. MUNDT. Unless they could find a Communist membership card in his pocket with a stamp on it showing that the dues had been paid currently, they would not consider him a security risk?

Mr. McCARTHY. Not even then, I will say to the Senator from South Dakota. They would not consider that an overt act. For example Remington was proven to have been a member of the Communist Party. Seth Richardson took the position that in view of the fact that it could not be proved that Remington was a member of the Communist Party as of the moment the Board was holding its hearings, they could not discharge him.

Mr. MUNDT. In other words, he was behind in his dues.

Mr. McCARTHY. It is never possible to prove a man is a Communist at any one particular moment. He can always say that he quit the party yesterday or the day before. I may say that the Board under Richardson met on April 20, 1950. President Truman had sent to the Board the list of names that I had given to the Tydings committee. The Richardson board met in secret session. I shall be glad to show the Senator from South Dakota a copy of the discussion by the Board in its secret hearing. It will show why so many unusual characters are still employed in the State Department. The discussion runs over approximately 20 pages. At first they argued whether or not they could make a finding against any of the individuals if they found he was a bad security risk, or whether they had to find that he had committed an overt act of disloyalty. Then there were some arguments as to what an overt act was. They contacted President Truman and they contacted either the Secretary of State or the Attorney General. I do not recall which one it was. In any event they asked for advice, and they were advised that they were not to check into the past of any man's character dealing with the point of whether or not a man was a bad security risk.

The Senator will be surprised to find that while some Members argued that the information should be put in the file, they finally decided against doing it on the ground that if they checked on a man as to whether or not he was a bad security risk and put that information in the file, McCARTHY or someone else might find out that they had labeled a man a bad security risk and would bring the fact to the attention of the Senate. Therefore they decided not to make such a check. Happily the new chairman of the Board, former Senator Bingham, has to a great extent reversed that procedure, although he is working under a tremendous handicap in that department.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator for the explanation. I merely wished to point out that fact, so that the country could have confidence in the new Board, and know that the Board had completely reversed the Richardson philosophy. In other words, it is no longer necessary to catch a man with a bomb in his hand or with a Communist membership card in his pocket. The new Board feels that whenever there is a reasonable doubt about a man's character, and it is unable to determine whether he is a loyal American or a Communist spy, and they cannot make a positive affirmation one way or another, the new Board gives the benefit of the doubt to the Government and to the 130,000,000 Americans, whose life and future are entirely in the hands of any disloyal elements that may get into important strategic positions of the Government, whether it be in Defense, State, or any other key spot in Government.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think one of the cases demonstrates very well what the Senator is talking about, namely, the case of John S. Service. That case also shows the weakness of the Loyalty Board structure and its proceedings. The Service case is presently being held before the State Department's Loyalty Board, and apparently will be held there indefinitely. Some of the members of the Review Board are concerned about that, because they do not have jurisdiction until the State Department and its Loyalty Board have made their decision. The State Department thus can hold up a case for 2 or 3 years, and while it is pending, the Review Board has no power to make a post-audit or anything else of it.

To recall some of the facts in the Service case, the Senator from South Dakota will remember that representatives of the FBI testified under oath before the Tydings subcommittee that when Service was in this country, they followed him from the State Department, which he left with large brown envelopes under his arm, to the hotel room of Philip Jaffe, who long has been known as a Communist, and was named as a Communist spy, and later was convicted. The representatives of the FBI said they trailed Service to Jaffe's hotel room; and trailed him away without those envelopes. They testified that they put microphones in Jaffe's room, and over those microphones they heard conversations going on in that room, and over the microphones they heard Service discuss top-secret military information with that Communist spy—information which he was giving that Communist spy. The Senator understands that I am now referring to testimony by representatives of the FBI.

As we recall, the Tydings subcommittee met and said, in effect, "Isn't it awful, the way McCARTHY smeared this poor Mr. Service?" The State Department's Loyalty Board met and said that Service was an ideal public servant.

However, his case has been reopened, and I am rather interested in seeing, what happens when that case goes before the Senator Bingham's board.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it seems to me that the case of William K. Remington is an even more startling illustration of how utterly futile and ineffective the Richardson Board was.

The junior Senator from Michigan has just entered the Chamber, let me say. I recall attending hearings when the Remington case was brought into the picture. I know that when I was a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, we ventilated the Remington case. By that time the Loyalty Board was in operation, and it had authority to make examinations. It sat and held sessions. Despite the fact that Remington has since then been removed from office and convicted, and I suppose is now in a Federal penitentiary, where he should be, to this late hour the Loyalty Board has never found Remington to be a loyalty risk; and according to the records of the Loyalty Board, Remington is a good and faithful public servant. So, obviously, that kind of Loyalty Board is worse than nothing, because it gives a false sense of security to the people, and makes them think that the traitors and the treasonable characters will be weeded out of the Government service.

Mr. McCARTHY. Also I should like to say that the Remington case was one of the cases I called to the attention of the Tydings subcommittee, and I pointed out that although technically Remington was not on the State Department's payroll, but was on the payroll of the Department of Commerce——

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; Remington had, interestingly enough, the strategic job of determining what kind of military exports would be sent to Russia.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct. Of course, as the Senator from South Dakota recalls, Secretary Sawyer ordered Remington discharged. However, Remington appealed to the Richardson Board, and that board ordered him reinstated. While Remington was serving in the Department of Commerce, that Department did a good job of keeping him away from strategic information. However, later he very cleverly got into the State Department and got hold of such information in that way.

Elizabeth Bentley testified before the committee that Remington was one of the couriers for her and for other Communist spies. However, the Tydings subcommittee refused to consider her testimony seriously, and the Loyalty Board found Remington to be a good American.

Incidentally, I may say that next week there will be issued a report which will damn McCARTHY from hell to breakfast for going into Maryland and telling the Maryland voters about the tremendous

whitewash job Senator Tydings did. Of course, Mr. President, if Senator Tydings did not do a whitewash job, then I treated him very unfairly, and then I should not have helped to let the people know what a whitewash job he did do. On the other hand, if Tydings did a whitewash job and if I did not expose that to the people of Maryland, I would be almost as guilty as Tydings.

Of course one spy in the Government service is too many. In a case of this sort, when the chairman of the committee is told, "Here is a man who is a Communist spy, and here are the witnesses. Please call them," then when the chairman of the committee says, "Oh, no; I won't," it is rather difficult for me to understand why my friends criticize me for exposing Mr. Tydings. In fact, I understand that one Senator would like to see the Senator from Wisconsin expelled from the Senate because he exposed our friend, Millard Tydings.

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

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. HENDRICKSON. In fairness to the other members of the committee, inasmuch as the Senator from Wisconsin has mentioned one of them who would like to see the Senator from Wisconsin removed, I think it is proper and in order for the Senator from Wisconsin to mention the Senator in question.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BENTON] submitted the resolution. I certainly was not referring to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HENDRICKSON].

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senator from South Dakota to the secret workings and secret minutes of the Loyalty Board, under Seth Richardson, which met in April 1950. The Senator will see in the minutes that present at that time were George W. Alger, John H. Amen, Harry W. Blair, John Kirkland Clark, Glem W. Collins, Meta Glass, Paul M. Herbert, Garrett S. Hoag, Wilbur LaRoe, Jr., Brunson MacChesney, Arthur W. Macmahon, Henry L. Shattuck, Andrew Steers, Eliot Wadsworth, Leonard D. White, and Chairman Richardson was presiding. In fairness to those who were present, I should say that some of them, as the Senator from South Dakota will note, made a strong argument to the effect that they should investigate those individuals completely and thoroughly, regardless of whether the matters involved dealt with loyalty, security, or anything else which would make such persons unfit to serve. The Senator will also note that they then contacted the President and asked him whether they should make the examination, and received word to the effect that they should not, but should check only on overt acts of disloyalty—which resulted in clearance of every one of those persons, because they could not find them lighting a fuze to an H-bomb.

Mr. President, I believe I have covered all the cases now, except one, namely, the case of Philip C. Jessup.

First, let me say that if the Senator from South Dakota would care to see what has happened to a number of the other individuals whom I named last year, I shall be glad to let him examine the information which has come from the Review Board. I wish he would not give the names of any of the persons who have been cleared, however.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand the testimony of Jessup in the Hiss case. Jessup was unable to be present at the trial; he was out of the country. Accordingly, he made out affidavits.

It is not too difficult to understand how someone might have testified in favor of Hiss at the first trial. However, after all the evidence was brought to the attention of the public, so that men high in the Government service certainly knew that Hiss was a Communist spy, it is rather difficult then to understand how they would come to the defense of Hiss.

Here is the testimony of Jessup during Hiss' second trial:

> Question. Mr. Jessup, do you know the reputation of Alger Hiss for loyalty, integrity, and veracity?
>
> Answer. Yes; I do.
>
> Question. What is that reputation? What do you think of it?
>
> Answer. Outstanding.

That is only a minor part of his record. The head of the FBI, during his testimony before one of the committees, was asked whether it was significant that an individual belonged to a Communist-front organization. He pointed out that it might or might not be. He pointed out that many fine individuals were duped into joining Communist-front organizations. Of course, that was the aim of the Communist party, to try to get some good, loyal Americans on their lists, so they could use them to deceive people. But, as he said, "If you find that a man belongs to four, five, or six of these organizations who have been named as fronts doing the work of the Communist Party, they are either so naive that they are dangerous to this Nation in a high Government job, or you can be sure that they are loyal to the Communist Party." That is not a verbatim quote, but as best I can remember it.

One of the other men who was testifying was asked the same question, and he said this: "Well, let us put it this way. If you find that a man belongs to the Lutheran Young Men's Society, you can assume that he is most likely loyal to the principles of the Lutheran Church. If you find that he belongs to the Holy Name Society, you can assume that perhaps he is a Catholic; and," he said, "if you find that he belongs to organizations which are fronts for the Communist Party, then you can assume that he is either a Communist or that he certainly is loyal to the Communist Party."

Mr. Jessup, our Ambassador at Large, was affiliated with not one, not two, not three, not four, but with five organizations officially named as fronts for and doing the work of the Communist party. Here are photostats of official letterheads which show his affiliations.

That is not all. Mr. Jessup exercised editorial control of the publication "Far East Survey," a publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which has been named by a legislative committee as a Communist front. While he had that editorial control, and while that publication was following the Communist line down to the last period, who do you think was supporting it? When Frederick Field, a man who proclaims himself to be one of America's leading Communists was on the stand last year, he was asked whether he had contributed to Jessup's publication. His answer was, "I refuse to answer, on the ground that it might incriminate me." With some difficulty, we dug up the checks covering Communist money—believe it or not—over a short period of time, totalling $6,000, used for the purpose of supporting the Communist-front publication run by our ambassador at large, a publication which, according to sworn testimony, employed many Communist writers. When this evidence was brought to the attention of the Tydings Committee, the State Department had to have a press conference, which it did, at which they said, "Now, here is another example of this nasty McCarthyism." They said, "Just because poor Mr. Jessup took some Communist money, McCARTHY is trying to indicate that that is why he followed the Communist line in his publication"—their theory being, apparently, that Mr. Jessup was so naive that he did not know why the Communists were paying him and were supporting that publication. We can be certain that if Mr. Jessup was that naive, the Communists were not so naive. They knew they were getting a dollar's worth, and more, for every dollar they spent. The committee refused to go into the matter, but when I, with my limited staff, could dig up checks totaling $6,000, representing Communist money, we can be very certain that there were many more thousands of dollars which Jessup received.

Let us keep in mind, as we read the photostat I have in my hand now, that we are talking about the man who represented the United States in the Big Four Conference in Paris, in the fight, if you please, against communism, and if it is possible to find a better analogy than Hiss at Yalta, I do not know where it would be. I have in my hand a photostat of a petition which appeared in the New York Times on February 13, 1946. The Senate will recall that, at that time, the Communist Party line was that, if only the United States would destroy all its atomic bombs, if we would tear down our atomic facilities, we would then convince Russia that we were peace-loving and the result would be that there would be no danger of war. That was, of course, while Russia was obtaining our secrets and frantically trying to build her own atomic bombs. It was not too surprising to find the Daily Worker saying that—but one would hardly expect that our Ambassador at Large would say it. But I have in my hand this petition, signed by Jessup, which was published in the New York Times on February 13, 1946. Let me refer to two lines, in which this petition asks "that the United States at once stop the production of atomic bombs and atomic material, and that all the material which has been produced be destroyed by appropriate means, such as dumping it into

the ocean." That is Phillip Jessup. Some interesting information has been developed before the Tydings committee, of course, about Jessup. For example, they produced a letter at the hearing, which the Senate may or may not have seen. A letter which Jessup wrote to Vincent, talking about Frederick Field, the top Communist saying, "We have got to help Freddie all we can"—that was when he was about to head a Communist organization—"I suggest a press release as follows." Then Jessup wrote the press release and sent it to Field, a press release which was identical, almost to the last comma, with the Daily Worker's description of this Communist front.

Last year, when we were trying to dig some of the Communists out of Government, the President made a speech. As I recall, it was made over a Nation-wide hook-up. In it he said it was a great mistake to do what I was doing, that we were endangering national unity. He said, "Now, if McCARTHY or anyone else has any information about Communists or anyone who is bad for this country, let him send the information to me, Harry S. Truman." He said, "I will take action. You should not do it the way McCARTHY is doing it."

Mr. President, when we got this material regarding Jessup, I decided I would call the President's bluff, so we sent all of it to him. We sent him copies of the magazine which Jessup was publishing, which contained articles which followed the Communist line right down to the last period. One would think it was the Cominform's official program, and rightly so, because the articles were being written by men who have been identified under oath as Communists. We sent him photostats of the checks, showing that the Communists were supporting Jessup's publication. We sent him a copy of the petition of Jessup, saying "Let us destroy our atomic bomb." We sent him copies of Jessup's testimony praising Alger Hiss. We sent him photostats showing that Mr. Jessup was affiliated with five organizations which had been officially named as fronts for and doing the work for the Communist Party.

I said, "Now, Mr. President, take action. Here is some evidence. Certainly you cannot say this man is good for America. He has been found at every time and place where disaster has struck America and success has come to Soviet Russia."

The President took action. What do Senators think the President's action was? It consisted of giving Philip C. Jessup top secret clearance to all atomic and hydrogen-bomb information. Of all the stupidly stubborn and stubbornly stupid examples of playing with the lives of American boys, I think that tops them all.

Mr. President, in closing, let me say, again, that I very much dislike having to name these individuals who are under charges of Communist activities. I begged the Secretary of State to deny them access to secret material, and told him if he did not do so I would have to name them. He refused. Some of them may be able to prove that they are neither security nor loyalty risks. If so, they have been hurt by this publicity, and I regret it. But if an individual is accused of reckless driving, jumping a stop sign, or embezzling from a bank, the American people get that information. So why should not the American people be informed when their servants are accused of Communist activities as a result of FBI investigations.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I regret that I find it necessary to address the Senate of the United States this afternoon. It is regrettable because the majority leader should not have to make any remarks dealing with the responsibility of a Member of this great body; it is regrettable that any Member must be reminded of the tradition of service in this body which requires the highest degree of integrity in the performance of his duty.

Mr. President, for over a century and a half the Senate has been known as a body of integrity, of honor, and of dignity. It was because of what we read when we were in school about those who preceded us that some of us had the inspiration to make membership in the United States Senate our goal; we felt it would be a distinguished honor to serve in this body.

To be a Member of the United States Senate imposes on one certain responsibilities to his fellow men, to his Government, and to his Nation. If any Senator has evidence that any man has committed a high crime, or if he has evidence that any man serving in the Government is disloyal, he has the solemn duty to place that evidence before a proper tribunal. If a court of justice does not act, he has of course the responsibility of placing the evidence before his colleagues. Mr. President, our forefathers, when they wrote the Constitution of the United States, granted us certain immunity on the floor of the Senate. Why? Because it was their opinion that the Members of this body could always be relied upon never to charge any individual unfairly or unjustly, never tear down his character, or hurt his good name unless compelling evidence against him was in their possession.

Mr. President, just as it is the duty of a Member of the Senate to lay before the proper tribunal or to lay before a court or before this body evidence, he has a like responsibility never to say one word against the good name of an individual unless he has the evidence to support the charge. If he has such evidence, it is his duty to lay it before the Senate at the time he makes the charge against the individual.

When I was a small boy my mother taught me that when one takes from an individual his good name, that individual has been stripped of his most valuable possession.

I have sat on the floor of the Senate and heard men charged, by innuendo and inference, with disloyalty, and even with high crimes and misdemeanors, without any substantial evidence of the charge being laid before the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, I have sat on this floor and heard one Senator, by innuendo and insinuation, charge a high official of this Government, a man who had served his country for a lifetime with distinction and honor, with being a traitor or a near traitor. Tragically there seems to be no easy way to cope with a situation like that, since to attempt to refute such charges merely dignifies the assertion. There is only one way to meet that kind of conduct and it is to remind Members of their duty and responsibility.

The distinguished junior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] is on the floor. I want to congratulate her on a statement which she made in the Senate on June 18, 1951, a statement we all may take to heart. I should like to read the last two paragraphs of her remarks:

> As an American I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of confuse, divide, and conquer.
>
> As an American I do not want a Democratic administration whitewash or cover-up any more than I want a Republican smear or witch hunt.
>
> As an American I condemn a Republican-Fascist just as much as I condemn a Democrat Communist. I condemn a Democrat Fascist just as much as I condemn a Republican Communist. They are equally dangerous to you and me and to our country. As an American I want to see our Nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves.

Mr. President, I emphasize that when a man's good name is taken away by insinuations and innuendoes he has been done a great injustice. I desire to add, Mr. President——

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

Mr. McFARLAND. No; I do not yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. I did not think the Senator would. [Laughter in the galleries.]

Mr. McFARLAND. I desire to emphasize, Mr. President, that when one is unjustly accused of disloyalty to his country an equally great injustice is being done our country and our free institutions. Ah, Mr. President, our enemy, the Kremlin, would like very much to have those charged with responsibility for our Government unjustly brought under suspicion and distrust, to have us distrust each other and fight among ourselves and accuse each other. When we do that we serve their purpose just as effectively as one of their paid agents.

Mr. President, it is beneath the dignity of Members of the Senate to smear any individual. It behooves us to have valid and substantial evidence when an individual is mentioned by us as being disloyal to his country. No Senator should become a character assassin.

I suggest, Mr. President, that when the name of any Member of the Senate becomes an adjective for mud slinging, we have come a far way from the tradition of those great men who preceded us here; we have torn down the dignity and standing and respect that this body should enjoy; we have come to a time when a halt must be called.

I hope we may reexamine the speech of the junior Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], and that we will abide by the principles which that distinguished Senator enunciated.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President——

Mr. McCARTHY rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of North Carolina in the chair). The Chair recognizes the Senator from New York.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President——

Mr. LEHMAN. Once more the Senate is hearing——

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. Does not the present occupant of the chair feel that inasmuch as the majority leader has made a speech of the kind we have just heard, in all fairness the Senator from Wisconsin should be recognized to respond to the speech? He was on his feet, and I think he is entitled to recognition at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will recognize him. The Chair understands that the Senator from New York will be through in a moment. The Chair will recognize the Senator from Wisconsin. The Chair did not see the Senator from Wisconsin rise.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Chair. I hope the majority leader will remain on the floor.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I did not catch the ruling of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair ruled that the Senator from New York has the floor. He is the Senator the Chair first recognized.

Mr. LEHMAN. I thank the Presiding Officer.

Once more the Senate is hearing the names of several persons mentioned and the irresponsible charge made that they are disloyal to the United States or even traitors to their country.

I do not know anything about many of the individuals who have been named here today. I do know that the process of making charges in public against the loyalty of certain persons under the protection of congressional immunity is a form of character assassination which all of us must abhor and condemn. I shall have more to say on this subject, as we all should, at a later date.

One of the names bandied about today is that of Philip C. Jessup, Ambassador at Large, and one of the most distinguished public servants in our Government. One of the most skillful and effective spokesmen of the United States in international affairs, Philip Jessup, whom I know well, has ably served his country during the past few years in exposing, in the forums of the United Nations, the devious purposes and hypocrisy of the Soivet leaders.

He deserves much better of his fellow citizens than the shabby and dastardly treatment which is accorded him here today——

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the Senator from New York is out of order.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I withdraw the word "dastardly" and I substitute——

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask that the rule be enforced.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I withdraw the word "dastardly" and I substitute therefor the word "cowardly."

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I raise the point of order that the Senator from New York is out of order, and I ask that the rule be enforced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York, under the rule, will take his seat.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I move that the Senator from New York be permitted to proceed in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, is the motion debatable?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands it is not.

Mr. WHERRY. That is all right. I will vote to permit the Senator to proceed in order if he will do so in order. If the Senator from New York is not acquainted with rule XIX I will tell him what it provides. It does not make any difference what the Senator thinks of the Senator from Wisconsin; under rule XIX he cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, impute improper motives to him.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I have a right to speak.

Mr. McFARLAND. The motion is not debatable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is not debatable as the Chair understands.

As the Chair understood, the Senator from New York did not refer by name specifically to any Senator. Apparently the Chair did not hear clearly what the Senator from New York said.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, inasmuch as the distinguished occupant of the chair has made mention of what he heard——

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

Mr. WHERRY. I ask unanimous consent that I may be given 5 minutes to answer the statement made by the distinguished Senator.

Mr. McFARLAND. I call for the regular order.

Mr. WHERRY. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona has called for the regular order. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Arizona that the Senator from New York proceed in order. [Putting the question.] The "ayes" have it, and the Senator from New York may proceed.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I wish only on this occasion to offer for insertion into the RECORD at this point statements by three of the greatest Americans of our day. These statements say more than I can about the character and patriotism of Philip Jessup. These statements are not new, but neither are the charges that have been made here. The men whose testimony I now call upon to bear witness to the character of Mr. Philip Jessup, a citizen of the State of New York, are Gen. George C. Marshall, one of the noblest men who have ever lived, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, to whom we owe an unpayable debt of gratitude, and the late venerated Henry L. Stimson, respected by every American citizen. The statements by Generals Marshall and Eisenhower are in the form of letters addressed to Ambassador Jessup. The statement by the late Secretary Henry L. Stimson is in the form of a letter to the editor of the New York Times.

I wish merely to quote the last paragraph of the letter. He writes:

> This is no time to let the noisy antics of a few upset the steady purpose of our country or distract our leaders from their proper tasks. This is rather a time for stern rebuke of such antics and outspoken support of the distinguished public servants against whom they are directed.

Mr. President, I not only fully agree with the words of that great statesman, that great Secretary of War and Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, but I go further and say that the time is long overdue when we should have rebuked the authors of antics reflecting on men, without supporting the charges with any real evidence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letters to which I have referred be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 17, 1950.

MY DEAR JESSUP: I am shocked and distressed by the attack on your integrity as a public servant.

Throughout your intimate service with me while I was Secretary of State you were clearly outstanding as a representative of the Government both as to your masterful presentations and the firmness of your opposition to all Soviet or Communist attacks or pressures. This was conspiciously the case during your handling on the Security Council of the Berlin blockade issue.

Both the Under Secretary, Mr. Lovett, and I counted you as a great source of strength to the State Department during those critical days.

Faithfully yours,

G. C. MARSHALL.

MARCH 18, 1950.

MY DEAR JESSUP: I am writing to tell you how much your university deplores the association of your name with the current loyalty investigation in the United States Senate.

Your long and distinguished record as a scholar and a public servant has won for you the respect of your colleagues and of the American people as well. No one who has known you can for a moment question the depth or sincerity of your devotion to the principles of Americanism. Your university associates and I are confident that any impression to the contrary will be quickly dispelled as the facts become known.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

LOYALTY IN WASHINGTON—METHODS AND MOTIVES OF ATTACK ON STATE DEPARTMENT QUESTIONED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The present charges against the Department of State have not in my view deserved much attention. But the very widespread notice they have received prompts me to make certain comments.

First, this is most emphatically not the proper way in which to insure loyalty of Government employees. If that had been the real purpose of the accuser, he would have used the fully developed and tested procedure of the executive branch of the Government, under which charges are investigated and weighed by men of both parties and unimpeachable integrity. Any constructive result which may eventuate

from the present charges would have been achieved far more surely and effectively by use of the existing procedures. The fact that the accuser has wholly ignored this well-established method indicates that his interest is of a different character.

Second, no matter what else may occur, the present charges have already spattered mud upon individuals of the highest integrity, and in the present state of the world the denial cannot always overtake the accusation. It should by now be wholly clear that indiscriminate accusations of this sort are doubly offensive; they damage the innocent, and they help protect the guilty. For if the accuser is so stupid as to connect a man like Ambassador Jessup with communism, are not all such accusations made suspect?

REACTION ABROAD

Third, and more important by far, the method of the present charges directly and dangerously impedes the conduct of the foreign affairs of our Government. It creates abroad a feeling that we are frightened and suspicious of each other; it diverts our attention, at home, from the genuine and pressing problems of our foreign affairs; it requires of many high officials that they desert their proper duties in order to prepare and deliver such extensive replies as that of Mr. Jessup. Not one of these effects would have resulted from a disinterested study of the loyalty of any suspected State Department employees; each of them is the direct result of the manner in which these charges have been made.

Fourth, it seems to me quite clear that the real motive of the accuser in this case is to cast discredit upon the Secretary of State of the United States. This man is not trying to get rid of known Communists in the State Department; he is hoping against hope that he will find some. Fortunately, the Secretary of State needs no defense from me. No one who knows his extraordinary record of able and disinterested public service can believe that he is in any danger from these little men. It is already obvious that in any test of personal confidence the men of honor, in both parties, will choose to stand with the Secretary.

But there is more at stake in this matter than the rise or fall of individuals. What is at stake is the effective conduct of our foreign policy.

RESPONSIBILITY OF OFFICE

Every Secretary of State, second only to his President, and alone among appointive officers of the Government, stands before the world as the representative of the United States of America. No man who holds this office can fail to feel the extraordinary responsibility he carries for service to the country and its peace. No man has a greater right to ask the sympathetic support and the cooperation of his fellow citizens, and none is more properly exempt from the ordinary trials of politics. The man who seeks to gain political advantage from personal attack on a Secretary of State is a man who seeks political advantage from damage to his country.

The American Government, led by the President and the Secretary of State, is currently engaged in a major effort to give leadership to the country in a time of changing international conditions and grave world tension. This effort will require as part of our democratic process widespread and earnest public consideration of the great problems now before us, so that the ultimate decision will surely reflect the basic steadiness and faith of our people. In such public consideration there is always room for honest differences, but now, as for many years past, the formulation of foreign policy most urgently demands an adjournment of mere partisanship.

This is no time to let the noisy antics of a few upset the steady purpose of our country or distract our leaders from their proper tasks. This 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, LONG ISLAND, *March 24, 1950.*

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a resolution adopted by the Utica post of the American Legion, of Utica, N. Y., in tribute to Mr. Philip C. Jessup, and in his defense against the unfounded charges which have been leveled against him. This resolution pays tribute to the man who is a past commander of that post, the same Philip C. Jessup.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ATTACK UPON PAST COMMANDER PHILIP C. JESSUP ADOPTED AT A REGULAR MEETING OF UTICA POST, NO. 229, AMERICAN LEGION, HELD ON APRIL 6, 1950

Whereas, Utica Post, No. 229, American Legion, is proud to number among the list of its past commanders a distinguished comrade, friend, and charter member, Ambassador Philip C. Jessup, whose record of patriotic devotion and continued helpfulness to our country over a period of many years is a source of great satisfaction, pride, and distinction to Utica post and to its entire membership; and

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 United States 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 United States Senator which he presently holds: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Utica Post, No. 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, United States Ambassador at Large; and be it further

Resolved, That Utica Post, No. 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 Honorable 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.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, Philip Jessup is a great American who has served, and is serving, his country with unsurpassed devotion, unselfishness, and loyalty. By character, by patriotism, by ability, and by useful service he belongs in the galaxy of those other outstanding American statesmen—Cordell Hull, Warren Austin, George C. Marshall, Henry L. Stimson, Averell Harriman, and John G. Winant.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I am very sorry that the majority leader surrendered the floor before I could ask him any questions.

This is a very serious matter. The majority leader has a very important position. I am sure that he does not want to do what so many in his party have been doing—that is, labeling a once great party as a party which stands for the protection of Communists and crooks in Government.

I ask unanimous consent that, without losing the floor, I may direct some questions to the majority leader. I think perhaps we can use his advice in this——

Mr. MCFARLAND. Mr. President——

Mr. MCCARTHY. I am sure that the majority leader is not afraid to answer questions.

Mr. MCFARLAND. I am not going to be goaded into a colloquy with the junior Senator from Wisconsin. I have been discussing a principle of conduct for gentlemen. I did not mention any Senator by name in my remarks. Evidently the Senator from Wisconsin must have taken the facts as stated by me to fit him or he would not have replied.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, I am rather surprised at the majority leader. In view of the fact that he is the leader of the Democratic Party, I should like to ask him now if he thinks it was terribly unfair to have "smeared" Mr. Remington last year. Last year I rose on the floor of the Senate and cited the case of William Remington. We offered the witnesses in that case. The Tydings committee said, "No; we will not hear them. He has been cleared by the Loyalty Board. Let us leave Mr. Remington in a position of importance." Thank God we had a good grand jury in New York. They considered the evidence against Remington and indicted him. Thank God there was a good jury and a good judge to try him. They found that man guilty.

From what the majority leader says today, apparently he feels that it was very unfair to name Remington. Some of the other individuals whom we are naming will also be convicted, even as Remington was.

I should like to ask the majority leader another question. The question is, What would he do if he saw the "letters of charges" against these individuals, charging them with Communist activities, one of them being charged with being an espionage agent? What would he do if he knew they had access to top-secret material? What would he do if he had Naval Intelligence reports showing that certain individuals are stealing secret documents? But the majority leader refuses to make answer.

We wrote to the Secretary of State and said, "Mr. Secretary, the least you can do, if you are interested in this country, is to deny those people access to secret material while they are under

charges." He wrote back and said, "No; we will not do that."

I am surprised to think that the majority leader feels that it is unfair of me to try to force the Secretary of State to do what any loyal American would do. I suggest that the majority leader, together with members of his party who did considerable crying about the smearing of Owen Lattimore, go over and listen to the testimony given before the McCarran committee.

I suggest also that my friends on the other side of the aisle who are doing everything possible to label their party as a party of Communists and crooks, go over and see some good Democrats sitting on the McCarran committee, men who are Americans first and Democrats second.

Today on the floor of the Senate I saw the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], who was celebrating his seventy-fifth birthday, a really star-spangled American and a credit to any party. I am sure he represents the loyal Democrats of this Nation rather than those who get up and scream to high heaven and say, "JOE McCARTHY, you are smearing these poor, innocent Communists." [Manifestations of applause from galleries.]

SALE BY MARSHALL PLAN NATIONS OF STRATEGIC WAR MATERIALS

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], and myself, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill to amend section 1302, Public Law 45, Eighty-second Congress, the so-called Kem amendment.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1987) providing for the termination of assistance to foreign countries exporting war materials to Russia or her satellites, introduced by Mr. KEM (for himself, Mr. WHERRY, Mr. BYRD, and Mr. MALONE), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, this bill would make the following changes in the present law:

First. It would make its provisions applicable to military as well as economic and financial assistance. This would bring within the coverage of the amendment Marshall plan nations who are now engaged in selling strategic war materials to the Reds, and who are now receiving military but not economic assistance from the United States.

Second. It would make its provisions apply regardless of whether the Armed Forces of the United States are actively engaged in hostilities.

Third. It would strike out the proviso that exceptions to the provisions of the amendment may be made at the discretion of the National Security Council.

When the Kem amendment was adopted by the Senate the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] said:

> My criticism is that the amendment does not go far enough, in that it would be effective only while the United States is actually engaged in hostilities.
>
> Another criticism is that it denies economic assistance, but it does not deny military assistance. I cannot understand why we should allow any kind of military assistance to any country to which we are denying economic assistance.

We have learned from experience that if we are to stop arming the Communists through our allies, Congress must pass an iron-clad, escape-proof law, that is mandatory upon the President. Two laws with built-in loopholes have failed to accomplish their objective.

Section 1304, Public Law 843, Eighty-first Congress, approved September 27, 1950, provided that no economic or financial assistance was to be provided by the United States to any foreign country whose trade with Russia or its satellites, including Red China, was found by the United States National Security Council to be "contrary to the security interests of the United States."

Under this law, the National Security Council, of which President Truman is Chairman, took no effective action to halt the shocking sale of strategic materials by Marshall-plan countries to the very enemy now killing and maiming our boys in Korea. No action was taken despite the fact that the late Admiral Forrest Sherman told the Senate committees investigating the MacArthur dismissal that the Joint Chiefs of Staff on March 28, 1951, advised the Secretary of Defense that growing military assistance to Communist China by non-Communist countries other than the United States constituted "a direct threat to the security interests of the United States."

The failure of the National Security Council to act constituted a callous disregard of the safety and welfare of the American boys in Korea. It was contrary to the express will of the Congress.

On May 9, 1951, I introduced, on behalf of myself and other Senators, an amendment to the third supplemental appropriations bill providing that economic or financial assistance would be automatically shut off to any country which continues to sell war materials to the Communists. The Senate approved this amendment unanimously. After the conference committee had made certain changes, including the addition of the ill-fated and misused exception clause, both Houses of Congress approved the bill as amended.

In taking this action, the Congress made clear that it was dissatisfied with the steps which had been taken to halt the flow of war goods to the enemy.

On June 16, 1951, Congress and the American people were shocked and amazed to learn that the National Security Council had suspended entirely the operation of the war-goods-ban amendment for 90 days.

The amendment provides "that exceptions to those provisions may be made upon an official determination of the National Security Council that such exception is in the security interest of the United States."

To except is defined by Webster as "to leave out from a number of a whole."

The National Security Council suspended the whole amendment. This meat-ax approach is entirely unjustified and unjustifiable. This action has no moral, legal, or constitutional basis. It is a flagrant disregard of the express intent of the elected representatives of the people.

Since the National Security Council suspended the amendment more than 5,000 American boys have been killed or wounded in Korea. The shipment of strategic war materials—and I do not mean women's bathing suits—to the Reds who killed or wounded those boys has gone on.

I have obtained fresh evidence that Marshall-plan countries are continuing their vicious sales of strategic materials to the Communists, including the Chinese Reds and North Koreans.

Department of Commerce officials tell us that during the first 3 months of 1951 alone Italy exported $1,151,000 worth of ball and roller bearings to countries behind the iron curtain. When asked specifically if these shipments are continuing at the present time the answer Department of Commerce officials give is these shipments are continuing.

During May 1951 the British Socialist Government permitted $275,968 worth of machine tools to be exported to the Soviet Union, compared with only $54,406 during May 1950. During the 5 months ending May 31, 1951, $1,539,865 worth of machine tools were sold by the British to the U. S. S. R. and $1,638,943 worth of electrical generating sets and generators.

I offer the proposed changes in the present law as a way to halt this shameful business.

The Battle bill recently passed by the House will not, in my judgment, meet the situation. It is another discretionary law. We have had experience with two discretionary laws, and the traffic between Marshall-plan countries and the Russian bloc in strategic war materials has gone on unabated. What we need is a mandatory law with teeth in it.

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

Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. What the distinguished Senator from Missouri is expressing is that under the so-called escape clause, as it is interpreted by ECA, there is permitted to continue in the law a loophole by means of which countries are enabled to engage in the damnable traffic, regardless of the fact that the Senate intended, as I believe it intends now, to have on the books a mandatory statute which would prohibit such traffic. Am I correct?

Mr. KEM. That is exactly correct.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from Missouri, who has taken an interest in the subject, is now asking the Senate to amend the legislation sponsored by him so as to delete the escape clause and make the provisions of the legislation mandatory, just as the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] said it should be made mandatory when the Senate adopted the so-called Kem amendment. Is that correct?

Mr. KEM. That is correct. However, I do not believe that the Senator from Arizona touched on that point. The escape clause had not been inserted when the bill pased the Senate. The escape clause was put into the bill in conference.

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Communists in State Dept.

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LIST OF STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES WHOM SEN. MCCARTHY SAID HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH "COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES:"

1. HERBERT FIERST, FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPECIALIST.
2. JOHN CARTER VINCENT, CONSUL GENERAL AT TANGIERS, FORMERLY MINISTER TO SWITZERLAND.
3. FRANCES M. KUCHSCHER, EDITOR-WRITER.
4. MARCIA RUTH HARRISON, DIVISIONAL ASSISTANT.
5. PHILIP C. JESSUP, AMBASSADOR AT LARGE.
6. NELSON CHIPCHIN, RADIO INFORMATION SPECIALIST.
7. ESTHER LESS (ALSO KNOWN AS ESTHER LESS KOPELEWICH), ANNOUNCER.
8. ROBERT ROSS, RADIO INFORMATION SPECIALIST.
9. ELLA M. MONTAGUE, CLERK-STENOGRAPHER.
10. OLGA V. OSNATCH, CLERK-TYPIST.
11. STELLA GORDON, CORRESPONDENCE AND RESEARCH, WORKER.
12. DANIEL F. MARGOLIES, ASSISTANT CHIEF.
13. WILLIAM T. STONE, INFORMATION AND EDITORIAL SPECIALIST.
14. ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO PREPARATORY COMMISSION OF UNESCO.
15. ROBERT WARREN BARNET, ASSISTANT ADVISOR ON JAPANESE ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.
16. MRS. ROBERT WARREN BARNETT, CONSULTANT, FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPECIALIST.
17. SYLVIA SCHIMMEL, ADMINISTRATTIVE ANALYST.
18. PHILIP RAINE, REGIONAL SPECIALIST.
19. VAL R. LORWIN, ECONOMIST.
20. GERTRUDE G. CAMERON, INFORMATION AND EDITORIAL SPECIALIST.
21. PAUL A. LIFANTIEFF LEE, ECONOMIST.
22. FRANZ LEOPOLD NEUMANN, CONSULTANT.
23. JOHN TIPTON FISHBURN, LABOR ECONOMIST.
24. VICTOR MYRON HUNT, OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE.
25. ARPAD ERDOS INFORMATION SPECIALIST.
26. JOHN PATTON DAVIES (SINCE CLEARED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE).

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McCarthy Promises Names of 29 Today

By the Associated Press

Senator Joseph F. McCarthy (R-Wis.) said yesterday he intended to give the Senate the names of 29 past or present employes of the State Department whose loyalty has been questioned. He told a news conference he would disclose the names in a speech on the Senate floor today.

"Some very high officials" are on the list, McCarthy said. He reported most of the employes are under investigation on charges ranging from association with Communists to Communist affiliations.

The Wisconsin Republican said he thinks all employes whose loyalty is in doubt should be suspended, on the reasoning that "if an employe is charged with embezzling from a bank, you don't let him still have access to the till."

When he suggested suspensions to Secretary of State Dean Acheson and sought assurances that suspected employes were not being allowed to see secret papers, McCarthy said, he got a letter "saying in effect, 'go to hell'".

At the time, the department accused McCarthy of "a political strategem." It said some of the persons involved were not in the department, while others had been cleared.

McCarthy said yesterday he believed 24 persons on his list are still with the State Department. He said his information is that two others have been suspended, two have resigned and one has been cleared. Among those involved, he said, are "a foreign affairs specialist, an editor-writer, a divisional assistant, an Ambassador at Large."

The Senator added that he knew all those on the list would be cleared in the State Department's own loyalty procedures. "In four years the State Department has never found a single individual unfit for State Department service in its loyalty proceedings," he said.

Tuesday night on a television program McCarthy offered to give out the names from his office yesterday "if any one of the three major press services will give me assurance in writing they will make those names public without my having named them on the Senate floor."

The Associated Press, United Press and International News Service refused to give him such assurance. A spokesman for the Associated Press said: "The Associated Press will make no commitments of any kind to Sen. McCarthy. The Associated Press' responsibility is to report the news if and when it happens."

This morning about 20 reporters and photographers appeared at McCarthy's office. Reporters for the Associated Press, United Press and International News Service told the Senator any statements he offered would be handled on the same basis as other news, but they would give him no advance commitments.

McCarthy then made plain that he would not give out the names at his office. He said he was not surprised that the press associations had not given him the assurances he asked. He said he recognized the danger of libel suits if names were used without the privilege of congressional immunity.

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State Department Reply Defies McCarthy Threat to Name 29

By the United Press

The State Department closed for a new battle with Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) yesterday by sharply refusing to tell him what it has done about 29 persons he considers security risks.

McCarthy promptly announced he will name the persons and outline the charges against them in a Senate speech "within a few days."

On Monday, McCarthy sent a letter to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, listing 29 persons whose cases, he said, are "pending" before the department's loyalty-security board.

He demanded immediate "assurances" from Acheson that all have been barred from secret information, and said unless he got such assurances, he would make the names public.

The department's reply was sent to McCarthy yesterday in a letter signed by Carlisle H. Humelsine, head of the loyalty-security division.

He accused McCarthy of attacking the department's "honest and effective" loyalty program "for purely political reasons, and without regard to the facts."

Humelsine said McCarthy's list of 29 persons "includes the names of persons who are not employes of the State Department, and employes who have been cleared by the department's loyalty-security board, as well as some employes whose cases actually are pending before the board.

"Your indiscriminate lumping together of names and threat to make them public is tantamount to holding hostage the reputation and rights of those employes who have been or may be cleared of the allegations against them," Humelsine told McCarthy.

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McCarthy Says He'll Name 29 Anyway

State Department Tells Joe to Go Fly His Citations

By United Press

The State Department angrily defied Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy today, and all but dared him to name 29 persons he claims are security risks.

Sen. McCarthy promptly accepted the challenge and said he would reveal the names in a Senate speech "within a few days."

Sen. McCarthy said he had made a "reasonable" request that he be assured that the 29 persons be barred from "secret materials" while their "loyalty" cases were pending before the department's loyalty security board. He said the department gave him "no choice" but to make the names public.

RAPS 'THREAT'

In an angry letter late yesterday, the department told McCarthy that it would not yield or compromise his "political strategy or threat."

Undersecretary of State Carlisle H. Humelsine, head of the department's loyalty-security division, wrote the blistering reply to Sen. McCarthy. Mr. Humelsine said disclosure of the names would violate President Truman's order forbidding release of any information on pending loyalty cases.

The caustic exchange could be the opening cross-fire of a new row between the State Department and Sen. McCarthy.

The State Department made no attempt at tactfully mollifying Sen. McCarthy. Mr. Humelsine said the Senator's attack was made "for purely political reasons, and without regard to the facts."

He said Sen. McCarthy's list—"like your previous lists"—contained the names of persons not working for the State Department, some who already have been cleared and others whose cases actually are pending.

'HOLDING HOSTAGE'

"Your indiscriminate lumping together of names and the threat to make them public," Mr. Humelsine wrote, "is tantamount to holding hostage the reputation and rights of those employes who have been or may be cleared of the allegations against them."

Sen. McCarthy said his list of names "cannot be incorrect" because he got it from Chairman Hirman Bingham of the Civil Service Commission's top-level Loyalty Review Board.

Told of Sen. McCarthy's statement, a State Department spokesman said that if Mr. Bingham did supply the names, "then Sen. McCarthy and Mr. Bingham will have to share the responsibility for making them public."

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McCarthy Makes New Threat to Give Names Of Security 'Risks'

His Demands Rejected By State Department as 'Political Stratagem'

Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin renewed today a name-calling threat that the State Department described yesterday as "holding hostage the reputation and rights" of employes cleared of disloyalty charges.

The department brusquely rejected as a "political stratagem" Senator McCarthy's demand for assurance that 29 of its employes are being kept away from secret papers.

The Senator threatened in a letter to Secretary of State Acheson Monday to name publicly 29 persons he said face loyalty checks unless he got such assurance.

"I am inclined to think I have no choice but to name them unless the State Department completely reverses its stand," Senator McCarthy said today. "The situation is too dangerous not to do so."

Humelsine Answers Charges.

Deputy Undersecretary of State Carlisle H. Humelsine wrote the Senator yesterday that his allegation that the 29 persons he named are involved in pending loyalty cases "is incorrect."

All of the individuals have been named by Senator McCarthy before, Mr. Humelsine pointed out. He added that some are not State Department employes, some already have been cleared and some be cleared of the allegations against them," Mr. Humelsine told the Senator.

He said the department "does not permit any employe to have access to secret material when it has determined that such access might constitute a danger to the security of the United States."

Details of Program Outlined.

But the President's loyalty program directive of March 13, 1948, precludes the furnishing of any "reports, records or files relative to the loyalty of employes," Mr. Humelsine said.

His letter to Senator McCarthy outlined details of what he described as a "total security program" conducted by the State Department. Under this program, an employe does not have to be found positively disloyal to be discharged. Mr. Humelsine emphasized that any individual considered a "security risk" is separated.

But he stressed that "we will not compromise our legal and ethical responsibilities under pressure of political stratagem or threat."

Senator McCarthy charged that Mr. Humelsine's letter was "deliberately calculated to mislead." He was not certain when he may make his next move. He said he may name the 29 either this week or next.

McCarthy

(Continued From First Page.)

are "in process through the loyalty program."

"Your indiscriminate lumping together of names and the threat to make them public is tantamount to holding hostage the reputation and rights of those employes who have been or may

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McCarthy Hints Of Report on 26 Acheson Aides

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin said yesterday he might make a "progress report" to the Senate naming 26 State department employes whose cases he says have been re-opened on security grounds.

Noting Secretary of State Acheson's statement that the department makes an effort not to give out procedural information regarding such matters, McCarthy said:

"The State department seems bashful and perhaps I should name the persons involved in these cases. If their records are so bad that rehearings have been ordered, they certainly should not have access to documents in the department that not even members of Congress can see."

Two Suspensions Cited

Last Thursday the department announced the suspension of two high-ranking career diplomats pending hearings on security charges. They are John P. Davies, a member of Acheson's top level policy planning staff, and Oliver E. Clubb, director of the department's office of China affairs.

The department said the suspensions were mandatory under the law once it had been decided to file security charges and that hearings should be conducted. It emphasized that the action carried no implication of guilt pending outcome of the hearings.

Saturday President Truman ordered a study of the administration of the powers of government agencies to fire or refuse to hire individuals on the grounds they are poor security risks. He asked the national security council and the civil service commission to conduct the survey.

Dangerous Practice, Says Senator

The president said "a number of reports" he had received recently regarding actions by government agency chiefs had raised a question as to whether the rights of federal jobholders and applicants were being abused.

In a letter to Hiram Bingham, chairman of the civil service loyalty review board, McCarthy said his records indicate that cases of 26 State department employes have been reopened. He said 23 of them "still have full access" to secret documents and added that "would seem to be an extremely dangerous practice."

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McCarthy May Name 26 Being Investigated

By The Associated Press

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Communist in the State Department

ADD 2 ACHESON

ACHESON DISCLOSED THAT ADDITIONAL STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED PENDING INVESTIGATION OF SECURITY CHARGES AGAINST THEM.

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ADD 3 ACHESON

ACHESON DID NOT STATE HOW MANY SUSPENSIONS THERE HAVE BEEN BUT SAID THERE HAVE BEEN "MORE" THAN THOSE PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED.

THE DEPARTMENT DISCLOSED YESTERDAY THAT DIPLOMATS JOHN PATON DAVIES, JR., AND O. EDMUND CLUBB HAD BEEN SUSPENDED PENDING HEARINGS ON SECURITY CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THEM. IT CALLED THE SUPENSIONS "AUTOMATIC" UNDER THE LAW.

SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY HAD DEMANDED IN A LETTER TO HIRAM BINGHAM, CHAIRMAN OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD, TO KNOW WHY OTHER ACCUSED STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS HAVE NOT BEEN SUSPENDED. HE MENTIONED CAREER DIPLOMAT JOHN CARTER VINCENT AND AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE PHILIP C. JESSUP. MCCARTHY HAS ACCUSED THEM OF BEING PRO-COMMUNIST.

BINGHAM WAS NOT AVAILABLE FOR COMMENT ON THE LETTER, BUT HIS OFFICE SAID HE HAD NO AUTHORITY TO SUSPEND DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES.

7/13--EG338P

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ADD 4 ACHESON

THOSE SUSPENDED ARE AMONG THE 500 STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYES WHOSE LOYALTY OR SECURITY STANDING IS BEING INVESTIGATED UNDER RECENTLY TIGHTENED LAWS.

ACHESON SAID THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT AS A MATTER OF POLICY IS NOT ANNOUNCING DETAILED PROCEDURAL ACTIONS IN SPECIFIC CASES UNTIL A FINAL DECISION TO FIRE OR RETAIN THE EMPLOYE IS MADE.

UNDER THIS POLICY, ACHESON WOULD NOT TELL HOW MANY EMPLOYES HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED OR WHO THEY ARE.

IT WAS INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT NO OTHER EMPLOYES OF THE STANDING OF CLUBB OR DAVIES ARE UNDER SUSPENSION. ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE ANY ADDITIONAL SUEPENSIONS, ACHESON REPLIED AT FIRST THAT THE ADDITIONAL SUSPENSIONS, ACHESON REPLIED AT FIRST THAT THERE WERE NONE. AN AIDE, HOWEVER, INFORMED HIM THAT THERE HAD BEEN AND ACHESON CORRECTED HIMSELF.

7/13--EG345P

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Communists in the State Department

ADD 3 SUSPENSIONS

DEPARTMENT PRESS OFFICER MICHAEL J. MCDERMOTT, WHO MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT, SAID THE DEPARTMENT WAS REQUIRED UNDER THE LAW "TO SUSPEND ANY EMPLOYE WHEN IT HAS BEEN DETERMINED THAT SECURITY CHARGES SHOULD BE PREFERRED AND FORMAL HEARINGS CONDUCTED."

HE ADDED THAT SUSPENSION "DOES NOT INDICATE THAT A PERSON IS GUILTY OF MISCONDUCT OR IS A SECURITY RISK" BUT THAT ACTION IS REQUIRED IN THE CASES WHERE HEARINGS ARE TO BE HELD.

THE DEPARTMENT SAID THE CASES WOULD BE HEARD ON SECURITY RATHER THAN LOYALTY GROUNDS. ALTHOUGH IT WOULD NOT COMMENT ON THE CASES, IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S VIEW SECURITY NORMALLY PERTAINS TO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION RATHER THAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE DEPARTMENT SAID IT WOULD "MAKE NO FURTHER COMMENT ON THE TWO CASES UNTIL THEY ARE COMPLETELY ADJUDICATED."

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ADD 4 SUSPENSIONS
CLUBB IS A CLASS ONE FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, ELIGIBLE FOR A SALARY OF BETWEEN $12,000 AND $13,500 A YEAR. DAVIES IS ONLY ONE NOTCH LOWER, ELIGIBLE FOR A SALARY OF $10,330 TO $11,900 A YEAR.
7/12--JW652P

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ADD 5 SUSPENSIONS

SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, R., WIS., SAID OF THE DEPARTMENT'S ACTION: "THIS IS ONE OF THE FIRST HEALTHY INDICATIONS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS GETTING AFRAID OF THE MCCARRAN (SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE) COMMITTEE AND IS READY TO START CLEANING HOUSE."

MCCARTHY CLAIMED DAVIES WAS ONE OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICERS HE NAMED IN PRIVATE TESTIMONY BEFORE THE TYDINGS COMMITTEE WHICH INVESTIGATED HIS CHARGES LAST YEAR. MCCARTHY SAID HE DID NOT RECALL THE "SPECIFIC CHARGES" HE MADE AT THAT TIME.

THE SENATOR ALSO SAID HE HAD "A FILE" ON CLUBB, BUT DID NOT FEEL HE "HAD ENOUGH ON HIM" LAST YEAR TO TURN HIS NAME OVER TO THE TYDINGS GROUP.

7/12--JWCOP

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ADD 6 SUSPENSIONS
CLUBB SAID HE WAS CAUGHT BY SURPRISE AT THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND HAD "NO COMMENT AT THIS TIME." HE INDICATED ACQUAINTANCE WITH DAVIES.
7/12--GD832P

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The Way the Smear Technic Was Born

Rep. Fred Busbey of Chicago discovers that he can't find anywhere in Washington a record of the hearings at which the late Dr. William A. Wirt first exposed Communist influences in the New Deal. Even the copies of the Library of Congress have disappeared, and not by accident, Mr. Busbey suspects. The Roosevelt history fakers have little to learn from Big Brother's Department of Truth as George Orwell described it.

History Fakers

Dr. Wirt's reward for his attempt to warn the nation was a barrage of ridicule and calumny that may have hastened his death. He got his information during a visit to Washington in 1933, when he attended a small dinner party. Among those present was Lawrence Todd, then and now a member of the official Soviet news and espionage agency Tass. The other guests, most of them in the government service, took him for one of the initiates, and spoke freely.

It was there that the phrase was uttered that Roosevelt was only the Kerensky of the revolution, to be replaced by a Stalin. Dr. Wirt was told that the center of the Communist conspiracy was the Department of Agriculture, under Henry Wallace and Rexford Guy Tugwell.

* * *

At that time Alger Hiss, whose conviction as a perjurer-spy is now on appeal before the Supreme court,

Playground For the Reds

was one of the bright young men on the AAA legal staff under Wallace. Lee Pressman, another member of that staff, has since confessed his Communist connections and named some of his associates.

Dr. Wirt was hauled before a packed committee of New Deal congressmen. He was denied representation by counsel, although James A. Reed, former senator and one of the nation's ablest lawyers, had volunteered to serve him and was on hand.

The smearing of Dr. Wirt and the whitewashing of the Communists within the Administration was later described, in repentance and self-accusation, by former Rep. O'Connor, who as a member of the committee was a leader in the process. In 1940 he said publicly:

"What a tossing around Dr. Wirt did get. Members of the House, who then took the New Deal as a cult, denounced and excoriated the doctor on the floor and in the press. Little did we know that most of the happenings which Dr. Wirt said the plotters had predicted would come to pass."

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Most people came to think of Dr. Wirt not as the brilliant and patriotic educator he was, but as the garrulous, busybody that the perjured testimony before the Bulwinkle committee made him out to be. And his charges, which time has proved true, were forgotten, and the plotters had another 15 years in which to commit treason against America.

* * *

Importance Of Wirt Case

The Wirt case was important because it was the first application against a private citizen of the smear technic which Charley Michelson, with a hundred eager Democratic mouthpieces in Congress, had developed against Herbert Hoover to make the New Deal possible. The New Dealers and Communists never forgot the lesson. The American public was, and is, slow to learn that any decent citizen, no matter how carefully he speaks the truth against radicalism and subversion in the Administration, does so at the risk of his reputation.

The committee on un-American activities, which for a time was the public's only protector against Red infiltration of Washington, got the smear treatment from its inception, and is still getting it. Every variety of dead cat was thrown at Rep. Dies, its first chairman, and all his successors and their colleagues.

It is fashionable in "liberal"—i.e., fellow traveling—circles to speak of the "un-American committee." The Administration has constantly denied it official records, while making the same records, openly or surreptitiously, available to those whom the committee is investigating. The wonder, in view of this, is that the committee has been able to perform its priceless service to the nation in protecting it from spies, saboteurs and traitors.

The New Deal smear bund has attempted to impose on the country a double system of morals. It has demanded that its accusers proceed through a sea of perjury with the certainty of the FBI and the dignity of the Supreme court, while the New Dealers themselves conduct their inquiries in the liberal tradition of one of Stalin's people's courts. There was no essential difference between the tactics used against Dr. Wirt in 1934 and those of the Communists and their lawyers before Judge Medina in 1949.

The same tactics are now being used against everyone who questions the wisdom of Truman and Acheson, everyone who questions the holiness of Alger Hiss' U.N., everyone who asks what Hiss' comrades are still doing in the Administration. The new smear word is "McCarthyism." The tactics are being used successfully, and will continue to be successful, until Americans recognize the smear for what it is.

Truman May Order Loyalty Study to Beat New McCarthy Blast

John Marshall Butler Urges Renewal of Inquiry Into State Department

By the Associated Press

Democrats bracing for another Communists-in-Government attack by Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin are wondering whether President Truman will try to head it off by setting up a loyalty study commission.

Creation of such a special commission was recommended last

Truman Must Decide Soon on Pressing Plan to Recall Congress. Page A-3

July by the Democratic majority of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee which investigated Senator McCarthy's charges that Communists and Red sympathizers had infiltrated the State Department.

Senator Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, a minority member, also called for appointment of a non-partisan commission to make a new inquiry. Senator Lodge and the other Republican on the subcommittee, Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa, refused to sign the majority report which labeled Senator McCarthy's accusations "a fraud and a hoax."

Action Was Delayed.

There were reports at that time that Mr. Truman had decided to name a commission which would go thoroughly into the whole matter of the loyalty of Government employes, including an analysis of the existing loyalty board program. However, nothing was done about it.

Senator McCarthy and other Republicans accused the Democrats on the inquiry committee of conducting a "whitewash." The charge was angrily denied by the Democrats and the two points of view became a hot issue in the congressional elections campaign.

The balloting last week brought the defeat of Senator Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, who headed the investigation committee. Senator McCarthy campaigned against him.

John Marshall Butler, Republican newcomer to politics who unseated Senator Tydings, yesterday listed the communism-in-Government charges as the dominant issue in his successful campaign.

Butler Urges New Inquiry.

...that the inve...
...Appearing ...
...n program, 'on ...
...he said there is ...
...n the people's minds ...
...ther the State Depart... ...s harbored Communists.

The Maryland Senator-elect predicted that the new Congress convening in January will take some action along that line.

Republican gains at the polls have prompted Republican Senators to demand a new inquiry. Senator McCarthy has made it plain he plans to renew his blasting at the State Department and to bring other Government agencies under fire.

That prospect has set some administration Democrats to thinking about counter-strategy. One of them said in his opinion it would be a smart move for Mr. Truman to appoint a study commission right away.

That Senator added that the Democrats ought to take the initiative and not wait for Senator McCarthy to tee off again. The Senator said he had not discussed the matter with Mr. Truman and had no idea whether the President was considering it.

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(SECURITY)

DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE CARLISLE H. HUMELSINE SAID TODAY HE IS CONVICED ALGER HISS WAS GUILTY OF SLIPPING SECRETS TO RUSSIA BUT THAT HE IS SURE THERE IS NONE LIKE HIM IN THE DEPARTMENT NOW.

HUMELSINE, WHO HEADS THE DEPARTMENT'S LOYALTY PROGRAM, TOLD A NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY CONFERENCE HE IS POSITIVE THE DEPARTMENT HAS GOTTEN RID OF ANY POOR SECURITY RISKS.

HE ADMITTED THERE WERE DISLOYAL EMPLOYES, PRINCIPALLY BECAUSE THE DEPARTMENT HAD NO LOYALTY PROGRAM UNTIL 1947. BUT NOW, HE ADDED, EVERYTHING POSSIBLE HAS BEEN DONE TO GET RID OF SUCH EMPLOYES.

HISS, ONE-TIME PROMISING YOUNG STATE DEPARTMENT CAREER OFFICER, WAS CONVICTED IN NEW YORK OF LYING WHEN HE DENIED GIVING RESTRICTED INFORMATION TO RUSSIA BACK IN THE 1930'S. HIS APPEAL IS STILL PENDING.

HUMELSINE TOOK OVER THE LOYALTY PROGRAM WHEN JOHN PEURIFOY WAS APPOINTED U.S. AMBASSADOR TO GREECE.

HE SAID PEURIFOY'S UNANIMOUS SENATE CONFIRMATION FOR THE AMBASSADORSHIP AND A SUBSEQUENT PAY RAISE GRANTED BY CONGRESS WERE PROOF THE LEGISLATORS THOUGHT THE DEPARTMENT HAD DONE A GOOD JOB IN CHECKING THE LOYALTY OF ITS EMPLOYES.

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