

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JOSEPH McCARTHY

PART 28 OF 28

(SEE REFERENCES)

SUBJECT Joseph Mc Carthy

FILE NUMBER "See" references

SECTION NUMBER

175 lases

Office Memor rdum • united states government

Mr. Rosen

L. N. Conroy

SUBJECT:

NAME CHECKS ON 52 CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS SUBMITTED BY G-2

SYNOPSIS:

On 12-8-53, G-2 requested name checks on 52 Senators and Congressmen who are to attend a conference at the Pentagon early in January for briefing on future war plans of the United States and that no one would be permitted to attend if there is doubt as to his security. A list of the names submitted is set forth. Many of the individuals in addition to being nationally prominent are controversial figures. We will have hundreds of file references concerning some of the names. Not likely that G-2 will exclude any of above from conference in absence of very substantial derogatory information. Check is being confined to main files and G-2 will only be furnished data in instances where FBI conducted investigation. those instances where there is no main file G-2 will be advised only that no investigation has been conducted by FBI concerning such individual.

ACTION:

The files are being checked by the Name Check Section and you will be advised of the results thereof as pertinent data is prepared for dissemination to G-2.

DATE: December 11

1953

V. P. Keay

LNC: mde

5 HJAN 7-1954

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Office Memor, rdum · united starts governmen

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ACTION:

The files are being checked by the Name Check Section and you will be advised of the results thereof as pertinent data is prepared for dissemination to G-2.

DATE: December

1953

RESCRIMO - 54 60-60527-36774

MOST LID - 54 38 DEG 29 1973

MCCV 87

cc: V. P. Keay

LNC:mde

5 HJAN 7-1954

DiffILS:

On December 8, 1953, Colonel W. A. Perry, G-2, furnished FFI Limison Agent n with name check forms on 52 Senators and Congressmen. Perry advised he desired a check of the Bureau files for subversive information inabmuch as these individuals were to be briefed at the Pentagon early in January on the future war plans of the United States and that it is imperative that no Senators or Congressmen be permitted to attend the conference if there is any doubt as to their security.

A list of the names submitted is set forth below:

UNITED STATES SENATORS

All DCL

James H. Duff, Pennsylvania John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky rancis Case, South Dakota " Harry Plood Byrd, Virginia Styles Bridges, New Hampshire John C. Stennis, Mississippi / Steward Symington, Missouri Edward J. Thye, Minnesota Milton R. Young, North Dakota William F. Knowland, California Lester C. Hunt, Wyoming Homer Ferguson, Michigan Karl E. Munct, South Dakota Joseph MalcCarthy, Wisconsin Guy Cordon, Oregon Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia Burnet R. Maybank, South Carolina Henry C. Dworshak, Idaho
Lister Hill, Alabama
Carl Hayden, Arizona
Allen J. Ellender, Sr. Louisia:
Dennis Chavez, New Mexico
Everett McKinley Birksen, Ill.
John L. Echellan, Aransas
Pat AcCarran, Nevada
A. Villis Tobertsen, Virginia
Margaret Chase Smith, Maine
Leverett Saltonstall, Mass.
Michard E. Russell, Georgia
Estes Mefauver, Tennessee
Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas
Robert C. Hendrickson, N. J.
Ralph E. Flanders, Vermont

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES

Carl Vinson, Georgia
Wint Smith, Kansas
James P. S. Devereux, Maryland
Paul Cunninghum, Iowa

C. W. (Funt) Bishop, Illinois William L. Hess, Ohio Alvin E. O'Konski, Wisconsin William G. Bray, Indiana

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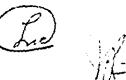
XEMUXED ORIGINAL TELEVISION

Charles P. Nelson, Maine
William H. Sates, Massachusetts
James E. Van Zandt, Pennsylvania
Dewey Short, Missouri (ex officio)
Paul W. Shafer, Michigan
James T. Patterson, Connecticut

Waiter Morblad, Oregon Warren G. Magnuson, <u>Washington</u> W. Sterling Cole, New York Leslie C. Arends, Illinois Leon H. Gavin, Pennsylvania

As you know, many of these individuals, in addition to being nationally prominent, are controversial figures. There will be literally hundreds of references in our files concerning some of these persons. It is not likely that G-2 will exclude from this conference any of the above persons in the absence of very substantial derogatory information. The checks are being confined to main files and G-2 will only be furnished data in instances where the FBI has conducted investigation. Where we have no main file, G-2 will be advised only that no investigation has been conducted by the FBI concerning such individual.

The memoranda will be submitted on an individual basis upon completion and you will be advised as to the material being submitted to G-2 in response to these checks.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: January 6,

1954

Mr. A. Rosen /

L. N. Conroy

SUBJECT:

SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

ONALE CHECK: REQUEST

SENOPSIS:

Reference is made to my memorandum, 12-16-53, concerning make checks received from G-2 on 129 Senators and Congressmen who M are to be invited to the Pentagon early in January, 1954, where they are to be briefed on the future war plans of the US. As stated in referenced memorandum this check is being confined to main files and G-2 is being furnighted information only in instances where we conducted investigations. The FEI has not conducted an investigation of Senator Joseph McCarthy. However, you will recoll that the Senator has been connected with four matters in which the Bureau has been interested: (1) Alleged irregularities ir the General Election, State of Maryland, November 7, 1950. (2) Allegation in December, 1951, that Senator McCarthy committed , US Army. Pertinent information sodomy on was furnished to General A. R. Politing, G-2 on > cencerning 1-22-52. (3) Investigation in 1950 to determine the source of Schator McCarthy's information concerning the subject of a loyalty investigation. (4) In 1952 the Bureau assisted the Loyalty Teview Board and the Civil Service Commission by conducting latent fingerprint examinations in an attempt to identify the Senator's source regarding the Board's meeting on February 13, 14, 1951. Senator McCarthy, Although involved in each of the above matters, has not been the subject of an investigation conducted by the Eureau. It is therefore recommended that 0-2 be advised the FBI has conducted no investigation pertinent to their inquiry.

HICO.D.LND MICH.

If you approve, the name check request will be stamped "To investigation conducted by the FFI pertinent to your inquiry," who will be returned to G-Z by the Liaison Section. 62-60527-36 1 1 160

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1 - V. P. Keay

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RECORDED - 32 INDEXED - 32

Tails:

Reference is made to my memorandum dated December 16, 1/53, concerning name checks submitted by G-2 on 129 Senators and Congressmen who are to attend a conference at the Pentagon e rly in January, 1954. According to G-2 this conference is for the purpose of briefing the members of Congress on future war plans.

As set forth in the referenced memorandum the search in a neral indices was confined to main files and data is being formished to G-2 only in instances where we have conducted investigations.

The FFI has not conducted an investigation of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. However, you will recall that the Senator been connected with four matters in which the Bureau has been interested. These are as follows:

- (1) In an investigation entitled "Unknown Subjects; Alleged Irregularities, General Election, State of Maryland, hovember 7, 1950; Perjury" it was ascertained that Senator recarthy was involved with others in the issuance of certain compaign literature which made it appear that Senator Tydings presided over a Senate investigation in such a manner as to "white-wish" charges concerning disloyalty of State Department employees. Senator McCarthy was not mentioned as a subject in this investigation. The Department closed this case by memorandum dated (October 16, 1953.
- (2) In a letter dated December 29, 1951, addressed to connecticut bearing the purported signature of it was alleged that Senator McCarthy committed socomy on and on others known to and all other persons interviewed denied knowing McCarthy and also denied having engaged in any activities whatsoever with him.

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Bureau conducted an investigation to determine the source from wich Senator AcCarthy obtained information concerning one the subject of a loyalty investigation. This case is entitled "Unknown Subjects; (Source of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Information Regarding Government Employees) Removal of Government Property; Loyalty of Government Employees." It concerned a statement made by Senator McCarthy during a speech on the floor of the Senate, July 25, 1950, in which he mentioned and at the same time distributed copies of a document which purported to be a Civil Service Commission summary of the investigation of

On July 25, 1950, the Attorney General requested the Bureau to conduct an investigation to determine the source from which Senator McCarthy obtained the above summary indicating in his request that there may have been a violation of Title 18, Sections 641 and 2071, United States Code.

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The investigation failed to establish conclusively the identity of Senator McCarthy's source. It did indicate that the Examiner for the Loyalty Review Board, may possibly have been the source of Senator McCarthy's information. The summary distributed by the Senator was apparently not an authentic copy of any document prepared by the Civil Service Commission, the State Department or the Loyalty Review Board.

The results of this investigation were sent to the Deputy Attorney General on November 7, 1950, and December 7, 1950. On the latter date the Department was advised that no additional investigation was to be conducted and no further request for investigation has been received from the Department since that time.

(4) "Unknown Subject (Source of Senator Joseph R. AcCarthy's Information Regarding Minutes of Loyalty Review Board's Meeting of February 13, 14, 1951) Miscellaneous Information Concerning Loyalty of Government Employees." The Department by Memorandum dated January 22, 1952, requested the Bureau to conduct an investigation in an attempt to identify Senator AcCarthy's source for his press release January 5, 1952. This release was allegedly based on the confidential minutes of the Loyalty Review Board's meeting February 13-14, 1951.

The Civil Service Commission had conducted a previous investigation in this matter. On February 13, 1952, Deputy Attorney General Vanech advised he thought it would be better for the Civil Service Commission to conduct this investigation. Therefore, the Bureau did not conduct an investigation in this matter

but did cooperate with the Loyalty Review Board and the Civil Service Commission in that it conducted such latent fingerprint e aminations as were requested.

OBSERVATION:

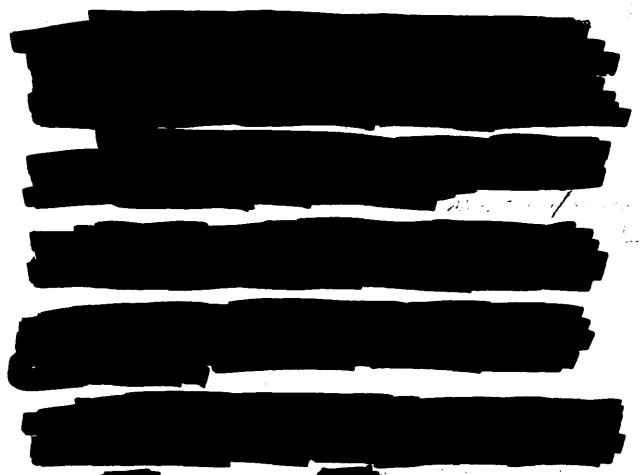
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It is noted that although Senator McCarthy was involved in each of the above matters, he was not the subject of these inquiries and therefore G-2 is being advised that no investigation concerning Senator McCarthy has been conducted by the FBI pertinent to their inquiry.



Office Memo. . dum • united s DATE: 3/11/54 DIRECTOR, FBI SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-91,65) REAT UPON LIVES OF PRESIDENT AND SENATOR CARTHY, MOSED 1862-98800 - 29 Dww:CYL:hl

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also stated that informed him the Puerto Ricans also planned to kill Senator JOSEPH MC CARTHY. He stated the attempt on MC CARTHY's life was to be made by having an individual pose as a bellhop at a hotel where Senator MC CARTHY was staying, and upon gaining entrance to MC CARTHY's room by means of room service, shoot MC CARTHY in the hotel room. could furnish no further details concerning this attempt on Senator HC CARTHY's life.



DETAL BURBAU OF INVESTIGATION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Transmit the followi	ng Teletype message to:	
PBI, ATIANTA (61-3	6)	3/12/54
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Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Approved: 1 Special Agent	in Charge Sent_	м	Per

October 24, 1951

MBMO TO MR. TOLSON: /

advised me that Joe McCarthy has proposed and his brother, who works for the newspapers do a book on McCarthy. has taken this with his publisher, Henry Holt and Company, and they are very anxious to have them undertake it. He wanted my advice as to whether I thought he should do it.

I told him I would like to think about it but it seemed to me it would be dependent upon what his commitments were and the approach; that it did seem to me that to be effective he would have to approach it from a journalistic viewpoint, showing McCarthy as a product of his time and treating the situation from a rather factual, straightforward manner, which would necessitate a lot of investigative work ion his part. He stated this was his idea.

I told him if I had any further advice I would get in touch with him.

While I do not think we should become involved i this, I can see no objection to telling to go ahead as it would be a friendly book from the Bureau's standpoint.

L. B. Nichols

LBN: hmc

RECORDED - 153

INDEXED 453

ADDENDUM; LBN:hmc; 10/26/51

I told the that upon further reflection the matter of whether he should or should not do the McCarthy book was one that he would have to decide; that there were so many considerations I felt it/advisable to even express an opinion. Stated he thoroughly understood; that he was inclined to

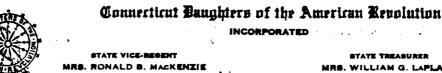
Memo to Mr. Tolson

do the book because if he did not someone else would and he felt he could do a better job.

He stated he talked with the value about whether he should do it and had told him that he saw no objection; that a reasonable job needs to be done.

Am

Surjeten the Director on a number of an IpSL expressing her views on var grinformation the feels will be octin the Director in some pay. Cordial r 43957 rearly in 195 obiding infor tmo:mlp



MRS. RONALD S. MACKENZIE

1492 UNQUOWA ROAD

FAIRFIELD

STATE TREASURER
MRS. WILLIAM G. LAPLACE
33 HIGH STREET
DEEP RIVER

STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
MRS. OSCAR F. WILLHELM
SES OCEAN AVENUE

NEW LONDON

Bristol, Con

STATE REGENT MRS. G. HAROLD WELCH

STAYE RESISTRAR
MRS. MAX CAPLAN
26 HAYES STREET
MERIDEN

Mr.

Mг

August 24, 1

Dear Mr Hoover:

I'd like to say "thank you" for what you say about Schator Coarthy. Being one of his most enthusiastic "boosters" I like to read that an intelligent and loyal American, like yourself, is not afraid to come forward in his defense.

I've been fighting his detractors from the first and haven't even retired to lick my wounds. I'm in this fight to the finish and I'm absolutely sure the right will win, in time. Only one gets so darned tired of waiting for that "time."

Tive taken on all kinds of opponents, from ministers and college professors to plain ignorances (or is it ignorant) One of my victims was the Dear of mashington Cathedral. I told him just what I thought of him and he wrote no a "realy-mouthed" letter, thanking me for writing him and sending me a copy of the sermon that I blasted. Old hypochite!

Somotimes (having a sense of hiror)

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Henorable Joe Helarthy United States Senate Washington, D. C. Mashington, D. C. 124-2 ly dear Senator:

RECORDED - 1

Will.

Your letter dated February 25, 1949, addressed to Associate Director Clyde Tolson, has been referred to me and in response to your request, I assure you that it is a pleasure to forward my autograph to in care of

whose address you so thoughtfully supplied.

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Dr. in the matter. Flease feel free to call upon me at any tire this Bureau can be of assistance in matters of mutual intempts.

With expressions of my highest esteem and besto.

Sincerely yours,

d, Edgar Hoover

Copy of letter to

Mr. Toluen
Mr. Clerk
Mr. Ulavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. hadd
Mr. hadd
Mr. horen
Kr. Tracy
Lr. bonen
Kr. Tracy
Lr. brain
Mr. Mires
Mr. Mires
Mr. Mires
Mr. Mires
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Mr. Moren
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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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S. DEPARTIKET OF AUSTRE U.S.

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JOHN L. MC CLELLI JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS. "LLYDE R. HOEY," I. C. GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO HERBERT R. O. CONOR, MD. RUSSELL. B. LONG, LA. HUBLERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.

JOSEPH R. MC CAF IRVING M. IVFS. J KARL E. MUNDT. S MARGAFET CHASE SMI. H, MANE ANDH! W.F. SCHOEPPEL, KANS ARTIJUR H, VANDENBERG, MICH.

WALTER L. REYNOLDS, CHIEF CLERK

United States Benate

COMMITTEE ON
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE
DEPARTMENTS

February 25, 1949

Mr. Clyde Tolsen Assistant Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington

Dear Clyde:

I have a very good friend, former in the state of the wisconsin, whom you and Mr. Poover met at Harvey's about two weeks ago.

After you left, he spent about a half hour regretting the fact that he did not get Mr. Hoover's autograph for his three children,

Will you tell the boss I would appreciate it very much if he would send these three youngsters his autograph. The address is:

...sconsin

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(3)(1)

JOE McCARTHY

22 MAN 7 1944

McC:dp

Office Memor condum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ro : Umr. Tolson

DATE: Dec. 6, 1950 1:20 p.m.

Clock

Olavin_ Nichols

FROM :

L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

Senator Joe McCarthy just called. He has 25 young people from Wisconsin attending the youth conference. He would like to send them down now for a tour. I told them to come to the Director's Office and we would give a special tour.

He asked if the Director were in, that he would appreciate it very much if the Director could shake hands with them.

LBN: FML

CC - Mr. Nease

VMN

RECORDED - 24 INDEXED - 24

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w. May

S. C. appr **vi**ti

May 4, 1954

EX-112

Beverly Hills, California

Dear Adolphe:

Thanks very much for your letter dated April 26, 1954.

I was glad to learn that you enjoyed reading parts of my recent talk before the DAR, and it was thoughtful of you to call my attention to the other items in that regard. It occurred to me that you might like to receive the entire text of my speech, and I am enclosing one.

Your good wishes are decply appreciated, and I certainly want to send my warmest regards to all of you.

Sincerely,

Edam, 717

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in to the Director. A cor of the article at caring secured and is in "Human Events" has attached. BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA Addit / // 1959. $\mathbb{R}^2 \subset \operatorname{ind} \mathcal{G}L$ Jour Bd. 1: was immensely pleased to red per suffice tall before the Dall on the Liberais()) hat to a country and fac described are deine. I hope all mondors of Abarrad it although a doubt fact would the end of the fact of the state to Rei al del Toledano in Assil 2 the base of "Bases ook".

An Commission Assile April 21st being the Bases ook". in three difficulties but to get this even to a second messes is semething of a problem. It's himself is Si'll very mach allve here in Comicinnic coming of the colwho put $\boldsymbol{1}$ wish product the fitting telescope $\boldsymbol{1}$ property in your convertible to the Simperely, BLOOKDED.

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What are the mile implications of fellowship in placed peace organization with atheistic Communists, who are dedicated to our destruction? Perhaps the best comment on that question was made by the Apostle Paul in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness?"

DULLES HAS STUDIED the works of Lenin and Stalin, and he knows that they rejected the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the non-Communist world. In the April issue of Foreign Affairs, he expounds the Soviet strategy of conquest, which seeks to force the non-Communist countries to extend themselves, as Lenin put it, "beyond their strength". Then, said Lenin, "our victory is assured." Then, said Stalin, "will be the moment for the decisive blow." Yet Dulles opposes expulsion of the Communists from the UN, which they use only to advance their plans for the amalgamation of all the world into what Stalin called "a single state union".

Dulles' moral revulsion against Communist China might seem more genuine if he had not written in W ar or Peace, published in 1950, that all nations should be members of the UN without distinction as to those which are "good" and those which are "bad". The only test that he asked the Peiping regime to meet was proof of "its ability to govern China".

Lodge has said he would not hesitate to use the veto in the Security Council if that should be necessary to exclude Red China. In the General Assembly, where there is no veto and the United States has only one vote, UN parliamentarians are prepared to rule that only a simple majority is required to settle a credentials dispute between Communist and Nationalist Chinese delegates. The United States exerted its influence to the utmost to exclude India, a veritable satellite of Red China, from the proposed Korean conference, but was defeated in the Political Committee by a vote of 27 to 21. India was excluded only because a two-thirds majority was required in the Assembly itself. It is inconceivable that the Chinese Communists, once admitted to the General Assembly, could or would be excluded from other UN organs, including the Security Council. Even in the unlikely eventuality of an attempt by the United States to use the veto, the Council could determine, by a majority vote, that it was a procedural question, not subject to the veto.

Longe's DRASH TALK about keeping Red China out of the UN warrants no more confidence than his loud assurances, a little over a year ago, that the Eisenhower Administration would eliminate all American Communists from the UN Secretariat. The Administration's UN loyalty program is a self-evident fraud. Of the 1.744 American Secretariat members investigated only one, a woman clerk, has been fired and she refused to fill out a loyalty questionnaire. Although a few others are still under investigation, not a single adverse report has been submitted to the UN thus far. A division director, who received

because it was not acaden. because they were a raid of offer a so-called Great Power. He warned them that the UN could not survive with a double standard of right and wrong, one for great powers and one for small or weak nations.

for Communist China, a convicted aggressor, and one for Communist Russia, the master aggressor. When asked by a reporter why the UN did not condemn the Soviet Union for its part in the Korean aggression, Lodge replied: "It does no good to call names unless you are prepared to go to war."

Both Dulles and Lodge repulse all suggestions that the UN should take action against the Soviet government under Article 6 of the Charter, which states that any member "which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the organization . . .". The Soviet Union, having a veto in the Security Council, could not be expelled without its consent, but the other members could withdraw and reorganize without the Communists.

According to Lodge, it is essential to keep the Soviet Union and its satellites in the UN "so we can watch them and see what they are up to". But this is an argument for the admission of Communist China, which Lodge opposes. The Communists were boycotting the UN, because of Red China's exclusion, when the Korean aggression began; but not even Lodge has suggested that the Kremlin's representatives, had they been present, would have given the United States advance notice of the impending attack.

In an interview published by Newsweek, October 12, 1953, Lodge declared: "If war came in spite of the UN, it would then be the indispensable instrument for repelling the aggression — which is probably one reason why the Communists don't leave it." This is a curlous statement. One may assume that the Communists are not staying in to help the UN repel their next aggression. Therefore, according to Lodge's view, they must be staying in to sabotage efforts to make the UN an effective instrument for repelling aggression. If that is so, why not kick them out?

Lodge knows, of course, that the UN, far from being an effective instrument for repelling aggression in Korea, impeded efforts by the American military commanders to conquer the aggressors. He also knows that the UN cannot repel aggression in the next war. The State Department, on March 30, issued a statement saying: "Collective security organizations like NATO have grown up because there is no confidence that all the members of the United Nations will observe their covenants."

Although professing opposition to the admission of Red China on high moral grounds, Dulles does not recoil from fraternizing in the UN with the Kremlinites. In his book War or Peace, he states that the UN is a place of "genuine fellowship", that this fellowship is "shared to some extent" by the Communist delegates, and that he has had "intimate and enlightening talks with them".

an adverse loyalty report on the Acheson State Departm on 1952, has been cleared by the Eisenhower Administration's International Organizations Loyalty Board. Proteges of Alger Hiss still occupy strategic positions in the UN.

Apparently anticipating a whitewash, Lodge has appropriated Eleanor Roosevelt's witless argument that Communists in the UN are not a security problem since there are no secrets there for them to steal. He pretends that American "security" cannot be harmed by policy subversion, by Communist propaganda in UN reports, and by Communist agents accompanying UN missions to all parts of the world.

The failure of the Soviet Union to fill its quota of UN employees has been cited for years by Mrs. Roosevelt and recently by Lodge as if it were irrefutable proof that the UN is not a fruitful field for spies. There are only 29 Russians on the UN staff, although the Soviet quota ranges from 116 to 155. Unlike other countries, however, the Russians are rotated every two or three years and, therefore, are constantly coming and going. Moreover, they function as spy masters, not ordinary spies. American Communists and those from other countries are subject to their discipline. Valentin Gubischev, a Soviet military intelligence officer employed by the UN in the guise of an engineer, was arrested with Judith Coplon for stealing secrets from the Justice Department, not from the UN. Nicolai Skvortsov, formerly the second highest ranking Russian at the UN, was barred from reentry into this country on a charge of trying to organize a spy ring.

There is only one way to solve the UN problem and that is to abolish it. If the United States should withdraw from the UN it would quickly collapse. Some Republicans in Congress have warned that the United States will pull out if Red China is admitted. If this were certain, patriotic Americans should favor Red China's admission; but it would be rash to trust a Congress which is still addicted to Trumanism in foreign affairs.

Politicians are loath to confess that in supporting the UN, they betrayed their country's interests. As recently as December 8, President Eisenhower told the UN that the United States would remain steadfast in its support of the organization "in the conviction that you will provide a great share of the wisdom, of the courage and the faith which can bring to this world lasting peace for all nations, and happiness and well-being for all men". It was clear that Eisenhower had learned nothing about world affairs since November 16, 1945, when the London Conference of Foreign Ministers had broken up in complete failure, when the international prospect was not peace but cold war, and when he told the House Military Affairs Committee: "Nothing guides Russian policy so much as a desire for friendship with the United States."

The UN is a heritage of the "bipartisan foreign policy" betrayal, and those who now control the Republican party are stuck with a stillborn albatross.

Chesly Manly is the Chicago Tribune correspondent accredited to UN, and is the author of The Twenty-Year Revolution—From Roosevelt to Eisenhouser. Henry Regnety Company. Reviewed in our issue of March 3.

Additional Copies: 6-1.00; 10-1.50; 50-5.50; 100-10.00; 500-15.00; 1,000-25.00. Quotations f r larger quantities on request.

HUMAN EVER 13

GOOD AND BAD AGGRESSORS

By CHESLY MANLY

United Nations, are protesting too much and proving too much with their arguments against admitting Communist China to the UN. If Britain and France agree at Geneva to support the scating of Chinese Communist delegates, the United States cannot keep them out, and both Dulles and Lodge know this. Their reiterated assurances have the hollow sound of an advance alibi, designed to evade charges of complicity when Red China is ensconced in the UN.

Logically and morally it is preposterous for Dulles and Lodge to oppose the admission of Communist China without demanding the expulsion of Soviet Russia. Any conceivable reason for excluding the Peiping regime, a creature and satellite of Soviet imperialism, is an argument a fortiori for expelling Communist Russia, the master aggressor.

On March 29, Dulles remarked that membership in the UN, by its Charter, is supposed to be limited to "peace loving" states; and he recalled that Communist China was a convicted aggressor in the Korean war. But the master aggressor in Korea was the Soviet Union. Even Dean Acheson recognized this fact when he told the UN Political Committee, on October 24, 1952, that the North Korean aggressor forces were "raised, heavily equipped and tactically and strategically advised by the Soviet Union government". Lodge told the same committee on February 25, 1953, that "Soviet planning instigated the original aggression, which was subsequently maintained by Soviet training and equipment". Although all members were under a UN injunction to refrain from giving assistance to the aggressors, Moscow's Andrei Vishinsky boasted that his government was supplying the Chinese Communists.

For once in the history of the UN, Americans had a right to be proud of their spokesman there when Dulles, on November 22, 1950, denounced a demand by the Anglo-Indian appearement bloc to bury Nationalist China's request for an investigation of Soviet aggression against China. The appearers, arguing that the China question was "academic", wanted the UN to look the other way. Dulles declared that China was "being subjected to aggression cloaked by fraud". With emotion and surprising eloquence, he maintained that those who sought to bury the question did so not because it was academic, but rather

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Radio-Front: Many of our sub-Ders write us saying they are enthusiastic listeners ever, Sunday to John T. Flynn, author of The Roosevelt Myth, The Road Ahead and The Lattimore Story. Other subscribers, aware that he broadcasts, inquire as to what stations carry his program. Flynn's talks are sponsored by America's Future, Inc., a non-profit educational foundation (Robert Lund, President and a board of trustees including Lamar Fleming, Jr., Mrs. Amos Pinchot, General Robert E. Wood, etc.). The program is broadcast by the Mutual Broadcasting System and affiliated stations in 28 states. In New York, Mr. Flynn is heard on WOR at 12:00 noon Sundays; in Chicago on WGN at 5:45 PM., Sundays. Inquiries to Mr. Randolph K. Scott, Executive Director, America's Future, Inc., 210 W. 43d St., New York 17, N. Y., will bring information as to other stations carrying the Flynn program.

Americans Under Foreign Command: President Eisenhower's statement promising our European "Allies" that the U.S. would maintain forces indefinitely in Europe has aroused some popular resentment. But it may run into even stronger opposition from the people when they understand the implication of another promise made in the same statement. The able Foreign Editor of the Washington Star, Constantine Brown, noted on April 17, that Ike will encourage "the closest possible integration" between EDC forces on the one hand and the U.S. and NATO forces on the other.

The EDC (European Defense Community) is the projected European army which Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium have ratified. France and Italy have not yet given parliamentary okay to it. It is planned as an international army, amalgamated as Brown explains "into one single force and drawing the same pay." NATO forces are under U.S. command, but under EDC, as Brown points out, "a German unit may have a French or Italian general at its head and a Netherlands unit may have a Belgian commander."

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Hence, this promise Brown remarks "has caused eyebrows to be raised in Congress" and "the question which causes such uneasiness among Republicans and Democrats now is whether the Commander-in-Chief has the right to order an 'integration' of the American forces with those of the prospective EDC without Congressional approval."

Brown does not go into all the implications. But here in Washington, it is obvious that a measure to put American boys under, say, an Italian commander would scarcely inspire popular enthusiasm. It would represent another attempt to submerge our national rights and sovereignty under not only an international organization but also under direct command of another national. Members of Congress already have their hands full answering protests from constituents about the Status of Forces Treaty. As a result of this measure, American boys abroad have been put in French jails after trial by

French courts, for sentences. (Constantine Brown's column appears daily in the Washington Star and is widely syndicated throughout the newspapers of the country by Columbia Features, 36 West 44th St., New York, N. Y.)

Book Front: The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor by Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald, U.S.N., Rtd. New York: Devin-Adair Co. \$3.50. Reviewed by Frank Chodorov.

Ever so often some investigator comes up with a bit of truth that blemishes the shining armor in which the myth of Franklin D. Roosevelt is encased. To be sure, the idolators of the four-time President apply their "spit and polish" to the affected part of the coat of mail; that is, they write a book proving that the researcher is a liar or, at least, a reactionary. But, nothing they can do can restore any glitter to the spot that has gone rusty from exposure: the spot that might be called "Mr. Roosevelt's Infamy of Pearl Harbor."

Morgenstern. Flynn, Sanborn, Tansill have proven beyond all doubt that the incident of December 7, 1941—which cost us over 3,000 lives, to say nothing of a fleet—can be traced to at least stupidity in the White House. The do uments they uncarthed point directly to the fact that Roosevelt, who was committed to the involvement of this country in war, was anxious for some such incident, for without it Congress could not have been induced to declare war: the country was too peaceminded. He kept prodding, insulting and humiliating the Japanese to the point where national hara-kiri was the only course left to them.

However, while some of these historians in timated that although Mr. Roosevelt knew the Japanese were planning an attack, he was probably not aware of the chosen target. It remained for an admiral of the Navy, one trained in interpreting the jargon of coded military messages, to remove doubt on this point. In his book, The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor, Admiral Theobald makes clear that General Marshall and Admiral Stark, the highest ranking officers in the service, also knew that Pearl Harbor would be attacked, and charges that in denying such knowledge at the rigged-up Congressional hearings, they were simply protecting their Commander-in-Chief. The two officers at Pearl Harbor, Admiral Kimmel and General Short, were denied all knowledge of the imminence of the attack, so that they could be made to shoulder the bame of Mr. Roosevelt's infamous plan.

This last exposure of the Pearl Harbor plot consists mainly of a cold analysis of official dispatches. There is no attempt at literary brilliance. That makes the story all the more frightening. The conclusion that springs to the reader's mind when he closes the book is this: "Can it be that the President of the United States, for reasons of state, actually scaled the doom of 3,000 American boys?" Technically, that would not constitute murder. But, morally?

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and pulled all the strin the later command to dring the labor vertice. Stevenson camp. But there were some hig labor bosses who individually came out for, or were mendly to Ike and the story is that Ike has not forgotten them in his program to amend the Taft-Hartley Law. The few hig labor bosses who spoke out for Eisenhower were in the building trades, the maritime unions and the amusement industry. Our sources report that Petrillo, boss of the musicians, was probably friendly and cooperative with Ike and Earl Warren.

Our sources say that accordingly the Administration has demanded that existing restrictions of Taft-Hartley on the secondary boycott be relaxed with respect to the building trades, maritime unions and the amusement industry. The secondary boycott was a powerful weapon under the Wagner Act for the labor bosses to coerce employers and it was for that reason that the late Senator Taft insisted that it be outlawed as an unfair labor practice. Secondary boycotts multiply the number of unions an employer has to fight and, where allowed, practically assure his capitulation.

In the Senate bill as now reported the restrictions of Tait-Hartley on secondary boycotts are relaxed for the construction and maritime unions. On the House side the Labor Committee has so far relaxed them for the construction unions — but under reported severe prodding from the White House — is preparing to relax them for maritime and amusement unions.

The building trades have long been noted for graft and racketeering; the maritime unions have had the public holding its nose for months; and amusement unions have likewise a long and ruthless record of predatory activities. Petrillo's union is one of the most despotic "to hell with the public" unions on record. In brief, observers say, it would be hard to find three worse fields of unionism — and to relax restrictions on the secondary boycott in them is nothing less than a tragic betrayal of the public interest.

Not Merely Gossip: One wry witticism made by former President Herbert Hoover in his speech (April 24) to the American Society of Newspaper Editors evoked much amusement among the scribes. Mr. Hoover, speaking of the "handout" pressure groups which have helped to scuttle economy and create unbalanced budgets, remarked that there are other counter-pressure groups which seek to reduce Government expenditures. "There are," said Hoover, "only two of these organizations in addition to Senator Byrd." It is well-known here that the former President holds the Virginia Democratic Senator in affectionate and high esteem and the editors liked the notion that Byrd virtually constitutes a "pressure group" for economy all by himself. It is rumored that the two organizations to which Hoover referred were The Tax Foundation and The National Committee on the Hoover Report.

Dulles suffers the handicap of trying to shape policy while his own office is filled with Acheson holdovers. An example is cited by those in the know in the State Department who have often warned Dulles to clean out his own entourage. The example involves Dulles' speech to the Latin-American gathering at Caracas a month ago. A speech for Dulles was drafted and the man chosen for the job was none other than George Kennan, who started the "containment" policy favored by Acheson. Kennan has been doing various jobs for the Department since his resignation as a high official a year ago. Our sources say that the speech fell short of being an all-out anti-Communist speech and Dulles had to alter it for the stronger before he delivered it in Caracas. It is understood now that Kennan will not be invited to perform such a task again. (This situation helps to explain the Indo-China policy of Dulles: Acheson prefers small wars like Korea and Indo-China, not "mass retaliation.")

Tears For The Forgotten: The most affecting story of the week, as we see it, was the gathering of the newly formed "Kin of America's Forgotten Men," an organization which gathered together in New York seventy-two women who have sons or husbands "missing in Korea." They appeared — futile gesture — before the offices of top UN officials in New York to plead that the UN force the Communists to release their loved ones. The UN officials, of course, refused to see them. Then they appealed to President Eisenhower to spearhead a bid to demand return of the GIs before any UN nations confer with the Reds, who hold their kin captive, in Geneva. In Washington, the failure of the Administration to force return of some 800 Americans still in the hands of Red China amounts to a scandal. Americans here remain silent with shame when foreigners express amazement that this step has not been taken.

year without doing much to elembe scandal of the huge profits reaped founders at the expense of the taxpayer. Anyway, he had a point when he argued that the insurance business should be run, not as a political instrument, but on sound financial principles.

Mr. Cole, no shrinking violet himself, brought the controversy to the attention of Sherman Adams, Presidential Assistant and the leader of the GOP New Dealers who think they know a thing or two about creating and maintaining a bureaucracy of their own. Adams got Ike to put his signature to an order for the unceremonious ousting of Mr. Hollyday (as lushly reported in the press). And he thereby strengthened Cole's position as the looming czar of Federal Housing. Cole, it is said, would like to emulate Democratic New Dealer Wilson Wyatt who held court over Housing himself sub regno Trumani. Time for a change?

McCarthy: The Progressive, a left-wing publication has devoted a whole issue to Senator McCarthy and put a fancy price on it of seventy-five cents a copy on newsstands. It ballyhoos the efforts of the "Wisconsin Citizen's Committee" which during 1952 when McCarthy was running for re-election claims to have found out the truth about the stormy Wisconsin petrel. A careful reading of the Progressive reveals that the material submitted is old hat. The important question, however, is who is behind the Progressive in financing this expensive issue. On April 9, Fulton Lewis said over the air that the socialistic Americans for Demogratic Action (ADA) was helping the printing and distribution of the brochure by cash and other financial assistance.

The report of the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee which the *Progressive* says it has brought up to date is obviously distorted, but the ADA as the financial angel for propagating such obvious smear tactics against McCarthy brands the whole enterprise a deep pink indeed. In the May issue of the *American Mercury*, John T. Flynn labels the ADA as the socialist Politburo – the planning body of the socialist movement in the United States. The ADA has called loudly and long for recognition of Red China and its admission to UN. It has demanded abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and has made severe attacks on J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. It has parroted the Commie line that the Bill of Rights is being destroyed by Congressional committees which ferret out Reds and, like the *Daily Worker*, it has been unsparing in its abuse of Senator McCarthy.

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The astonishing thing is that reputable anti-Communists are actually recommending that the *Progress*ive's issue on McCarthy be read to get the other side of the McCarthy controversy. We believe there are two tests to be applied to any critical report on McCarthy which claims to be objective and fair. (1) Does it admit the tremendous services of the Senator in arousing the people to the issue of Red infiltration of the nation, and give him credit for exposing and driving out of government so many agents or stooges of the Kremlin? Back in 1950 the Communists enjoyed comparative safety in their entrenched position. Truman had virtually silenced the House Un-American Activities Committee and the FBI was under wraps. At this critical point, it was McCarthy who launched his assault, put the Communist issue on page one of the papers, and began his drive to expose the concealed Reds or their sympathizers. Of the nine persons named by McCarthy before the Tydings ("whitewash"). Committee seven have been driven out of the Government, one faces a four count perjury indictment (Lattimore) and the other (John Paton Davies) has been recommended by a Senate Committee to the Department of Justice for a perjury indictment. (2) Does it admit the existence of a dangerous Red conspiracy in the U.S.? In the Progressive's report on McCarthy no credit whatsoever is given the man and there is no admission that Red infiltration is a menace. Instead, it prattles about improving social conditions as the big buffer to world Communism which is exactly the ADA technique for spreading socialism.

Labor Law: The Administration's proposals to amend the Taft-Hartley Law are having rough sledding on Capitol Hill. We are told that the Administration has insisted on meddling so much with the operations of the Labor Committees of both the Senate and House that, on the House side at least, there looms much sentiment for not doing anything at all this session about Taft-Hartley amendments.

But out of the bickerings an almost unbelievable story of White House politics is emerging. During the campaign of 1952 the big labor bosses were practically unanimous in their coposition to Eisenhower

HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, Editor

FRANK CHODOROV, Associate Editor

Volume XI, No. 16

Wednesday, April 21, 1954

Washington, D. C.

Indo-China: Behind the hugger-mugger of Nixon's words and Dulles' travels, Washington in the last forty-eight hours has been going through a storm of fear and speculation besides which even the McCarthy affair seems like a squall in a teacup.

Washington — and, it is presumed, the country as well — isn't afraid of war as such. There is no pacifism in Congress — not even among the New Deal Democrats who now grow eloquent (with a smirk at the GOP discomfiture about "war mongering"). The Congress and people, observers believe, would actually welcome a war with Soviet Russia if they thought we could fight it directly and get it over with. What Washington and the constituents it represents fear is "another Korea," this time in the jungles of Indo-China. ("Why couldn't the State Department have chosen a temperate zone for a change?", is one current wisecrack.)

For Washington includes a large body of military men who are muzzled publicly, but they patriotically like to talk to such as HUMAN EVENTS and members of Congress. They say that Dulles, aided by Nixon, is headed for a fruitless quagmire. Unless France unexpectedly grants Indo-China independence and a strong native anti-Communist movement can be formed, dispatch of American troops into that area would be useless.

These observers ridicule Ike's recent speech in which he compared the Southeastern Asian situation to a row of dominoes. Ike claimed that if the Indo-China domino fell it would bring down the other dominoes. No doubt. But what old intelligence hands here remark is that shoring up that one domino won't prevent the others from falling flat. They point out that the others — Burma, India and Indonesia — are none too reliable as it is. Burma has practically gone over to the Communists now; India is virtually a Soviet satellite; the latest Indonesian government is classed as pro-Soviet, and contentedly lets war materials go to Red China. How long Malaya and Thailand can hold out is a matter of much conjecture.

Under no circumstances, say these military, should the U.S. send ground forces into Indo-China. Should ideal political conditions arise—that is, emergence of a free, fighting Indo-China—then all help could be feasibly given in accord with our now official "air-sea" strategy. But another Korea would not be worth it, even if all Southern Asia went to the Kremlin. Rubber and tin? We got along on our own synthetic rubber for five years; there's a stockpile of tin for many years on hand. Fall of Southern Asia would not be healthy; but on balance we would be better off if we avoided another Korea.

Note Sen. Jenner's impassioned speech in the Senate, April 20, calling on the release of Free Asia forces, to save Indo-China and denouncing the "Acheson Fifth Column" in the State Department.

Housing Scandal: Behind the uproar over the revelations about astronomic profits in Government guaranteed housing, there's a so far unreported angle (apart from the general question --- seldom voiced --- why any housing at all should be guaranteed). The story we hear from various reliable sources concerns bureaucratic ambition, pure and simple.

A plan for reorganization of the Federal Housing Administration, it seems, has been brewing for some time and has had the enthusiastic support of Mr. Albert Cole, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Mr. Guy T. O. Hollyday, Commissioner of FHA, opposed it claiming that it would destroy the independence of his department which handles the insurance of mortgages. Bureaucratic Jealousy? Maybe. Mr. Hollyday hasn't yet cleared himself of charges that he remained in office a

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Office Memor maum • UNITED ST. ES GOVERNMENT

SUBJECT:

FROM :

"Meet the press" Station WNBW-TV 4:30 P.W. March 19, 1950

DATE: Warch 20, 1950

In accordance with instructions, Special Agent 1 monitored the above-captioned television show.____

The panel was made up of Ned Brooks, Mr. Spivak, Mrs. Graid a newspaperwoman from Portland, Maine, and William White of the New York Times.

Senator Joseph McCarthy, Republican from Wiscons to, was the target for the panel. Senator McCarthy made the following statements in answer to questions put to him:

- (1) He stated that no one put him up to his campaign to rid the State Department of Communists. He said that someone had to do the work in order to eliminate bad security risks.
- (2) He denied that he had any help from Mr. Stripling, who formerly worked with the Un-American Activities Committee.
- (3) He stated that he is just getting started on his campaign and he will prove his point.
- (4) He said that many of these persons in the State Department were not card-carrying Communists but were doing what th Communists wanted them to do.
- (5) He pointed to the fact that the chief of the Planning Staff of the Point Four Program had praised the Chinese Communist leaders and the Chinese Communist Government.
- (6) McCarthy said there were 57 cases of individuals who were either Communist Party members or loyal to the Communist Party or were individuals who were doing what the Communists wanted them .to co.
- (7) He refused to answer the question as to whether or not he thought his charges were being given a fair hearing by the Senate Committee.
- (8) McCarthy referred to Mr. Service, who was arrested by the FBI, and stated that the State Department Loyalty Board had whitewashed his case.

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- (9) McCarthy said he felt it was wrong to name names and had asked that the Committee meet in an Executive Session so that names would not be revealed. He went on to state, however, that in view of the fact it was an open hearing he would continue to name names.
- (10) He referred to Service, Lattimore and Hanson as all being bad security risks.
- (11) Wr. McCarthy was asked point-blank whether or not he thought Secretary of State Acheson would harbor a Communist Party member in the State Department. He answered this by stating that in the Far East our batting average has been zero while the Russian batting average is a thousand per cent. He said that a clique of men in the State Department who were responsible for this failure had now been sent to India and would apparently continue to do the same miserable job. He said that they should be fired because of their failure. The only praise that McCarthy had was for Loy Henderson, was in India.
- (12) McCarthy then predicted that there would be some very interesting cases arise out of the Commerce Department and added that he thought the McCarran Rider should be applied to the Commerce Department.
- (13) McCarthy said that in order to prove a complete case it would be necessary to have the files of the Civil Service Commission and the FBI; that just having the "loose-leaf" files of the State Department would do no good.
- (14) McCarthy charged that the State Department was rifling its own files and he said he could see no reason why the Committee could not have the Civil Service files and the FBI files.
- (15) McCarthy was asked whether or not he considered the Committee a tool of the State Department. He replied that if the State Department could get ahold of his files many heads would fall.
- (16) McCarthy was asked whether or not he had actually seen the files on the various individuals. He said no but that he had seen copies.
- (17) McCarthy said that an arrest cannot be made by the FBI for expionage without State Department approval. He said he did

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols Re: "Meet The Press"

March 20, 1950

not blame the FBI for anything; that the organization had done an excellent job but it was limited to merely securing the facts.

- (18) McCarthy said that members of his Committee will be shocked when the full facts are revealed and it will change the whole complexion of the matter and remove it from the political sphere.
- (19) McCarthy then said in answer to a direct question as to whether or not Secretary Acheson should be removed, that he felt the situation will be improved if not only Acheson were removed but that a whole ring of "untouchables" were out.
- (20) McCarthy then stated that he did not think Hiss was the "top man" of the expionage ring in the State Department and he claimed that such a ring still exists.
- (21) McCarthy was asked how he would explain the Anti-Communist policy on the part of the State Department and he replied that it was a very popular thing to do, to be Anti-Communist.



Jene 221, 1947

Bonorable Joseph McCarthy United States States: " Bashington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I read with a great deal of pleasure and a sense of encouragement page 7158 of the Congressional Recorded June 16, 1947, where you read into the Recorded the resolution dated May 25, 1947, of the Green Bay Diocesan Union of Apoly Mane Societies. It is my confirmed feeling that information concerning the Communists, their designs, and activities, cannot be too widely circulated.

with expressions of my highest esteem and best regards

Sincerely yours,

T. Edgaphoover

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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May 11, 1954

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Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Thank you for your letter of May 6, 1954, with enclosure.

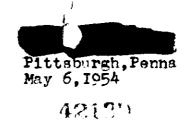
It was thoughtful of you to bring to my attention the editorial from the May 6, 1954, issue of the "Pittsburgh Post-Gazette" entitled / Slip-Up in the MBI." I was glad to have the opportunity to see it.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Toisea Boardman Nichols Glavia Harbo. Temm Tracy. Vinterrowd. 5 JUN 7

MAILED & MAY 1 3 1954



Mr. Beldent .. Mr. Glavin Mr. Harl Mr. Rosen Mr. Te am Mir. White Tele. Roc Mr. Helleman Miss Gan y

J.E. Hoover, Esq., Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

This enclosed editorial appeared in this morning's Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. It might have some interest to you. These Bloch boys are extremely and violently anti "McCarthyism". Their fathe was a good loyal and conservative American. These boys who are fanat promoters of SUPRA GOVERNMENT (and all the stuff that goes with this scheme) operate the "Toledo Blade", also. While this ditorial does not directly attack the FBI and J.E. Hoover, yet it does reveal a certain wonder attitude that makes one about the Americanism of the Bloch boys. They have in the past jibed at the FBI, and they do follow the line of the Nation, N.Y. Post, New Republic, etc. Both boys make trips abroad now or then to check on the political situation in the countries there. The are most active in their role of volunteer-statesmen. Just what they say abroad about our FBI is a matter of conjecture-I would think it safe to say that they follow the line of Max Lowenthal.

The editorial has something peculiar about it that feel this orthodox American wants J.E.H. to have a chance to examine I am one of the segment of Americans that feel that the "revolution (bloodless) who are out to get the great American and Senator, dose McCarthy, are out to get J.E.H., too, and will use the same

him when and IF they finish off J. McD-59

With best wishes, I remain

Cordislly vours,

Win his knowledgement inn't

EXCLUSIVE



May 8, 1957

THE FRIENDS OF JOSEPH MCCARTHY EXPERIENCE DEEP GRIEF over his untimely passing. His enemies secretly exult. Some publicly play the game by grudging acknowledgements of his personal charm and "sincerity." Others continue to smear him even in death and again demonstrate their incorrigible evil.

For a rounded picture, this Service would point out that "McCarthyism" -- a phrase coined by the Communists -- concerned itself not only with internal subversion but also with the grave dangers inherent in appeasing the Soviet Union. Almost at a legacy, in the closing period of his career Senator McCarthy laid special stress on the growing, self-defeating efforts to make new deals with the Kremlin, and simultaneously ease its burdens by economic aid to its satellites.

Your editor invites attention to the attached copy of his May 2 broadcast -- a summation and farewell.

THERE IS A MOVE AFOOT IN THE CAPITOL FOR A MOTION TO EXPUNCE from the record the Senate censure of Joseph McCarthy. It is expected that Senator, Ralph E. Flanders himself will make the motion. The plan has been tentatively discussed with the Vermont Senator who now deeply regrets his leading role in the sorry 1954 proceedings.

THE WASHINGTON SPRING MEETING OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITT fails to spark enthusiasm, serves as a hollow coho of the 1956 campaign and a dull preview of 1958. The North-South, liberal-conservative party split is again cruelly revealed, with no indications of a common view beyond the wish for election victories

Technically, the Advisory Council (by a 65-26 vote in the National Committee) now earns the right to enunciate party policy between conventions. In realistic fact, the effective leadership remains lodged in the Democratic members of Congress, most conventions to participate in the Council.

In stubborn attachment to New Deal doctrinaire thinking and Addisony Council proclethree policy lines. The two pronunciamentos on domestic issues, largely fashioned by Michigan Governor G. Mennen Williams, carry the ideological imprint of Walter Reuther; the statement on foreign policy the unmistakable rhetoric of Adlai Stevensor

VALIGHT 1987 BY SPECIAL REPORTS. INC.

67 MAY 28 1957

(1) Economic Policy:

The Democratic liberals predict a crisis in fiscal affairs, startle by claiming that "the rich are getting richer, and the poor are getting poorer."

In the face of the union-pressured wage spiral, the Advisory Council castigate the business community for large price hikes, claims business uses "small wage increases" as an "excuse."

Appealing to class feelings, the Democratic left wing points to the suffering of the workers, small businessmen and farmers, maintains that only the big corporations gain from the Administration's tight-money policy.

The statement deplores the growth of big corporations, is eloquently silent over the growth of big labor.

A remarkable feat: The Advisory Council hails the announced intention of Democratic leaders to consider tax relief for lower income groups, but completely ignores the issue of budget cutting.

A chasm: Democratic Congressional leaders Johnson, Rayburn and Byrd openly press for sharp budget cuts. Ex-candidate Adlai Stevenson and Governors Williams and Harriman warn that Democratic espousal of budget cuts ill becomes "the party of the people."

Right-to-work legislation:

The Advisory Council obliquely attacks Senator McClellan and Southern Democratic state legislators by pointing to the Democratic platform and its, rejection of right-to-work laws.

The policy statement studiously avoids any references to unions abuses, the well-developed justifications for restrictive labor legislation.

3) Foreign Policy:

A sharp statement points to the rupture among the Western allies and recalls Administration inconsistencies towards Aswan Dam aid for Colonel Nasser.

Congratulating Democratic Congressional leadership for its role in "reshapin, the Eisenhower doctrine, the Committee calls for executive branch leadership."

The old Democratic malady: Effective negative criticism of Administration for eign policy, failure to advance alternatives. Thus, Mr. Stevenson finds W.S. in a "most perilous situation," but advances only this counsel: "It is not always what you do, but how you would do it that counts."

A final note: The ADA, in formal complaint to National Chairman Paul Butler exceriates southern Democratic Senators for obstructing civil rights legislation "through delay, diversion and deceit," demands National Committee action.

ROTCHMO CAVISCEN



i Tu Somebody's advantage: U.S. bureaucrats assigned to posts under the treaty would receive a handsome, tax-free salary.

EXPECT A COALITION of liberal Democrats, trade union leaders and Administratic officials to press for legislation in the area of union funds disclosures. Through exclusive and noisy concentration on this limited issue it is hoped that legislation air at reducing unbridled union power will be forestalled.

All attempts to regulate union political activity, abolish the union shop, or guarantee internal union democracy will be attacked as punitive, hysterical and disruptive of harmonious labor-management relations.

This Service contends that wider disclosure of union financial records, by itself. as presently proposed by the Administration, offers no effective impediment to fraudule practice and mulcting of the union membership.

Thus, for unions using NLRB services, Taft-Hartley requires filing of union financi statements with the Labor Department, as well as disclosure of these records to the membership.

Result: After a decade of such mandatory disclosures, not one rank-and-file compla prior to the McClellan Committee hearings. The membership does not understand the complicated financial forms, would too often fear raising touchy questions with its leaders. The present Administration proposal for general public access to union financial records is only a feeble step towards correction of abuses.

Minimum requirements:

(1) Built-in punitive measures for misuse of union funds; (2) Uniform methods keeping union records; (3) A clear breakdown of all expenditures. Thus, political expenditures would not slip into ambiguity through such misleading descriptions as "education" or "citizenship."

Conservative-minded Congressmen plan more thoroughgoing legislation than now proposed, hope for final support from an aroused public opinion.

Senator Karl Mundt of the McClellan Committee initiates a staff study of the recent Steel Workers Union election. The opposition led by the unknown Donald Rarick polled more than one-third of the votes against the massive union machine controlle by president David McDonald.

Senator Munch's quary; Did the incumbent Mr. McDonald defeat his rival by use of union dues collected from the thire membership? E 1164.21

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Vol. III, No. 19

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The result: The Committee accepts the ADA communication as "information," will take no action.

DO NOT ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE WIDESPREAD PRESS REPORTS that Senators Knowland and Hickenlooper have come to no firm conclusions concerning U.S. participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency. (Hickenlooper is ranking Republican member of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee.)

This Service has firsthand information that the two Senators in private conference have emphasized to the President the deep-rooted opposition of their colleagues to the treaty. Mr. Eisenhower was frankly advised that he cannot hope for passage of the statute in its present form. The only possibility for acceptance (which requires a 2/3 Senate 1986) lies in a recasting so fundamental as to create, in effect, a new agreement.

The President proposed the international treaty in a speech before the UN General Assembly in December 1953, outlined a world atomic bank supplying nuclear fuels for atomic power plants. The arrangement would include the Soviet European bloc.

Domestic opposition remains bipartisan and unmovable, includes leading GOP Senators and such influential Democrats as Senators Richard Russell of Georgia and Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico.

Proponents of the treaty argue: (1) Acceptance would provide a measure of mutual inspection of atomic materials; (2) Recipient countries under the present bilateral arrangement with the U.S. prefer receiving their Uranium 235 from an international agency; (3) The recent ratification of the treaty by three Communist governments (including the Soviet Union) makes almost mandatory our ratification, since the U.S. initiated the proposal.

Senator Knowland and other traditionalist colleagues consider these claims as virtually meaningless, make this rebuttal: (1) The inspection provisions of the treaty are so vague as to be non-existent; (2) Recipient countries under the present arrangement may indeed have their preferences. Realistically, our preferences deserve first priority. In addition to supplying the uranium, under the proposed treaty, the U.S. is obligated to bear one-third of the administrative costs; (3) Eager Soviet acceptance of the treaty should give us pause, indicates that the U.S. will be at a disadvantage.

As minimum conditions for Senate approval, William Knowland insists upon his earlier-conditions: U.S. authority to designate the recipients of its fissionable materials, no U.S. contributions to Communist countries.

The President is reported as being appallingly uninstructed in important features of the treaty, has obviously been persuaded into the idea by glib-tongued internationalists. Often in private discussion the President expresses genuine surprise at the statute's provisions.

FULTON LEWIS, J. Broadcast May 2, 1957

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, this is Fulton Lewis, jr., speaking

Mr. Trotte
Mr. Nease
Tele. Reon
Mr. Hollon
Mr. Hollon
Miss Gand
St

Tele. Reon
Mr. Hollon
Miss Gand
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The controversial Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, no longer is controversial tonight.

a moment.

The Senator died at 6:02 p.m. at Bethesda Naval Hospital, after four days of hospitalization for acute hepatitis. He entered the Hospital on Sunday, and had failed to show any improvement since he went there. He began running a temperature elevation again today, and at 5:00 p.m., the Hospital issued a bulletin which stated that the Senator had failed to show any improvement during the day, and the temperature elevation had increased. The bulletin added that Senator McCarthy "still is considered to be seriously ill."

The disease which struck him down did so with dramatic suddenness. As of recent weeks in the Teamsters' investigation, he seemed subdued, but otherwise, pretty much himself. He has not been looking well, but that is largely because of the fact that a year ago, he decided he was carrying too much weight, and went on a diet which resulted in a cut down of about 30 to 40 pounds.

He has done little socializing for some time, because of the baby girl, Tierney, whom he and Mrs. McCarthy adopted, and who was the apple of his eye. If the world could have seen the supposedly sinister Joseph McCarthy, carrying that baby around in his arms, or dancing capers to make her smile, they would have understood an entirely different person than the one who has been painted to the American people by his political and ideological enemies.

94-4-2189-354 ENCLOSULA Probably no man my memory in public life has per had such a divided public as this one. Half the world hated him; the other worshipped him. He was a dedicated man, with a dragon to slay, and that dragon was communism. It was against the teachings of his church, and against his tenets of Americanism, and he loved both of them, almost fanatically.

And therein lay his destruction, as all who have dared take up the public cudgels against communism have met their downfall. They are instantly marked for destruction, and the destruction is inevitable.

The forces that combined to first oppose, and then destroy Joe McCarthy -and they succeeded today -- were respectable people ... people of position...
people with pasts, who were afraid that unless Joe McCarthy was destroyed, they
themselves, sooner or later, would be exposed and disgraced.

That was the truth behind the Army-McCarthy hearings. Joe McCarthy was the front man, in digging into the skeletons of the Armed Services. That was his crime -- that, and no more.

The forces that were behind Senator Flanders of Vermont, in the charges which he brought and later apologized for, were the shadowy, sneaky figures of an outfit that called itself, profanely, the Committee For An Effective Congress.

The backing and the inspiration was made up of people with fear; people who felt that Senator Joe McCarthy would get them, unless they got him. And so they did

Since the Senator no longer needs defense, I wish to say, ladies and gentlemen, that I have never seen such a shocking exhibition of distorted reporting and reportorial untruth, as I witnessed throughout the coverage of the Army-McCarthy hearings.

It was a journalistic lynching palety, spurred on by powerful and frightened

groups, who were (for the kill... the objective of to discredit a man whom they feared as much as death itself.

The pressure which they generated was such that any reporter who dared try to tell the truth as to what was going on, as I did, was boycotted through sponsors, harassed by defamation, held up to scorn and ridicule, and all but crucified himself.

And the same was true of the members of the Congress, particularly the members of the United States Senate, who were stampeded into passing judgment on him.

That was the beginning of the long slow death of Joe McCarthy, which finally was consummated in the loneliness of a hospital room at 6:02 p.m. tonight.

That, he took to heart, and he had reason to, because most of those who voted for the censure of Senator McCarthy did so, with the guilty knowledge that they were playing the role of a Pontius Pilate. They were afraid of the public clamor; afraid of the columnists who had their own reasons for joining in the lynch mob; afraid of the power of influential, supposedly respectable individuals, some of whom were in the mob for their own self protection, others of whom merely prated and parroted the cliches that they heard from their golfing companions.

Never, in 35 years of reporting, have I seen such an organized lynching as was given to the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and I have no hesitancy in sitting here at this microphone and saying so, forever and forever.

Senator McCarthy was a much softer personality than anyone was ever willing to allow. I knew him. I saw many of those manifestations.

I asked him once, whether his mother -- who could barely speak understandable English -- had lived to see him elected to the Senate. He said no, and

he was glad, because the wouldn't have understood it. The height of her pride in her son came when he was elected Justice of the Peace. That, he said, she could comprehend. That was within the scope of her world. The idea of being a Senator would frighten her. It was too big.

Jeannie Kerr, the secretary who was converted to his Catholicism from a Presbyterian, in order to marry him, was at his bedside as he passed away.

What happens to the adopted baby girl, Tierney, nobody knows, because I believe the adoption is subject to a one-year probation period which has not run, and what happens to Jeannie is a question, too, because there are no pensions for Senator's widows.

Perhaps some memorial trust fund will be set up, by those who believed in the fighting Senator who dared tackle the impossible, and paid for it with his life.

There certainly should be, and every member of the United States Senate who voted for the censure of the junior Senator from Wisconsin should contribute to that memorial fund, from his own pocket.

The White House itself might well do the same, because its persistent snubs * and rebuffs did their part to bring this end of today. They hurt. I could see them hurt. Joe McCarthy tried to brush them over, but they cut, and they were unnecessary. More than that, they were ill-bred.

They have won. The forces that feared McCarthy have had their way. But I venture to believe that the mark he has left behind him will last a lot longer than they.

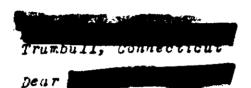
Senator Karl Mundt of South Dakota has just said that Senator McCarthy's death "takes out of the American political arena a courageous fighter against communism and a stalwart advocate of our traditional American concepts."

News of the death reached the Capitol after most lawmakers had gone home.

Its flags, however, were immediately lowered to half mast.

G. I. R. -10

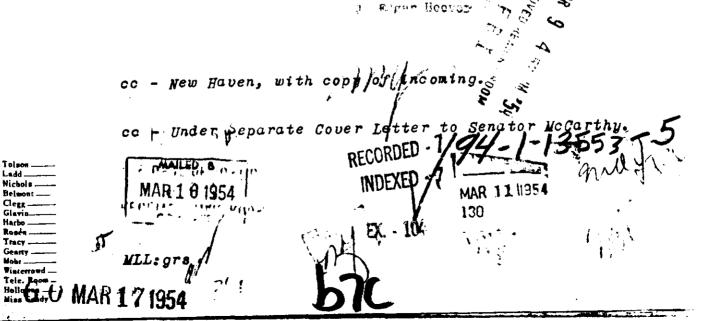
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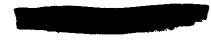
Senator McCarthy has brought to my attention your kind letter of February 2, 1954, inviting me to speak at some forthcoming neeting of the Algonouin Club, and I deeply appreciate your interest in this matter.

while it would be a pleasure to be of service if at all possible, I regret that the extremely heavy volume of nork confronting me causes my schedule to be so uncertain that I do not see how I can plan to be with you. The great pressure of my official duties has forced me to decline all sneaking engagements for the foreseeable future, and I know you will understand my position in this regard.

Sincerely yours,



GOIY



TRIMEBULL, CONN.

February 2, 1954

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe,

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I know you are familiar with the situation in most of the country and understand that the Connecticut problem, particularly in Fairfield County is unique. Here, in one of the most densely populated residential, commerical, and industrial areas in the United States, we are located in such close proximity to metropolitan New York and Boston that we have had the absolute minimum personal contact from national figures. We feel that periodic visits, not necessarily frequent, are important to improve or even retain our favorable position in the local, state, and national picture.

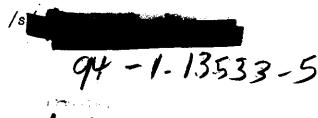
It is with this deep conviction that I sincerely ask you to exert in our behalf, your utmost effort and to extend to our good friend J. Edgar Hoover an invitation to speak in Bridgeport.

Specifically, the Algonquin Club is an organization made up primarily of the key industrial, commercial, professional, and judicial men in this section of Connecticut. We would suggest that if possible, arrangements be made for an evening convenient and suitable to him.

Joe, I know you know how important this is - or I would not add this problem to your many. To say I appreciate your efforts, is the ultimate in inadequacy - none the less I do.

I know your many many Connecticut friends join me in wishing you and all of yours, particularly Jeannie our heartfelt best wishes.

Sincerely,





United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

March 3, 1954

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

for a report thereon to serve as a basis for an answer to my constituent. Please return enclosure with your reply.

ne Caro

v.s.s.

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RECORDED - 68
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March 9, 1954

MICE TO ACO.

4. I. R. -7

Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy United States Senate Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

Your note of March 3, 1954, enclosing the letter dated February 2, 1954, from of Trumbull, Connecticut, has been received.

It would indeed be a pleasure to speak at some forthcoming meeting of the Algonquin Club at Trumbull if it were at all possible, especially in view of your own kind interest in the matter. I deeply regret, however, that the great pressure of my official duties has made my schedule so uncertain that I have been forced to adopt a policy of declining all speaking engagements for the foreseeable future. I am sure you can understand my reluctance to depart from this policy, which I have had to express to other individuals and organizations.

inclosed is a copy of a letter Parsending directly to are Foothers and, in accordance with your request, his letter is returned herewith.

MAR 1 0 1954 : MAILED 27

Nichola

Belmont Clegg —

Harbo Rosca

Tracy

Vinterroud ... Tele. Room ... Holloman Sincerely, yours,

J. Eaga Su

Enclosiffs (2)

cc of letter to dated 3-9-54.

Trumbull, Connecticut,

Original incoming from

NOTE: Copy of the file.

letter being maintained for

MLL:grs:grc

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MORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON MR. NICHOLS Senator Joseph B. McCarthy called and sed that he had been requested by a woman from who was active Minneapelis by the name of University matters, whether I would be willing to appear as a speaker on one of their programs. Senator McCarthy stated he had told her he would make inquiries but that he thought I would have to decline. I told him that this was correct; that I would be glad to do this were it not for the press of the coming appropriations bearings and that I had found it necessary to decline all such invitations." The Senator stated be understood and would so indicate to Very truly yours, John Edgar Hoover cc-Mr. Holloman SENT FROM D. O. JEH:EH (5) TIME 12:55 PM RECORDED - 26 DATE 11-30.55 INDEXED - 26 94-1-110-172 EX - 107 20 DEC 1 1955

December 14, 1951

RECURDED - 24

EX-11566 - 2058 -30 - 142

Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy United States Senate Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

Reference is made to my letter of loverior 15, with relation to the automobile accident in which res involved. I have ascertained from our Milwoulce field office that there is no record ever having taken stops to file a claim against the Government. Special Agent has advised that no claim was ever filed against him by and, to his knowledge, has never filed a claim against Special Agent (: insurance compeny.

has not as yet filed a claim against the Government in this matter, he would be precluded from making any such claim at this time since the statute of limitations under the Federal Tort Claim Act is one year, and you will recall the automobile accident in question occurred in March of 1947.

Fith expressions of my highest esterm and ent megarde.

> incorely yours, ... > V. Ewgar Hoover

cc: SAC, Milwaukee

VST: mmc

15. 14 3/1 × 181 3/1

DUC 1 4 1951 MAILEU 20

18. 14 S 30 PM 351

Off... Memorandum • United States Government

TO : Mr. Gl. vin,

DATE: 12-5-51

FROM : W. S. Tovel

subject: Bureou Automobile Accident

Morch 11, 1947

SÁ

Milwoukee Division

As you will recell Senotor Joseph R. Recertly forwarded to the Burgou a letter received by him from representing relative to a claim of as the result of the ceptioned accident. Senator McCarthy asked that he be advised relative to this matter in order that he hight prepare on enswer to this consumication.

on 11-15-51 c letter was addressed to Senctor McCarthy in which he was advised that this accident was investigated at the time it occurred and it did not appear that Agent the was responsible for the accident; that a truck operated by one had improperly crossed the highway and struck the Bureau car, cousing it to sharp and be driven into other cars, one of which belonged to grand that our records reflected that a formal claim was not filed by the Bureau was looking into the setter and should any additional information of interest to him be a lined the Bureau would communicate with him.

On 11-15-51 comice of the incoming of their iched the Bureou by Senatur McCorthy were forwarded to the Milwautee Division with the request that the Eureeu be advised whether any steps over were taken by to file a claim against the Government or against Agent

You will also recall that the amount of de egen claimed by mae \$25.72; and that the statute of limitations in a recerci Tort Claims Act case is one year, which would preclude from filing a claim against the Government at the crosent time.

Office do not reflect that steps were ever taken by to file a claim against the Government; and that he had discussed this matter with Agent who adviced that he claim was ever filed against him to him knowledge by to and, to his knowledge, her never made a claim again to Agent when introduced against.

The jurisping is substitted for inforestional urboses.

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Monorable Joseph R. McCarthy United States Senate CORDED - 153 Ly dear Senator

DEXED - 153 Reference is made to your memorandum dated Movember 5, 1951, transmitting a copy of a letter

% - **3**

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, representing , in connection with an autemobile accident Which occurred in Rolon Springs, Wisconsin, in Earch, 1947.

For your information, I have locked into this matter and ascertained that this accident was investigated at the tire and it does not appear that Twas responsible for the acci-A rat cent. Actually, a truck operated tu had inproperly crossed the highway and atruck the Jureau car cousing it to swerve and be driven into other cars, one of which belonged to Our records do not reflect that a formal claim was filed by against the Government. However, filed by I on looking in o this matter and should any accitional information of interest to you be obtained I will communicate with per-

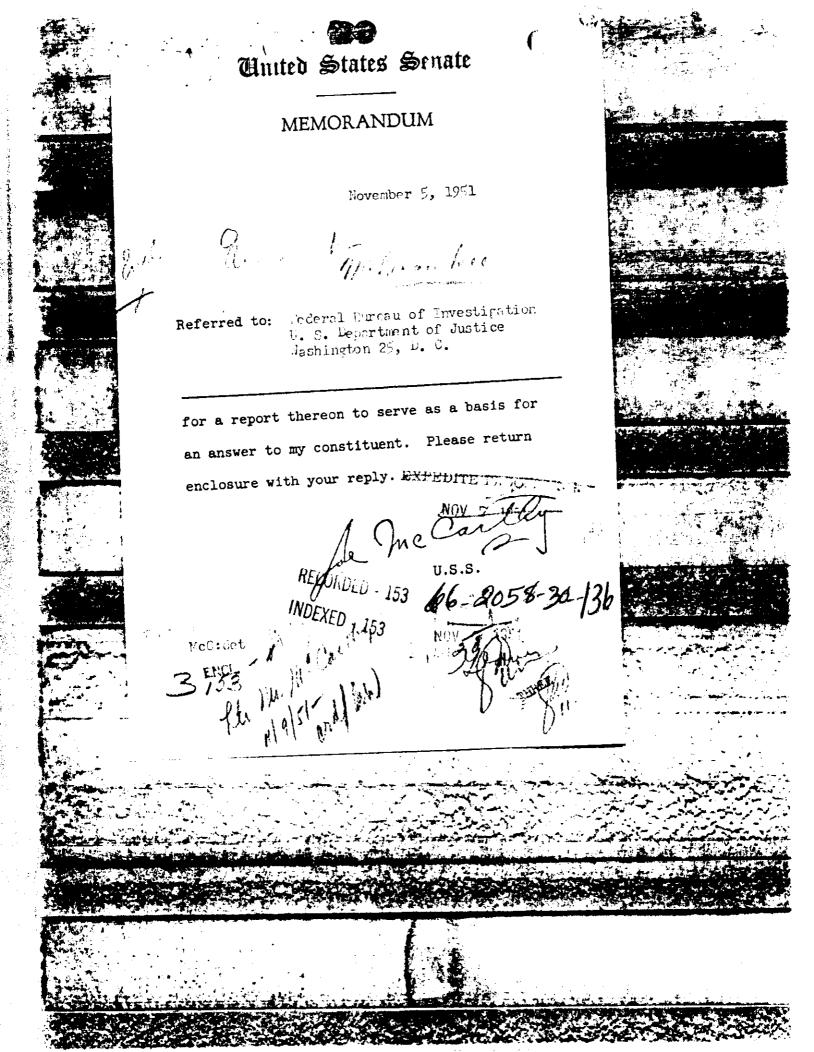
There are enclosed the peters which you reproceed to returned to you.

with expressions of my highest extrem end best re ands.

Enclosures

SAC, Milwaukee (with conies of incoming) In connection with the attached you are requested to immediately advise the Rurrau whether any steps were ever taken by to file a claim accinst the Government or against Acent Glewwe.

CRD: IFA 9 MOV 30 1151



Superior, Wisconsin October 31, 1951

The Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy United States Senate Washington, D. C.

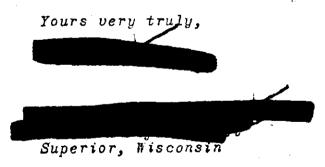
Dear Senator:

I am attaching hereto a letter written to , Veterans Service Officer, Superior, Wisconsin, which is self-explanatory concerning an automobile accident which occurred at Solon Springs, Wisconsin in the middle of March 1947.

I have been unable to receive a reply from the service officer or FBI agent, concerning a settlement for the damages involved.

I am referring this matter to you as I do not know and am unable to ascertain whether this is an obligation of the U. S., Government or a personal obligation of

Any information you can afford me on this matter will be greatly appreciated.



66-2058-30-136



Mnited States Senate COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS August 14, 1953 8111-1 Honorable J. Edgar Hoover Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. Hoover: This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of August 5th in regard to the testimony of concerning I very much appreciate receiving this information. With kindest personal regards, I am Sincerely yours, McC:db RECORDED-76 62 - 100 090 -58 SEP 21 1953

Office Memorandum . United States Government

Mr. Tolson

DATE: 7/3/56

FROM

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

In my memorandum of 7/2/56, I reported that advised that Senator McCarthy was of the opinion that someone should ask Attorney General Brownell for the basis of his statement that Senator McCarthy instructed the General Accounting Office Staff to hold back information in the Celler investigation from the FBI until McCarthy felt the right time had come for producing it. This statement is reported on page 341 of Bob Donovan's book, "The Inside Story."

hearings of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, held on 6/26/56, which on page 1179 reports McCarthy's views on this item and on subsequent pages McCarthy's calling upon the Chairman to ask Mr. Brownell whether or not he was properly quoted. The Chair stated on page 1182 that it would instruct the Chief Counsel to prepare a letter to be dispatched to Mr. Brownell over the Chairman's signature requesting the information Senator McCarthy desired.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman Mr. Rosen

JJM:fc (4)

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File No. . .

STENOGRAPHIC TRĂNSCRIPT OF

HEARINGS

PERMANENT, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington, D. C.

June 26, 1956

Volume 11 .

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EACT-TEST INIDE

TUESDAY JUHE 26, 1956

United States Senate,

Schate Termsnort Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations,

Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee mat at 10:45 a.m., pursuant to Senate Unnotation 188, agreed to Fabruary 18, 1956, in Room 357 of the Senate Office Building, Senator John L. McClellan (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

DEFINER OF THE SUBCEMBUTTE PRESENT.

SENATOR JOHN L. PocleLLAN, Demograt, Arkansas.
SENATOR SAM J. FRVIE, Demograt. North Carolina.
SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, Republican, Wisconsin.

UPREBERGOF THE PROFESSIONAL STAFF PRESENT:

ROBERT F. REMNEDY, Chief Councel to the Subcommittee.
JAMES N. JULIANA, Chief Counsel to the Minority.
JERGME S. ADLERMAN, Assistant Counsel.
RUTH Y WATT, Chief Clark.

ENCLUSURE

62-98810-711

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will come to order.

(Members of the committee present: Senators McClellan, Ervin and McCarthy.)

THE CHAIRMAN: - The Chair wishes to make a statement for the record.

As is well known to the public, this committee has been conducting a series of hearings for several months into the matter of East-West trade and downgrading and decontrol of strategic goods and materials that our NATO allies were being permitted to shift to European Communist bloc countries.

In the course of those hearings the Committee sought from the Department of Commerce, the Department of State, and the ICA certain documents, memoranda, and minutes of the meetings of what was called the JCC Committee, the Joint Sperating Committee, a committee set up within the several departments of the Government which were interested in the subject matter to review items that were then under control and under embargo and make recommendations with respect to decontrolling or downgrading such items, in other words, to determine the position of our government before our representatives went to the COCOM conference in Paris in 1954.

The Committee was denied those documents on the basis
that they were confidential, that they were inter-office
memoranda, and therefore could not be released to a Congressional Committee to aid in its legislative duties. We were

not even given these documents on a classified basis.

The Committee has taken the position that those documents should have been made available and that the Committee and the Congress and the public were entitled to know their contents.

such information available to this Committee, and it was with shocking surprise, I may say, when it came to the attention of the Chairman on last Saturday, June 23, that a book had been published and was ready for early distribution, entitled The Inside Story, a book whose contents are based upon documents, material, minutes, and other information similar in nature and character to that which this Committee has been trying to obtain in the course of discharging its duties and responsibilities to which I have already referred.

It was apparent to the Chair when he read the book or just by glancing through it, by a casual reading of excerpts from it, that this book could not have been written except that the Minutes of Cabinet meetings and inter-office memoranda and other such documents in the nature of those we had requested to aid this committee had been made available to the author of the book for his private use for commercial purposes, and obviously for his financial advantage and to the discrimination of other reporters and other publications.

So the Chair, acting upon his own responsibility at that

A - SETU

time, immediately dispatched a telegram to Mr. Maxwell Rabb,
Secretary of the Cabinet. I shall now read into the record
the telegram that was sent to Mr. Rabb last Saturday. I
quote:

"My attention has been called to the June 23 issue of the New Yorker magazine in which is published a review by Richard Rovere of a new book "The Inside Story' by Robert J. Donovan.

"I have procured an advance copy of this book and while

I have not concluded reading it, it appears that it contains
and much of it is based upon confidential minutes of Cabinet
meetings, inter-office memoranda, advisory opinions and other
secret data, similar in character and nature to that which
the Fxecutive Branch of the Government has withheld from and
refused to make available to the Senate Subcommittee on
Investigations. I cite as one concrete example the refusal
of the State Department, the Department of Commerce and the
ICA to make available to this subcommittee the minutes,
records and file of the Joint Operating Committee regarding
its deliberations and actions in recommending the decontrol
and downgrading of strategic goods and materials for sale
and shipment by our NATO allies to the European Communist
bloc countries.

It is difficult to understand and to reconcile the attitude, action and policy of the Executive Branch of the

Government in withholding and refusing to give a congressional Committee the above facts and information needed for its legislative duties while at the same time making available to a favored private citizen for commercial use and publication confidential and secret documents and materials of the same character and nature. I therefore respectfully write you as Secretary of the Cibinet to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations, Room 357, Senate Office Building, 10:30 a.m., Tuesday, June 26, or at your earliest convenience and testify regarding the subject matter."

The telegram is signed by me as chairman.

The Chair received from Mr. Rabb the following letter,

June 25, 1956, on White House Stationery, Washington.

"Dear Senator McClellan:

"This will acknowledge your June 23 telegram inquiring about material used in a forthcoming book by Robert Donovan.

"While I know Mr. Donovan, neither I nor any member of my staff supplied him with information or papers on Cabinet meetings. In fact, I have no knowledge or information relating to the matters outlined in your telegram, and feel that I could be of no help to the Committee."

Signed, "Maxwell M. Rabb, Cabinet Secretary."

Upon receipt of that letter the Chair dispatched another telegram to Mr. Rabb, from which I quote:

"Re your letter June 25, regarding material furnished

Robert J. Donovan and your advising that you and your staff have no knowledge of this matter, it will be appreciated if you will appear before the subcommittee tomorrow and give testimony before it to that effect."

Again signed by me as Chairman.

we have not at the moment heard from Mr. Rabb. He has not appeared. A telephone call to his office since the committee convened this morning brings us the information that another letter from him is on its way. What that letter contains, the contents of that letter, I do not know. As soon as it is received it will be made a part of the record of this proceeding this morning.

Gentlemen, that is the situation. I assume it will be necessary for the Committee, after receiving the letter, to consider it and then to enter into such deliberations as the Committee feels desirable to determine the further course of action.

Does any member of the Committee wish to make any comment?

SENATOR McCARTHY: Yes, Mr. Chairman, a brief comment.

Number one, the wire is the same as a subpoena, so in effect Mr. Rabb has been subpoenaed, and he has ignored that. That leaves him in contempt of the Committee. No halo surrounds that throne which allows him to ignore a subpoena.

I am not going to make any lengthy statement with regard

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to the book, for this reason: A New York magazine has pointed out that, this being a glorification of Eisenhower based upon confidential Cabinet meetings, only Eisenhower could have authorized the release of those documents to Donovan. I frankly can't believe that is true. I would like to know, however. Before I make any further statement I would like to give Eisenhower a chance to deny that he authorized the release of this material. I would like to give him a chance to repudiate the scurrilous statements made about public figures attributed to him and also find out whether or not he is going to order an investigation to find out who did release the Cabinet minutes in violation of all of his secrecy orders, orders which, incidentally, I don't agree with so far as secrecy is concerned.

I think further we should issue a formal subpoena to
Rabb so that he can't claim he has never been subpoenaed.

Another thing, Mr. Chairman: While we are here this morning I would like to call to the Chair's attention in connection with the investigation of textiles a paragraph from page 341, and with the Chair's permission. I would like to read this brief paragraph into the record. This is apparently based upon minutes of a Cabinet meeting. Quote:

'Discussing the background of Celler investigation,
Brownell digressed into a situation he had uncovered at the
General Accounting Office when the Attorney General

investigated the failure of the GAC to report to the FBI on questionable activities by certain clothing manufacturers. He discovered that some of the GAO staff had been instructed by McCarthy to hold back suchinformation until McCarthy felt that the right time had come for producing it. Sherman Adams remarked drily that the GAO staff situation was being corrected."

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Mr. Chairman, I think this ties directly into the investigation which we are conducting on the Government procurement of textiles. I don't know whether Mr. Brownell has been peroperly quoted. If he is, I can say that he is guilty of a deliberate misstatement, but I don't accuse him of that. I think we should give him a chance. I would like the Chairman. if he would, to ask Mr. Brownell to tell this committee whether or not he is properly quoted. If he were properly quoted, then he should give us the name of the clothing manufacturer and he should give us the name of the GAO staff who he says has been instructed by McCarthy to hold back information so we may call those GAO employees down here and so we may check and see what action, if any, has been taken against this clothing manufacturer who is guilty of misconduct.

Certainly something should have been done if they have this information, either that or he should repudiate this.

It is one of the most scurrilous statements against a Senator

that I have read for some time, so we should go into that and get all of the picture.

After Brownell has been so quoted he should not hide behind any dodge and refuse to give us the information.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right, Senator McCarthy.

The Chair will make this observation at this time: This publication has presented a situation of which I am of the opinion at the moment, unless someone can point out where I am in error, this committee does have jurisdiction. almost any investigation which it is presently conducting the Committee could inquire into a matter of that broad nature and import. Almost any investigation the committee is now conducting would embrace in its jurisdiction and in its objectives a clarification or a finding of fact with respect to this procedure which is being followed as a policy, apparently. I should say I think it is a new policy and practice. It is something novel in my experience that a Senatorial committee or Congressional committee charged with the Duty and responsibility of studying the Government at all levels can be denied governmental documents, memoranda. and material which is on file in the Executive Branch of the Government on the grounds that it is confidential, documents that are certainly at a lower level than the minutes of cabinet proceedings, and then find that the minutes of Cabinet proceedings, which are secret and confidential, can

be made available for public use, for private enterprise, and for profit and gain to some favored individual. It presents a rather shocking situation to the Chair.

I may say to Senator McCarthy that when we get the letter and see its contents and when we have had an opportunity the committee will have an executive session as early as we can to discuss and determine the course of action with the whole aspect of this affair.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Mr. Chairman, may I say that, in view of the fact that we have already authorized the investigation of textile procurement, the Chairman doesn't need a beeting of the committee but on his own authority can personally call upon Mr. Brownell to give us the information which I referred to at page 341 of the book.

to prepare a letter to be dispatched to Mr. Brownell over my signature requesting the information the Senator desires.

That answer should be given. It amounts to a charge against a member of this committee of probably some impropriety or wrong-doing. If the members of the General Accounting Office have been restricted in their duties and in their responses to this Committee or any committee, I think we should go about it. I think it proper, however, to write Mr. Brownell a letter because he may supply this committee with information as a Cabinet member and he should have the opportunity

to clarify the charges in the book.

SENATOR McCARTHY: Mr. Chairman, I may say that I have not had a chance to read this book, but have werely glanced through it. Certain things stood out. I would like to call the Chair's attention to page 254, keeping in wind that when the Mundt Committee was holding the Army hearings, commonly known as the Army-McCarthy hearings, we were refused any information as to who was responsible for calling on this investigation which immobilized the investigating committee for months. We were refused that information on the grounds that it could not be given, as I recall, in the national interest, or something like that.

On page 254 we find this author basing this upon Cabinet hearings, apparently, and stating, if I may quote, "The report that the Army had prepared at the suggestion of Sherman Adams."

There is considerably more than that, but in view of
the fact that the Mundt Committee could not get the information in its investigation I was very curious to know who
called on this amear attack. I think Adams should be given
the opportunity of either confirming or repudiating this.
I am not asking the Chair to make any decision on that because that is not strictly within the scope of ieither of
the two hearings being conducted, but I hope that can be done.

I would like publicly now, personally, not as a member

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of the committee, as an individual Senator I would like to call upon Sherman Adams to tell us whether or not this statement on page 254 is true or not, whether or not he was the man who started this scurrilous attack which made it impossible for us to investigate Communists in defense plants for a matter of months and resulted in many of those Communists being there today who would not be there had this not been called.

As I say, I am not asking the Chair to take any action on it, but I am personally calling on Mr. Adams either to confirm or deny.

THE CHAIRMAN: Senator Ervin.

SENATOR ERVIN: Mr. Chairman, this situation is more peculiar than any of the events recorded in Alice in Wonder-land. The Administration denies to a Senate Committee original records of activities of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government even though access to those records is deemed by the Senate committee to be necessary to enable the Senate to discharge its legislative duties to the American people. Yet the Administration apparently gives access to the original records of the activities of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to an individual wrter and to a publisher so that such writer and such publisher can peddle the original records of such activities for his personal pecuniary profit.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair would also point out that at least it has come to our attention that on May 15, 1956, Assistant Attorney General Stanley N. Barnes, testifying before the House Government Operations Committee, in response to a question as to whether or not the matter of advisory committees had been brought up at any of the meetings, replied:

"I do not know, Of course I couldn't say if I did."

That is with reference to whether it was brought up at Cabinet meetings. He took the position that because anything discussed in a Cabinet meeting was confidential, therefore he could not reveal the information to a senatorial committee.

That only accentuates and aggravates the situation which is now presented to this committee.

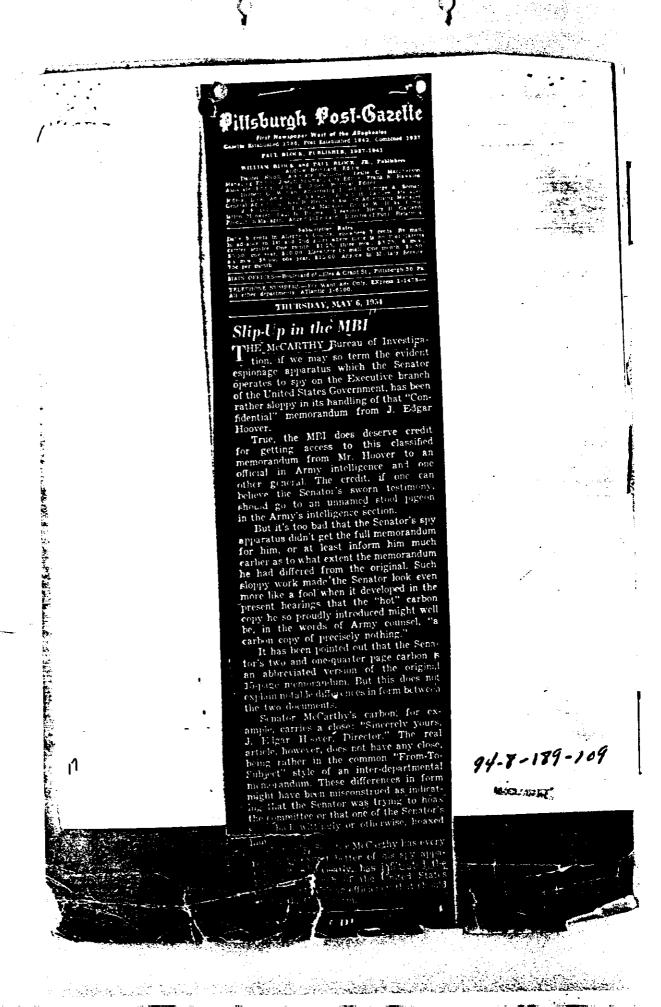
At this point the record may show the letter now being received from The White House.

The Chair will read the letter into the record at this point:

"The White House, Wishington, June 26, 1956.

"Dear Senator McClellan:

"I have your telegram of June 25. In my letter of yesterday's date I stated that I had no knowledge of the matters outlined in your telegram of June 23, and could be of no help to the committee. There is nothing that I can



add to what I have already stated. Hence, I respectfully decline your invitation to appear and testify."

Signed, "Maxwell M. Rabb, Cabinet Secretary."

The letter may be printed in the record at this point.

SENATUR McCARTHY: Mr. Chairman, may I say I think that is completely and inexcusably arrogant. This committee asked him to appear. I would make the strong suggestion — the Chair may want to take this up in executive session — that a formal subpoena be served upon Mr. Rabb. If he refuses to honor that, which he has no right to do, I doubt very much that it will do much good to have him cited for contempt and the matter referred to the U.S. Attorney's Cffice.

May I say to the Chair I have taken the trouble of checking into the law on this matter. I find that the Senate need not refer a contempt action to a grand jury or to the U.S. Attorney. The Senate can act on it itself. It can determine whether or not he was in contempt. It can determine the punishment. I think maybe we are in a position where that unusual action might have to be taken if Mr. Rabb continues with this arrogant refusal to honor a request of the committee.

Mr. Chairman, may I say that I have just been called to appear before the Internat! Security Committee and, with your permission I will absent myself now. position with respect to Mr. Rabb, Mr. Rabb is Secretary of the C binet and certainly, presumably at least, all records of Cabinet meetings are in his custody as such secretary. I would also refer to chapter 11 in the book The Inside Story, which reads in part as follows, clearly indicating that Mr. Rabb has information and that either Mr. Rabb or the President himself made this particular information that I will refer to available to the author of the book. I quote:

"After Congress adjourns the President on the eve of his departure for Denver made a broadcast reviewing in the best light he could the record of the session. Commenting on his speech in an editorial on August 8 the Washington Post said, 'Perhaps the weakest of the four major areas of action cited by the President is equality of opportunity, on which relatively little has been done.'"

That has reference to the title of the chapter, Civil Rights. Then it says:

"Mr. Maxwell Rabb showed Eisenhower the editorial.

'Mr. President', he said, 'some day they will eat their words.' 'We will see', the President replied."

It does appear to the Chair that only two people had that information. That information is contained as a part of this revelation The Inside Story.

The Committee would like to get "The Inside Story"

about some other affairs pertaining to government, and that is why it shall insist now and a letter will be dispatched, as the Chair has indicated, to the Department heads who have the information which this committee has been seeking for some time.

The Chair will make this further statement in conclusion:

If Mr. Rabb, as Secretary of the Cabinet, does not have any information that would be helpful to this committee, if he is accurate in that statement, in view of the position that he occupies then I do feel that The White House owes it to this committee, to the Congress, and to the people of the Unitee States to immediately clear up this matter so that we may know whether the Congress of the United States and its regularly constituted committees are being discriminated against in favor of a selected, preferred private report and publication, and whether that is the policy of this Administration and, if not, then an explanation is certainly in order as to how this could possibly have occurred.

If there is nothing else, the committee stands in recess.

(Whereupon, at 11:15 a.m. the committee was recessed subject to call.)

OFFICE OF DIE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION Postmarked Sandwich, Illinois, May 30, 1954. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Tele. Room Why are you giving out confidential Mr. Holloman and secret information to Sen. McCarthy and Walter Winchell? Isn't it about time that you resigned from your position and let an honest man take your place? In the language of the classics "Who do you think you're kidding?" COPY-eff moved on 198 62-98810-485 The J. Edgar Hoover,

Why are you giving out confidential

Why are you giving out confidential

and pacent information to Son. Mc. Carthy

and Watter Winchell?

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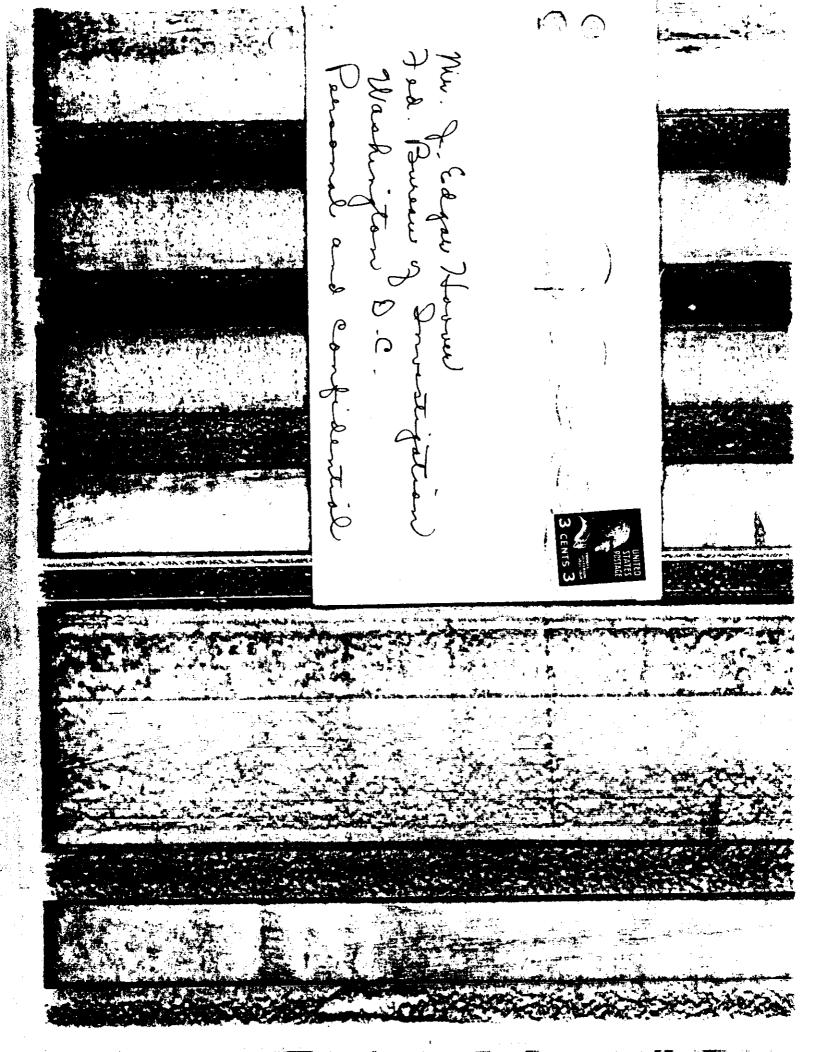
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In the language of the classice

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U. S. DEPA LIST CT 311 COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

WESTERN UNION

WTO14 NL PD RACINE WIS MAY 6 JEDGAR HOOVER, (REPORT DELY) DIRECTOR FRI

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AND EVERYTHING HOLY. IN THE NAME OF OUR WAR DEAD AND THOSE YET TO DIE IN JUSTICE TO YOUR CONSCIENCE, REGARDLESS OF COST TO YOU AS AN INDIVIDUAL. PLEASE HELP JOE MCCARTHY. PARENTS WHO HAVE SUFFERED THE LOSS OF TWO SONS BECAUSE OF TREASON IN THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Michele

62.98810 - 424

Mr. Boardras

Tele. Room.... Mr. Holloman

8 MAY 11 1954

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Office Me.... dum • united s.... Government DATE: 1'01y 10, 1904 Mr. Michals 4 1. A. Wands SUBJECT: The Bureau has received a telegrar fixe in the 3. 1824, รีซ พลิฮ อยกลิ ภาคล โรรรักค. Wisconsin, and asked the Tirector to bedy Conutor Coursely regardless of the cest to him. Euriles have no information identifiable with correspondents and the Tacine, Tisconsin telephone directory had no listing which could be determined as theirs. STREET

PECONYENFATION: In view of the lack of Addinces, it is recommended that this telegrom not be acknowledged. 62-98810-419 WAY 17 1954

RECORDED-29

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May 17, 1954

62-91016-440

CL. 104

New York 2, New York

Dear

Your letter of May 7, 1954, has been

received.

The interest which prompted you to write is appreciated, and I want to them you for making your observations known to me.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover

Director

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Note: Bufiles reflect no record identifiable with the correspondent. She observed that the Director should take immediate action against Senator McCarthy for an illegal possession of a copy of the FBI document recently introduced into the Army-McCarthy hearings.

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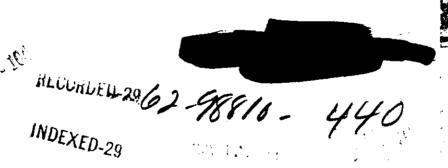
New York, 2, M.Y.

May 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Hoover;

It behooves you in the public interest to take the same immediate action against Senator Josaph McCarthy for his illegal possession of the copy of the F. B. I. documento he has produced in the Army-McCarthy hearing (and who knows how many more he has obtained), the same immediate action you would take against any citizen who had been an accessory to the same crime.

Sincerely yours,



Sin 1 - Wall april 7, 54 Dear ma. Hoaver, ' (4) This very evening watched a T.V. news cost which featured a contioning a news commentator. In the sold morrow, The new cast presented the two men on sepecte Films making Charges at the each other. In the exchange of gunfiel (or sould I say dagger fire), The Ino now made a statement that immiduately careght my attension. That Statement was that Sin. Inc. Carty had received Support from the Laummunist Party. I want to know if this is tight. and I also want to know if the house is in ony way Connected with the Community faity now and if he ever Was. I also Executive Jo know the damy 1713 of Len. Inc Carthy. INDEXED. 93

2 would Vapperwoods This information for I believe that at Monercon Should be informed. From the way the news Castors and news paper fein referring this story I feel the only place I can get the

Correct factoris at the F.BI.

Thouk you For your lo operation.

Jours Truly,

Har exhill, I mass.

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March 18, 1954

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON MR. BOARDMAN MR. NICHOLS

Senator Karl Mundt called in connection with his desire to secure an individual to act as counsel to the McCarthy Committee during his temporary Chairmanship of this Committee. of Billings. The Senator gave me the name of Montana, who is presently President of the American Bar Association and requested that we conduct a file check on him. I advised him this would be done and he would be called back within an hour.

> Very truly yours, John Edgar Hoover Director

cc-Mr. Holloman

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SERT FROM B. 6

Clegg Harbo Gearty

Office Men ... Jum . UNITED

Mr. Tolson

DATE: Feb. 26, 1954

GOVERNMEN

FROM

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

called me this morning and stated he is thoroughly disgusted with the Senate Investigating Committee and with Senator McCarthy; that he is fed up. He stated on Monday it had been agreed that on Tuesday morning, after calling Secretary Stevens and swearing him in, they would then ask him to stand aside and they would who would plead the Fifth Amendment. would then call to testify on and at that point, would call Stevens; that the committee would then win its case before fifty million people who would probably be following the matter on television. stated he opposed any compromise with Stevens; that the controversy should be settled on the basis of the facts and not upon compromise and on the basis of political expediency.

, get the witnesses, stage the snow and get everything ready so they can gallantly stride in and take their bows. stated this, of course, is his job and he does not object to it but does object to a firm agreement being made on the handling of the situation and then having the ground cut out from under him: that he was fed up with it and told McCarthy so this morning and told McCarthy he made a big mistake in ever compromising with Stevens and that McCarthy can see now what is happening stated he told them all what would happen on Tuesday morning to him. before the meeting; that they laughed at him, but that the Chicago Tribune called him and said he had called the shots right. stated he is completely disgusted, not only with McCarthy in this instance, but is disgusted with who wants to bring back the girl who was Frip Flanagan's secretary for some seven years and has flatly stated he had fired her before and the day she comes back on the committee staff, that day he walks out.

stated he did not believe in giving in and being afraid to fight; that he had been under a mental strain, that he just wondered if it is worthwhile. I told course, this was a matter he would have to decide on for himself, that he does need to complete his unfinished business if he is contemplating leaving.

cc: Mr. Ladd

Mr. Belmont

LBN: MP

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stated he is very fond of McCarthy personally; that McCarthy is coming to New York this afternoon and is going to stay at his house and probably McCarthy will persuade him to continue; that McCarthy needs six Communists now to put Stevens back in the position where he had him before the capitulation on Tuesday.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STALES GOVERNMENT

TO

Mr. Ladd

FROM

Mr. Rosen / Common

SUBJECT:

SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY

DATE: November 27,

) /i

Time of call: 3:30 P.M.

At the above time ASAC W. G. Simon at New York, telephonically advised Supervisor of the following information which appeared in the New York Post of November 27, 1953. He advised that the column of Leonard Lyons! "The Lion's Den" stated that Senator Joseph McCarthy's next investigation will be of lawyers appointed to high positions in businesses controlled by the Alien Property Custodian.

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January 14, 1954

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PERSON L AND CONL ENTIAL

Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy United States Senate Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of January 13, 1954, enclosing the Las Vegas Sun column of January 8 by Hank Greenspun.

In order to get a ruling on this column as to whether or not it contains any facts which might be a violation of Federal law, I have referred it to the attention of the Department. I frankly do not see any violation within our preliminary jurisdiction. It certainly was a scurrilous attack.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,

Edgan

CC _ Mr. Ladd

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Harbo s
Tracy
Genry
Mohr
Wintercod

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Tele, Rooms Holloman & FEB 17 1954

United States Senate COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS January 13, 1954 The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover Director Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington 25, D. C. Dear Edgar: Enclosed is a copy of an article by Hank Greenspun of Las Vegas, Nevada. You will note that he is either threatening murder or advising murder. Whether this violates any federal law, I frankly offhand don't know. It is merely being submitted to you for what it is worth. With kindest personal regards, I am Sincerely yours, JOE McCARTHY McC:db RECORDED - 162-97007 +- 116 1-14-51 JAN 18 1854-1 to Comen Hory