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McCarthyism

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Without ~~Prejudice~~ ?? Precedent
new book on Army-McCarthy hearings--by John Adams (of my story)

I should read this before seeing WLP.



STAT

call bac k in a couple of weeks--may face hospitalization

21 Feb 1950

spoke w/ office of Sen. McCarthy re ^{*I don't think so*} Case #11 in the Senaotr's speech of 20 Feb (is this Wheeling?). Requested info as to name of case # 11, but his office unable to release it in absence of the Senator, and dubts that any info would be released prior to Comm hearings.

22 Feb 1950--spoke w/ McCarthy re Case # 11. He stated he would supply the name upon receipt of a letter from DCI.

23 Feb 1950--delivered letter from DCI to Sen. McCarthy re case # 11. He supplied the name thereof. He stated that he was sorry that time had not permitted his informing us of his info prior to making same public, but that he had been rushed into his disclosures prematurely.

Mr. Bannerman and I discussed Case No. 11 w/ DCI, who approved my suggestion that an appropriate letter be drafted to McCarthy, 1st for clearance at White House, and that this open attack on CIA must be retracted on the Floor of the Senate and the record made clear. If Sen. McCarthy is unwilling to do this, then some friendly senator should be requested to do so.

2 March 1950

WLP deliverd letter from DCI to McCarthy asking that Case No. 11 be omitted from those presented to Sen. For. Rel. subcomm. McCarthy stated his belief that his evidence contradicted our letter but promised not to raise further Qs abt the case, in view of the fact that the record was satisfied, provided that the DCI did not make his letter public or make pol. issue.

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24 May 1950

talked w/ Sen. McCarthy re his release of all material in connection w/ his charges of communim in the Govt. He promised that he would not mention CIA in any way and would not release any material re CIA. He apologized profusely for his earlier breaks and stated that he had tried to clear up on the Floor the Q of the homosexual. He promised to clear in advance any further references to CIA w/ me.

14 July 1950--DCI and I appeared before the Investigations Subcomm of the Senate Expenditures Comm in connection w/ Sen. Res. 280 "to investigate homo sexuals [sic] and moral perverts in the Government."

6 Nov 1950--Investigations Subc omm of Senate Expenditures Comm plans to publish figures on homosexuals in the Govt on an agency-by-agency basis. I replied that our figures had been supplied on a confidential basis, that DCI did not wish to have them published, and that we expected the Comm to live up to its commitment in this matter. Comm. staffer Flanagan stated that every other Agency was publishing the figures and that there seems no reason why CIA's should not be made public. I replied we had cooperated w/ Comm on an executive session basis, which we expected to have honored.

10 Nov 1950--further discussion w/ Flanagan re "the CIA figures on sexual perversion"

28 Nov 1950--Flanagan called to say he had discussed the prob w/ Chairman Hoey, and the Comm desired to publish the figures or to footnote the fact that CIA would not make them available. I said their position was a breach of faith, and that we would not authorize release of any figures.

29 Nov 1950--Flanagan called to say after further conf

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w/ Hoey, they would not publish the CIA homosexual figures
nor include any footnote.

8 Oct 1952 -- Col. Grogan informed me that I was to take no steps in connection w/ quashing the DCI's subpoena to appear before HUAC on 13 Oct. Col. Grogan further stated that he did not know himself what steps, if any, were being taken, but that both of us were to stay out of it.

11 Oct 1952 -- Mr. Wolf and I discussed DCI's proposed appearance before HUAC on 13 Oct. I pted out that I felt very strongly that DCI should have Houston or myself to accompany him. I pted out that had the DCI been accompanied by a member of the legal staff when he testified initially in the Benton-McCarthy suit, many of the Qs might never have arisen which now lead to the necessity for him to testify before HUAC. STAT

[redacted] Execu. Assis. to the Director, recommended that Houston accompany DCI before HUAC, but DCI stated he wished to go alone.

CONFIDENTIAL

Pforzheimer Memo for DCI, 6 Apr 1953, Subj: Senator Mc Carthy

re probabl^e necessity of briefin g Sen Bridges re CIA acti-
vities [didn't the 1952 elections bring Bridges the chair of
an imp comm?], it should be noted that Bridges is extremely
close to McCarthy, who is a member of his Appro Comm. It
was Bridges, not McCarthy, who started the initial onslaught
on Bohlen. If we brief Bridges, he is sure to tell McCarthy
all.

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7 April 1953

Flanagan, Gen Counsel of the Senate Investigating Comm (McCarthy Comm) and I discussed the list which Sen. McCarthy gave us on 17 March 1953 containing the names of alleged subv ersives and other misfits in CIA.

Flanagan also requested detailed info re newspaper and periodical subscriptions in CIA and any funds expended for articles or other propaganda regarding CIA.

The Alsop brothers reported in the D.C. Post on Apr. 15, 1953
that McCarthy was abt. to "move in" on the Agency.

[chk. this: p. no. ?]

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10 June 1953

Roy Cohn, Counsel to the McCarthy Subcomm, told me that the comm was in receipt of considerable derogatory info abt CIA from various people, including former employees. Said he wanted to talk w/ me abt these things and that in no event would any steps be taken, re this info, w/out 1st discussing it w/ me.

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9 July 1953 -- several conversations occurred today re McCarthy's request that Wm Bundy appear before the Senate Investigating Subcomm. See Memo for the Record this date. at approxi. 5:00 p.m. I was handed a subpoena by members of Senate Investigating Comm staff to appear before the comm. on 10 July. Discussed this w/ DCI, Amory, Kirlpatrick, Houston, and Edwards, w/ no final determination reached but w/ the concensus of opinion being that I should not appear.

[there are no notes for 10, 11, or 12 July, Fri-Sun]

Pforzheimer Memo for the Record, 15 July 1953

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talks w/ unnamed staff member of a Senate Comm [this is filed in Sen Judiciary Comm, Immigration Subcomm, so presumably the staff member served on that subcomm] My source tells me that the McCarthy people (presumably Cohn) feel that they have caught me in a barefaced lie re the Bundy leave in that Bundy had been seen walking around CIA corridors that morning, but that I had personally called Dulles at White House and gotten him to take action. (This is probably a distortion of the fact that they knew Dulles not available that morning becuz of an NSC meeting.)

I got the gen. impression that the McCarthy people not happy over the outcome of the recent happenings and were not very favorably disposed toward CIA

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McCarthy to Dulles, 16 July 1953

as you recall, we met the other day and decided to have our staff work out a formula whereby our comm. could get the info to which Cong is entitled w/out in any way endangering the security operations of CIA.

Pending that accomplishment, I am submitting to you the following info we have received re WILLIAM PUTNAM BUNDY. Please let us know if these alleged facts are true:

a. that Bundy contributed a total of \$400 toward defense of Hiss

b. that he explained his contributions subsequently as follows: that he felt it imperative that Hiss be freed of any charge having to do w/ com. or espionage; that he felt he should aid in clearing Hiss for sake of Demo Party; that he contributed to help his father-in-law, Acheson

c. that Bundy was active in at least one organization which had been officially named as a front doing the work of the Com Party.

Please ascertain the validity of these allegations. "If these facts are true, then I am sure you will agree that he should not beholding a top job in the Central Intell A." I would also appreciate knowing exactly what Bundy's duties are for CIA

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Dulles to McCarthy, 22 July 1953

in response to McCarthy's letter of 16 July
The record of previous clearance procedures and loyalty and security investigations shows:

- a. that Bundy disclosed his \$400 contribution at the time of his application for employment w/ CIA in Mar 1951
- b. that the reasons, as given by Bundy, for this contribution are not in accord, in substantial respects, w/ those in your letter. Bundy's case will be reevaluated under Pres's Execu. Order 10450, pursuant to directive from Civil Service Commission dated 9 July. Further comment on this pt should await this review, the outcome of which will be communicated to your subcom, pursuant to our conversation of 14 July.
- c. that Bundy, in summer 1f 1940 while working in Lib of Congress, joined the United Public Workers of America union, attended one meeting and resigned his membership after 2 mo. Allegations re com. influence in the union made some 6 yrs after Bundy's resignation. The record does not indicate that Bundy has ever belonged to any other organization which might fall w/in scope of your 3rd Q. Our files further indicate that the 3 general allegations you mention were subj to complete field investigation, personal interview and subsequent review and favorable determination

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by CIA Loyalty Board and the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission.

since he joined CIA in June 1951, Bundy has been attached to CIA's Office of National Estimates

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Dulles to McCarthy, 1 Aug 1953

in response to McCarthy's letter of 27 July



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McCarthy to Dulles, 3 Aug 1953

in reply to Dulles' letter of Aug. 1

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Memo for DD/I, from Otto E. Guthe (Assis Dir, Research and Reports), July 28, 1953, Subj: Current Tactic of the Senate Permanent Sub comm on Investigations

subcomm staff members have made recent moves portending an inquiry into global illicit E-W trade. OSD and DMS have already rec'd several inquiries from these staffers.

According to one staffer, McCarthy is the driving force behind these inquiries.

The Executive Comm of DEAC held a special meeting on July 23, where it decided to scoop McCarthy by an advance re-lease to the public of info on illicit E-W trade. "The text will emphasize the success of international cooperation over the past several yrs in improving and enforcing trade controls." Stassen will be asked to haold a press conf w/in a day after the release (probably Aug 3) and to air the entire subject

McCarthy also making troubling enquiries re E-W
trade + re govt printing press. I have not gotten
many notes on these topics, but should probably pursue
further if ~~they~~ I do an article for Studies.

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Dulles to McCarthy, Oct 22, 1953

re McCarthy subcomm investigation into allegations that classified material can be readily seen in GPO by employees w/ connections to communist party. Dulles asks that McCarthy acknowledge in the printed hearinss that no classified CIA material is handled in the GPO plant in Q.

"It has occurred to me that in the course of your investigations you may possbily run across info concerning this Agency or its personnel. Naturally, I would appreciate it if you would make such info available to me so we can take a thorough look at such matters."

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Pforzheimer Memo for the Record ("A"), *16 Nov. 1953*

tells of conversation w/ friendly source on staff of
McCarthy's committee

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Pforzheimer Memo for the Record, 16 Nov 1953 (B)

tells of chance afternoon encounter w/ another member of staff of McCarthy comm. In contrast to his luncheon meeting, this one interlarded w/ many charges vs. CIA

Lawrence R. Houston, "Executive Privilege in the Field of Intelligence,"
Studies in Intelligence, II (fall 1958),
61-74

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

in 1954, Senate Comm on Government Operations interested in inquiring as to certain facts relating to the security status of an Agency employee (not named). But counsel for the Comm and Gen Counsel of CIA agreed on a compromise and the employee was never questioned by the Comm

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Pforzheimer Memo for the Record, 25 Jan 1954

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McCarthy subcomm able to obtain CIA documents due to contacts w/in CIA.

"Source [unnamed] indicated that the gist of the McCarthy attack on CIA, when it came, would not run toward Communism in CIA but rather toward looseness of handling of funds, which is of course well w/in the McCarthy Comm jurisdiction."

source also believes the McCarthy staff has certain tape recordings obtained by "bugs".

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Daily Log

~~McCarthy~~ --try OLC ~~McCarthy~~, 1 Apr 1954

4. Frank Cotter of the staff of the Jt Comm on Atomic E has informed that thru Cotter's sources, presumably on the McCarthy Comm. Staff, he has learned that once McCarthy gets thru w/ the Army, he plans to take on CIA

25X1

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14 Apr 1954 -- DCI met w/ Robt Kennedy, Minority Counsel of the Senate Investigations Subcomm. Kennedy told WLP that there was considerable feeling on the comm, including its Democratic members, that they should have an answer to some of the charges vs CIA presently in hands of the comm. staff

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5 May 1954 --I ran into Roy Cohn, Counsel to the Senate Investigating Comm, this morning, and he reminded me that CIA was a 'juicy' target for investigation.

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Pforzheimer Memo for the Record, 25 May 1954, Subj: Meeting
w/ Mr. Don Surine of the staff of Senator McCarthy

rambling catalogue of charges vs. CIA

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11 June 1954

In the McCarthy-Army dispute, CIA mentioned by McCarthy in a colloque w/ Sen. Symington. McCarthy stated that he was currently conducting a preliminary investigation of the 'very, very dangerous situation in CIA.' McCarthy credited Symington w/ his part in avoiding a public squabble over CIA in the past

16 June 1954 -- during Army-McCarthy hearings today, Mc Carthy severely attacked CIA as com. infiltrated and indicated his desire for an investigation of the Agency.

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Exercpts from Army-McCarthy Hearings, June 16, 1954:

McCarthy, speaking to Sen. Symington: ". . . you say th CIA was the successor of the OSS. I believe that anyone in Washington, including Senator Symington, I believe will agree that the Oss was the most heavily infiltrated by Communists of any organization that we've ever had in this country. There is no doubt abt it. Now how many of those were blanketed into the CIA, I don't know. But in view of the fact that you brought up the Q of OSS, I want to make it clear that I am no admirer of the Communists in OSS. . . . I think it is extremely unfortunate, however, that we have blanketed many of those Communists into the CIA. That the Senator knows, the House Comm headed by, I believe, it was Mr. O'Konski,--I'm not sure--pointed out that Communists from Army Intell were quietly shifted over to CIA. I want to say, Senator, that I think the worst situation that we now have is not in the mil, it is in the CIA . . ."

"I would say that it is no favor to the CIA not to expose those who may be traitors even though the number may be a very, vary small percentage."

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Dulles to McCarthy, 7 July 1954

during the recently concluded hearings of your subcomm, you made several references to alleged communist infiltration of CIA. If you have evidence to support these allegations, please give it to me at earliest possible moment.

any unfavorable info re any CIA employee requires immediate action and should not await the report of the Task Force

Mark Clerk

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27 ~~Sept~~ 1954

The Watkins Senate Select Comm to Study Censure Charges Against Sen. McCarthy had rendered its report. The Select Comm eliminated the following charges submitted by Sen. Flanders:

a. "He has proclaimed publicly his intention to subpoena citizens of good reputation and then never called them" (including Wm P. Bundy), becuz this charge, even if fully supported and established, would not in the judgment of the Comm sonstitute consurable conduct;

b. "He has repeatedly used verbal subpoenas of questionable legality. (Tried to prevent State Department granting visa to William P. Bundy on ground that he was under 'oral subpoena')," becuz Comm felt that the charge would be of doubtful validity as a basis for censure and the charge would have required more time to investigaye than was practically available to the Comm

c. "He has announced investigations prematurely, subsequently dropping these investigations so that the

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Q whether there was ever any serious intent to pursue them may be justifiably raised, along w/ the inevitable conclusion that publicity was the only purpose. (Central Intell A, Beria, and so forth)," becuz the charge too vague and uncertain or too broad in apparent scope to justify formal hearings.

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Memorandum on Watkins Committee Report on Charges Against
Senator McCarthy, Nov 4, 1954, by [redacted] (see below)

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McCarthy argued that govt employees not only were permitted, but had a duty, to provide him w/ classified info, and that such info "could not be insulated from exposure by a rubber stamp."

the cong. comm. ~~[Investigating McCarthy? I'm not sure]~~ concluded that Cong had the right to classified info provided orderly and formal application were made to the responsible heads of depts or to the White Huse. The Pres cannot deny duly constituttet cong. comms any info, even tho classified, if it discloses corruption or subversion in the executive branch. ~~[This document mentions McCarthy's defense before the Mundt comm. find out when that was]~~

the comm reiterated its position that Cong has an absolute right to classified documents if proper request is made.

~~this from an undated memo, th [redacted] ssing, STAT
found in Job 57-273--signed b [redacted],
Assis Gen Counsel~~

Numerous dealings in 1954-55 w/ staff of the Senate
Internal Security Subcomm. of the Judiciary Comm.

Key staff members: J. Sourine
Rbt. McManus

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-vol. 5, p. 64

Bedell Smith DCI-1 has material on McCarthyism I should see.

McCarthy alleged that CIA harbored subversives.

Doolittle Committee in 1954 reported that CIA was exercising care to insure the loyalty of its personnel.

When Clark Task Force set up, McCarthy gave Clark material he believed incriminated CIA. Clark found it worthless.

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[redacted] on Heims
Dulles waged a 2-pronged defense of CIA vs. McCarthy: he sacrificed some who were too vulnerable to accusations of being security risks; and he defended others more vaguely charged w/ suspicious backgrds.

ex. of the 1st category: [redacted] Wisner's chief deputy in OPC (chk. this before citing his position). 25X1
[redacted] had been arrested by D.C. police on charge of loitering for immoral purposes. ~~Confidential~~ McCarthy got hold of this and alluded to [redacted] in his Wheeling speech. 25X1
Confronted, [redacted] frankly admitted his homosexuality and argued he was not susceptible to blackmail becuz he was openly admitting this. 25X1
Dulles inclined to keep him on, but bowed to threat that McCarthy would make hay of this.

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to defend CIA vs. McCarthy, Dulles told Kirkpatrick to oversee CIA's security investigations.

Dulles also appointed Helms to head a small comm. to monitor and counter McCarthyite attempts to penetrate CIA w/ informers.

And Dulles held a meeting w/ 600 senior CIA officers and told them CIA would protect any officer singled out by McCarthy; no CIA officer would be allowed to testify before McCarthy's comm; and that he would fire anybody who went to McCarthy for any reason w/out Dulles's permission.

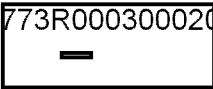
when?
just M'Carthy, or
M'Carthy as well?
Munson + Hunt?

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as a result of Allen Dulles's fair and stout resistance to
McCarthyism, morale in CIA remained very high.
this may have also recruited able recruits from Amer uni-
versities

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Dulles's stand vs. McCarthy won new respect for the CIA and contributed significantly to its reputation as a liberal institution.

Dulles openly challenged McCarthy's attacks on CIA--had Senate subpoenas quashed, and demanded that McCarthy hand over any evidence of com. influence or subversion w/in CIA.

McCarthy'sson backed off.

virtually the only govt agency that had successfully resisted the attacks of the Wisc. senator.

CIA seen as an institution that fostered indep. and free thinking

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