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"MEETING THE COMMUNIST MENACE"

ADDRESS

BY

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Nearly a year ago, at President Eisenhower's request, I reported to the American people on the threat of Communist infiltration here at home and what the Federal Government is doing about it. I said that the menace of communism was very real; that it would be foolhardy to minimize the dangers it posed; that we should not have exaggerated fears of those dangers; that our Government was well aware of them and was meeting them in an orderly and effective way.

We have made a great deal of progress in the past year -- progress which I shall outline to you today along with new problems which have arisen. But it is clear from the intelligence information provided to me by the FBI that we cannot lower our guard. We cannot relax our vigilance. The dangers -- even many of the same problems -- still exist, because of the very nature of the communist conspiracy. It is a worldwide plot, directed by scheming, ruthless men who would bend the whole world to their selfish will. They cannot rest, they cannot succeed, until they have enslaved all the world. When repulsed in one area, they try another. When one plot is exposed, they hatch another.

The hard core of communists in this country are cast in the same mold. They are willing to devote their lives to destroying in this country the very freedoms which allow them to speak and write and act.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is like an iceberg. Only a small part can be seen, but the bulk is beneath the surface. The exposed part of the communist conspiracy in this country is shrinking but there continues to be much activity beneath the surface. The members of the Communist Party resort to secret meeting places, secret schools, even secret symbols or

numbers in place of names. They use an Aesopian language in describing their aims and functions, an admittedly protective form of expression which most of us consider just plain double-talk.

The Communist Party line has not varied much in the past year. The communists still use any available issue or incident to villify the United States and glorify the Soviet Union. They oppose re-arming West Germany; they advocate admission of Red China to the United Nations. At home, they seek repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954. They advocate merger of communist-dominated unions with others affiliated with the CIO or AFL. Stress is laid on infiltrating non-Communist groups to advance communist objectives, on penetrating basic industries and on recruiting members, particularly Negroes, youths and industrial workers. They have attempted to step up Red propaganda. Last fall, for example, they distributed more than half a million copies of a pamphlet carrying the Party program. That pamphlet was entitled innocently enough. It was called "The American Way to Jobs, Peace and Democracy."

But I can report to you that the communists are having their troubles, too. They are not having much luck recruiting, or even maintaining their membership. We know their fund-raising drives are falling short. They are hard-pressed to keep an active leadership intact and functioning in the face of government actions. They have set up their own internal security apparatus to offset infiltration by the FBI. That apparatus has not

only been ineffectual, it has spread fear and distrust within communist ranks, and created disorder in Party communications. The Party's schooling program is dwindling. Its largest school, the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York, has been disrupted by the Subversive Activities Control Board hearings. These have resulted in a recommendation the school be required to register as a communist front.

The SACB hearing examiner held that the School was established by the Communists to teach both communist ideas and work. The School trustees have been trusted Party members. The communist organization supplied funds to run the school and provided quotas of students. Instruction ranged from Marxist theory to such more practical subjects as recruiting Party members.

Similarly, proceedings brought before the Board of the Department of Justice against the Labor Youth League has hampered communist efforts to recruit members and spread hate propaganda among our youth. After other lengthy hearings, the Board has ordered the Labor Youth League to register with the Attorney General as a Communist Front: so the public may know its officers, its financial support and the objects to which its resources are devoted.

Evidence shows that the Labor Youth League has never deviated from the Communist Party line. It can't, because it has been supported financially and otherwise by the Communist Party; persons who directed and led youth activities of the Party became the leaders and officers of the League. The evidence showed that these persons were subject to communist discipline and that the League personnel and funds have been devoted consistently to furthering the aims of the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, we have continued to strike at the communist conspirators with a number of other legal weapons. Another 250 subversive aliens have been deported or ordered deported since last April 9. Six persons have been convicted of lying to the Government about their communist affiliations and another six indicted for the same offense. Four persons were convicted of harboring fugitive Communist Party leader Robert Thompson who was himself jailed with an extra penalty for jumping bond.

The Smith Act, which makes it a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of the Government, remains a most effective legal weapon to strike at the leadership. Nine Party leaders and organizers were convicted at Philadelphia and five others at St. Louis in the past year. Seven were indicted at Denver; eight at New Haven, and 11 in Puerto Rico. Four leaders have been apprehended on indictments under the membership count of the Smith Act. One of these four has become the first person to be convicted for membership in the Party, knowing that its aim was overthrow of the Government. He was Claude Lightfoot of Chicago.

Lightfoot, as our evidence showed, was a member and leader of the Communist Party for 20 years. In recent years he had joined other leaders in the Party underground. He was indicted last May 14, apprehended by vigilant agents of the FBI in June, tried and convicted in January and sentenced in February to 5 years in jail. At his trial, his own counsel conceded that Lightfoot was a member of the Party; conceded that Lightfoot had held offices ranging from local organizer to alternate member of the National Committee, the communists' highest governing body. He conceded that Lightfoot understands communism and has taught its meanings in classes and in writings. Lightfoot told students in a secret Party School in 1947 that the Party would spill blood, if necessary, in carrying out its objective of overthrowing our government.

Two new laws are added deterrents to those who would play the communists' game.

The first of these is the so-called immunity statute. One case under it already is before the courts. It involves William Ullman, a man identified in sworn testimony before a Congressional Committee as a member of a World War II communist spy ring. Ullman was called before a grand jury and refused to testify. Under the new law, a Federal Judge was asked to grant him immunity from self-incrimination and order him to testify. The Judge did so but Ullman persisted in his refusal. The Judge sentenced him to six months in jail for contempt of court. Ullman has served notice of appeal.

The second tool comes in the Communist Control Act of 1954. It utilizes machinery of the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine if communists have subverted a legitimate business or labor organization and to enable members to free themselves from such domination.

It is no secret that the Department of Justice is reviewing and up-dating files on various unions which were thrown out of the CIO sometime ago on the ground that they had fallen under communist domination. When those reviews are complete, we will bring whatever proceedings are warranted by current facts.

Meanwhile, some of the unions which might be involved have made moves to do one or more of three things:

1. Take action to cleanse themselves of communist domination, which is exactly what Congress wants them to do.

2. Attempt to conceal such domination.

3. Seek affiliation with other unions which are members of the AFL or CIO and thus gain exemption from the Act. This, recall, is one of the new facets of the communist line and responsible leaders of the major unions have warned their member unions to look very cautiously at such affiliation proposals and to insist on certain safeguards to insure that they will not be allowing themselves to be infiltrated through affiliation.

Perhaps the heaviest blow which this Administration has dealt the communist conspiracy has been to dry up sources and potential sources of information in government, to virtually eliminate the opportunity of setting up a Fifth Column within the Government. This has been done by establishing a realistic employee security program.

The Civil Service Act of 1912 established minimum procedures for dismissal of permanent employees for the good of the service, but left much discretion to agency heads.

During the early years of World War II several attempts were made by Congress to obtain better security precautions in the Executive branch. Summary removal powers for national security purposes were enacted late in 1942.

Then, in 1947, Executive Order 9835 initiated an employee loyalty program. But, only when an employee was held to be currently disloyal was any action generally taken under that Order until

1951 when it was broadened to include reasonable doubt of an employee's loyalty. It made no allowance for the fact a person might be a risk to our national security even though his loyalty was unassailable.

Congress, in 1950, passed Public Law 733, after pointing out that persons subject to blackmail, those who talked too much and those with unsatisfactory associations or habits, could constitute a serious security danger as well as traitors. During hearings, one high official testified that "a single act of a disloyal person and a single act of an indiscreet employee can do equal damage to our security."

When President Eisenhower took office, he established the present Employee Security Program to carry out the purposes of the 1950 law enacted so overwhelmingly by Congress. As the law demands, the head of each department or agency is made responsible for effective security within his department or agency. The Order requires investigation, in varying degrees, of all appointees to Federal positions. It establishes criteria for judging whether employment is consistent with security. It requires suspension and, after review, termination of employment of those deemed security risks. And, right here, let me quote a little of Public Law 733. It says:

"... to the extent that such agency head determines that the interests of the national security permit, the employee concerned shall be notified of the reasons for his suspension and within 30 days after such notification any such person

shall have an opportunity to submit any statements or affidavits to the official designated by the head of the agency concerned to show why he should be reinstated or restored to duty.

"The agency head concerned may, following such investigation and review as he deems necessary, terminate the employment of such suspended civilian officer or employee whenever he shall determine such termination necessary or advisable in the interest of the national security of the United States, and such determination by the agency head concerned shall be conclusive and final."

The law, and the machinery under the Order, provide for written statements of charges to suspended employees, an opportunity for them to answer, a hearing upon the employee's request, a review of the case by the agency head or his representative and a written statement of final decision.

An example of the effectiveness of the employee security program is the case of Joseph Sidney Petersen, Jr. He was a trusted employee of the National Security Agency, one of our most sensitive agencies. In the course of a security check, allegations arose which could have led to his dismissal under the Executive Order. In the ensuing investigation, information was obtained indicating Petersen might have illegally in his possession certain highly classified documents. Under the Order, the investigation immediately was referred to the FBI. Petersen admitted having stored such

documents in his apartment, where they were recovered, and also admitted furnishing contents of the documents to representatives of another government. He was arrested and indicted on three counts of the espionage laws. He finally entered a plea of guilty to one count and was sentenced to seven years in prison.

The tremendous job of checking the 2,300,000 federal workers is almost completed. Ahead, then, the big task will be only to screen applicants for government jobs. This Administration is dedicated to a policy not only of getting security risks out of Government, but also we propose to keep them out of the Government as long as we are in office.

As a result of all this progress in the fight against communism, resulting from our new Internal Security Division under Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins, the communists themselves have recently made a major shift in the emphasis they place on their various programs. It is becoming increasingly clear that the current violent attack against Government witnesses and against the FBI's confidential sources of information has many of its roots in a communist effort to stem the successful campaign against subversion.

The Communist Party has sought for years to uncover, to smear, to destroy the informant system of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Communists call the FBI "The enemy." The Party's "Manual of Organization" published in 1935 discussed how to "safeguard the Party organization against stool pigeons" and "how to expose stool pigeons." Those "stool pigeons," included anybody who worked for the FBI, who provided information to the FBI or who testified in court against the

Communist Party. Other articles in Communist publications have repeated this attack year after year.

A young man named Harvey Matusow has become the current focal point of the attack. Harvey Matusow testified for the Government in two criminal prosecutions. He also appeared before the SACB and before congressional committees.

Matusow now claims that virtually everything he said in those appearances was a lie. The Department of Justice, two Federal Courts, a grand jury and a Senate Committee have been investigating and one case has come to a conclusion which I believe is well worth reporting today.

Fourteen months ago, Clinton E. Jencks, an official of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, was convicted of filing a false affidavit to the National Labor Relations Board in that he denied being a member of the Communist Party. Seven witnesses, including Matusow, testified concerning Jencks' communist connections. Jencks' himself, when confronted with Matusow's testimony by a Senate Committee, invoked the Fifth Amendment and to this day has not denied, under oath, any of Matusow's testimony.

Despite this, Matusow filed an affidavit in the United States District Court at El Paso, Texas, where Jencks was convicted. Matusow claimed in that affidavit that his original testimony was false. Jencks simultaneously filed a motion for a new trial, based on the affidavit.

District Judge Robert E. Thomason, who had presided over the original trial, held hearings for a week on the Jencks' motion.

Presented in evidence at the hearing was a tape recording made

by the publisher of Matusow's recent book of a conversation between himself and Matusow. In that conversation, Matusow declared of his original testimony:

"I knew Jencks was a Party member and I said so."

Then Matusow added:

"I can't say here that Jencks wasn't a party member after he signed the affidavit (to the NLRB) because I know that he was."

And, yet Matusow went into court and tried to convince the Judge that Jencks was not a communist. Evidence also showed that the original book outline prepared by Matusow did not even mention Jencks, the El Paso trial or false testimony in any criminal prosecution. The Government showed that material prepared by Matusow differed markedly with the finally published version in other respects and that the Mine-Mill Union of which Jencks was an official advanced several thousand dollars to the publishing house in connection with the book, some of which in turn was advanced to Matusow, before and after he signed his affidavit claiming he had lied.

Judge Thomason denied a new trial, stating that "there has been nothing developed" in the hearing "in the way of evidence or testimony that has caused the Court to have any doubt" that Jencks was guilty as charged.

The Judge then ordered Matusow before him and declared:

"By recanting your former testimony, given in this court, which I believe in substance was true, you have, in my opinion, deliberately, designedly and maliciously attempted to obstruct the justice of this court."

Judge Thomason found Matusow in contempt of court. Last Wednesday, he sentenced Matusow to three years in jail. I think the statement Judge Thomason made at that time sums up that phase of the Matusow case as well as is possible at this time. Let me read it to you:

"I am firmly convinced from the evidence of the witnesses, including that of Matusow, not only that the evidence offered, in support of the motion, is not worthy of belief, but that Matusow alone or with others, wilfully and nefariously and for the purpose of defrauding this Court and subverting the true course of the administration of justice and obstructing justice, schemed to and actually used this court of law as a forum for the purpose of calling public attention to a book, purportedly written by Matusow, entitled 'False Witness'.

"This Court finds the fact to be that as early as September 21, 1954, responsible officials of the IUMSW under the guise of seeking evidence in Jencks' behalf, subsidized the writing and publication of this book by authorizing the expenditure of union funds for that purpose. This at a time when, from the evidence, Matusow had no intention of writing any such book as was here exhibited or of changing his testimony given in the Jencks trial. I find that this subsidization was deliberately done the more easily to persuade Matusow to lend himself to the perpetration of a fraud on this Court by means of the filing of his recanting affidavit and his testimony given herein. I find that Matusow wilfully and with full knowledge of the consequences, lent himself to this evil scheme for money and for notoriety.

"It is my firm conviction, moreover, that this hearing was deliberately brought on for the purpose of attacking the judgment of this Court, attacking the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Justice Department, in a carefully thought out scheme to generally discredit by these means the testimony of undercover agents and former Communist Party members who give evidence against the Communist Party of the United States and its adherents. Matusow, by his action, conduct and testimony, had, and done in my presence during this period, obviously made an effort to convert these proceedings into a trial of the Department of Justice rather than of the issues before this Court. Nothing that Matusow has offered in his defense has persuaded me otherwise."

As you see, while the fight against communism goes on, the tactics of these diabolical conspirators change. But the important thing is that we are making great progress in our fight against them.