

# S. Res 301 - McCarthy

16392

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - SENATE

December 2

I.

Let us raise the level of public service and enhance the confidence of our people in those chosen to serve them.

Let us use free speech, not abuse it, for the vigorous exchange of ideas.

Let us make patriotism a living thing, and not a cloak of self-righteousness or a mantle for ourselves alone to the exclusion of other loyal citizens who may differ with our views.

Let us find a common ground of unity in this country stemming from the strength of our just laws, our representative institutions, and the worthy traditions upon which this country was founded and upon which it has become great.

If we do these things we may look to the future with renewed strength, we will prevent the weakness that comes when we fight to destroy each other, and we will make the resources of freedom the firm foundation upon which the United States of America will stand against all its enemies and all the forces that may be arrayed against us.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have already been ordered. The question is on agreeing to the resolution, as amended.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Abel	Franc	Mansfield
Aiken	Fulbright	Martin
Anderson	George	McCarthy
Barrett	Gillette	McClellan
Deall	Goldwater	Millikin
Hennett	Green	Monroney
Bridges	Hayden	Morse
Brown	Hendrickson	Mundt
Murke	Hennings	Murray
Dush	Hickenlooper	Neely
Butler	Hill	O'Mahoney
Kyrd	Holland	Pastore
Carlson	Hruska	Fayne
Case	Humphrey	Potter
Chavez	Ives	Furtell
Clements	Jackson	Robertson
Cooper	Jenner	Russell
Cordon	Johnson, Colo.	Saltonstall
Gatten	Johnson, Tex.	Schoepfel
Daniel, S. C.	Johnson, S. C.	Scott
Daniel, Tex.	Kefauver	Smith, Maine
Dirksen	Kerr	Smith, N. J.
Douglas	Kilgore	Sparkman
Duff	Knowland	Stennis
Dworshak	Kuchel	Symington
Eastland	Langer	Thye
Hillender	Lehman	Watkins
Ervin	Long	Welker
Ferguson	Magnuson	Williams
Flanders	Malone	Young

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the resolution as amended. The yeas and nays having been ordered, the Secretary will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCARTHY (when his name was called). Present.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], and the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] are absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] has a pair with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] has a pair with the Senator from

Florida [Mr. SMATHERS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] would each vote "nay," while the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] is absent by leave of the Senate because of illness.

I announce further that on this vote the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE] is paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee would vote "yea," and the Senator from Ohio would vote "nay."

I announce also that on this vote the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] is paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART]. If present and voting, the Senator from Florida would vote "yea," and the Senator from Indiana would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 22, as follows:

YEAS--67		
Abel	Franc	McClellan
Aiken	Fulbright	Monroney
Anderson	George	Morse
Deall	Gillette	Murray
Hennett	Green	Neely
Burke	Hayden	O'Mahoney
Bush	Hendrickson	Pastore
Byrd	Hennings	Payne
Carlson	Hill	Potter
Case	Holland	Robertson
Chavez	Humphrey	Russell
Clements	Ives	Saltonstall
Cooper	Jackson	Scott
Cordon	Jenner	Smith, Maine
Gatten	Johnson, Colo.	Smith, N. J.
Daniel, S. C.	Johnson, Tex.	Sparkman
Daniel, Tex.	Kefauver	Stennis
Dirksen	Kerr	Symington
Douglas	Kilgore	Thye
Duff	Knowland	Watkins
Dworshak	Kuchel	Williams
Eastland	Langer	Young
Hillender	Lehman	
Ervin	Long	
Ferguson	Magnuson	
Flanders	Mansfield	

NAYS--22		
Barrett	Hickenlooper	Millikin
Bridges	Hruska	Mundt
Brown	Jenner	Purtell
Butler	Knowland	Schoepfel
Cordon	Kuchel	Welker
Dirksen	Langer	Young
Dworshak	Malone	
Goldwater	Martin	

NOT VOTING--6		
Bricker	Gore	Smathers
Capehart	Kennedy	Wiley

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1  
McCarthy

So the resolution (S. Res. 301), as amended, was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. MCCARTHY, failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct as a Senator and affected the honor of the Senate and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. MCCARTHY, is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned.

Sec. 2. The Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. MCCARTHY, in writing to the chairman of the Select Committee To Study Censure Charges (Mr. WATKINS) after the select committee had issued its report and before the report was presented to the Senate charging three members of the select committee with "deliberate deception" and "fraud" for failure to disqualify themselves; in stating to the press on November 4, 1954, that the special Senate session that was to begin November 8, 1954, was a "lynch party"; in repeatedly describing this special Senate session as a "lynch bee" in a nationwide television and radio show on November 7, 1954; in stating to the public press on November 13, 1954, that the chairman of the select committee (Mr. WATKINS) was guilty of "the most unusual, most cowardly thing I've heard of" and stating further: "I expected he would be afraid to answer the questions, but didn't think he'd be stupid enough to make a public statement"; and in characterizing the said committee as the "unwitting handmaidens," "involuntary agent," and "attorneys in fact" of the Communist Party and in charging that the said committee in writing its report "imitated Communist methods—that it distorted, misrepresented, and omitted in its effort to manufacture a plausible rationalization" in support of its recommendations to the Senate, which characterizations and charges were contained in a statement released to the press and inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 10, 1954, acted contrary to senatorial ethics and tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate, and to impair its dignity; and such conduct is hereby condemned.

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the resolution was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I move to lay the motion of the Senator from Utah on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from New York.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I wish to address the Chair to propound a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from New Hampshire desires to know whether or not in the resolution just passed the word "censure" is mentioned?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Answering the inquiry of the Senator from New Hampshire, the Chair will say the word "censure" does not appear in the body of the resolution.

The title will be appropriately amended, and the clerk will read the title as amended.

The Chief Clerk. Resolution relating to the conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. MCCARTHY.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, another parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. BRIDGES. Then the resolution which has been agreed to is not a censure resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has not stated a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from New Hampshire will ask the Chair if, after the elimination of the word "cen-

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sure" in the amendment of the title, the resolution as adopted concerns the censure of a United States Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has stated the same inquiry in different words. The resolution does concern the conduct of a Senator, and the Senator from New Hampshire or other Senators may place upon the resolution such interpretation as they desire.

## SENATOR FROM NEVADA

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, the Senate has before it a privileged matter relating to the credentials of a United States Senator.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The credentials will be read.

The credentials were read by the legislative clerk, and ordered to be placed on file, as follows:

STATE OF NEVADA,  
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

To the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that at a general election held in the State of Nevada on Tuesday, the 2d day of November 1954, ALAN BIBLE was duly elected by the qualified electors of the State of Nevada a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the unexpired term of United States Senator Patrick A. McCarran, deceased, and having received the highest number of votes cast for said office of Senator, as appears by the certificate of the duly constituted and qualified board of canvassers now on file in the office of the secretary of state at Carson City, Nev., he was elected for the term beginning upon his qualifying as said Senator and ending on the 3d day of January 1957.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Nevada to be affixed at Carson City, this 1st day of December, in the year of our Lord 1954.

CHARLES H. RUSSELL,  
Governor.

By the Governor:

[SEAL]

JOHN KOONTZ,  
Secretary of State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator-elect will present himself at the desk, the oath of office will be administered to him.

Mr. BIBLE, escorted by Mr. MALONE and Mr. BROWN, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President, and was subscribed by the new Senator.

[Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

## PERSONAL STATEMENT

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, with the exception of a few paragraphs of one speech, everything that I have said and done from last March until the present time was a matter of deep necessity and deep thought. There are a few paragraphs of one speech which I have come to regret very deeply, nothing else; but I do regret those paragraphs very deeply.

I should like first to extend my apologies to the Senate, and to the junior Senator from Wisconsin, who is not present. I told him that I hoped he could stay. I should like to do what can be done in the way of clearing the record. That will be difficult, but I am assuming that there are still a number of unbound volumes of the RECORD of this session of the 83d Congress, and I desire unanimous consent that I may consult with the majority and the minority leaders as to the possibility of handling the RECORD in some way, and that the Senate may give them power to act. For that I ask unanimous consent.

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, first I should like to ask why the Senator from Vermont did not apologize to the junior Senator from Wisconsin before this late hour.

Mr. FLANDERS. As for the time for apologizing, that matter lies within my own control.

Mr. WELKER. Then, Mr. President, I object to the request for unanimous consent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is heard.

Mr. FLANDERS. Then, Mr. President—that having been prevented—I should like to make a further comment: I trust that Senators will from time to time read over the speeches I have made, commencing with the very friendly one I made in March, which I hoped might result in some change of thought or action on the part of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. However, that did not occur.

I now end that part of the discussion; I have mentioned it only in order to indicate that my relations with him and my thoughts of him have not been personally unfriendly, but I have been seriously disturbed by the course of events of which he has been the center.

Now I wish to comment on the fact that this morning the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER] asked me certain questions with regard to my relations with Mr. Lattimore and with others. I asked him whether he would put those questions in writing; but he took my note, crumpled it up, and left the Chamber—from which I conclude that his only interest was in asking the questions, not in obtaining the answers.

I wish to say that I have my Lattimore file with me, and will be glad to show it to any constituted authority, either of this body or of the administration.

Furthermore, he asked me certain questions with regard to my relations with Mr. White, of the Treasury Department. I do not remember the others about whom he asked me; their names will appear in the copies of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which will be available tomorrow.

I may say I played a part in the announced judgment of the then Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, and of the then negotiator for the banking system, Mr. Randolph Burgess. I played an important part in making amendments to or suggestions concerning the

bills for the Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which led to their final passage in the House and in the Senate. I do not remember, for the moment, that I was actively engaged in conversation on that subject with Mr. Harry Dexter White. It is not impossible that I was. If so, that is, to the best of my recollection, my only connection with the gentleman.

I thank the Senate for its attention.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, if the Senator from Vermont asked me to write out the questions and if he gave me a slip and I crumpled it up, I apologize. I do not recall his handing me a slip; I do not recall crumpling up such a slip.

But the questions I asked are in the official RECORD of the Senate, and could be obtained at any time by the Senator from Vermont. All he needs to do is go to the Official Reporter, Mr. Murphy, and he will give him the questions. If the Senator from Vermont does not have them and if he is not interested enough to go get them, I will repeat them, or I will give him a copy of the remarks I made this morning.

I did ask him to answer the questions before the final vote was taken on the censure resolution that he started; but that request of mine was not complied with.

I do not know what the answers of the Senator from Vermont will be to all the questions. But I am certain that this body and various committees of this body will be interested in his answers; and we will expect his answers to come in due time.

Mr. President, let me say that this has been a very, very sad affair. Many things are still unanswered; for example, we have had no report on the mail cover and the telephone cover incidents.

From the parliamentary inquiry which was made, I find that the word "censure" does not appear in the resolution, as finally adopted. I also find that reference to General Zwicker does not appear in the resolution, as finally adopted.

Mr. President, someone has said that apparently old soldiers never die; they just fade away, with resolutions of censure in their hip pockets.

Many unkind things have been said here. I predict this is not the last situation of this sort the Senate will face, as a result of the precedent which has been established.

As an example, yesterday the Senator from Vermont said the Senator from Indiana had taken leave of his intelligence. I wish I could say the same for the Senator from Vermont.

So we are anxiously awaiting the answers of the Senator from Vermont to these questions. I think they may shed a great light upon what has happened on the floor of the Senate; and I am sure that the properly constituted committees will give the Senator from Vermont an invitation, or will give him a subpoena if he does not come forward with the answers.