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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Truman Aids Church Rebuilding

By Drew Pearson

I telephoned Harry S. Truman in Independence, Mo. He got on the line without any palaver or ceremony or any apparent memory that he and I had ever had words. I asked him if he would serve on a committee — "America's Conscience Fund" — to collect money to rebuild the Birmingham church and other churches and homes that have been bombed in Birmingham.



Pearson

Mr. Truman didn't hesitate. He accepted immediately. He remarked, after we had chatted for a minute, that he almost seemed busier than when he was President. He is working on some historical TV films for Columbia Pictures which won't be ready until next spring.

Knowing something of Mr. Truman's intimate knowledge of history, I predict they will be a great contribution.

"Maybe we can do some good regarding these bombings and the trouble in Birmingham," I said, as we concluded the conversation.

"I know we can do some good," said the former President of the United States.

Birmingham Tension

The Rev. Mr. John H. Cross has been pastor of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham a relatively short time, having been transferred there from a church in the

suburbs of Richmond. When I phoned him he had been trying to assess the damage to the church and review its history.

It was built 54 years ago, he said, but it was impossible to estimate the cost of repair because the FBI was still checking fingerprints and looking for clues and understandably would let no one inside.

I asked Dr. Cross if he was correctly quoted when, after the bombing, he had urged his congregation to go home. "The Lord is Our Shepherd," he was quoted as saying. "We shall not want."

"I don't know exactly what I said," he replied. "Things were so tense that I just said what came to mind."

"We have been appealing to the people down here to be calm; but each time you make an appeal you seem to lose a few. I don't know that we'd be able to hold ourselves back if anything else happened. I've been trying to make our people understand, but when they get worked up they don't seem to reason."

"At the funeral services things were so tense that if anyone had struck a match or said the wrong words, I don't know what would have happened," concluded the Rev. Mr. Cross.

The Conscience Fund

Most of the group, "Americans Against Bombs of Bigotry," which rallied to help rebuild the Clinton, Tenn., schoolhouse when it was bombed in 1958, have been glad to serve on the new America's Conscience Fund.

Luther Hodges, then Governor of North Carolina, was the

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only Southern Governor with the courage to serve on the Clinton committee. Hodges, now Secretary of Commerce, readily agreed to serve on the new committee for Birmingham, as did another former member, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, who was Governor of Minnesota at the time of the Clinton bombing.

Some of the other old members now serving on the America's Conscience Fund are Charles Taft of Cincinnati; Barrett Shelton, editor of the Decatur, Ala., Review; Jim Knight of the Miami Herald; Sen. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky; Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, and Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution.

Estes Kefauver of Tennessee was the only Southern Senator, aside from Cooper of Kentucky, with the courage to help the Clinton school committee. Estes is gone now, as are Eric Johnston, Sen. Tom Hennings of Missouri, and Silliman Evans of Nashville. But their places are being taken by Sen. Maurine Neuberger of Oregon, George Dempster of Knoxville, Rep. Jimmy Roosevelt of Los Angeles, Jim Farley, Doré Schary, and Norman Bernstein of Washington.

Contributions can be sent to America's Conscience Fund, 1313 29th st., Washington, D. C., or the Building Fund of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham.

Kefauver's Victory

Sen. Estes Kefauver is winning in death what he failed to achieve in life. Last week the Judicial Conference, which includes the top Federal judges

of every circuit court, sent out a brief and pointed admonition to all Federal judges. It read:

"No justice or judge of the United States shall serve in the capacity of officer or director or employee of any corporation organized for profit."

Even more important, the Judicial Conference gave its approval to a bill introduced by Sen. Kefauver which would require every Federal judge to file his assets, liabilities, net worth, income and source of income, and pecuniary interests with a registrar to be appointed by the chief judge of every circuit. The reports would not be open to the public but would be open to other judges.

Sen. Kefauver proposed this legislature following publication of Joseph Borkin's important book, "The Corrupt Judge," a revealing case history of corruption among Federal judges.

Sen. Kefauver made the point that the vast majority of Federal judges are above reproach, but that for their protection and the protection of the public, the financial holdings and interests of all judges should be on file with the courts.

NOTE — Following its approval of the Kefauver bill, several members of the Judicial Conference and all members of the Supreme Court flew to California to participate in the California Bar Association's tribute to Chief Justice Earl Warren's ten years of service on the court. He was appointed ten years ago this week, following the death of Chief Justice Fred Vinson.

legislation. When a resolution was offered to curb Senate filibusters, Kefauver at once announced support for it.

Thus the Senate was treated to the unusual spectacle of a Senator speaking with Southern accent against the filibuster.

1920—Kefauver came out of the Tennessee hills to the University of Tennessee, a straw suitcase in one hand, a cap perched atop his head. Tightly drawn against his huge bulk was an ill-fitting suit, which seemed red in one light, green in another. Across his chest in a neat row were all the ribbons Estes had accumulated for perfect attendance at Sunday school.

From this unlikely beginning, Estes Kefauver went on to become editor of the college newspaper, president of the junior class, president of the All-Students Club, president of the Southern Federation of College Students, and a football star who earned the affectionate nickname, "Old Ironsides."

He continued on to Yale and academic glory. He became a corporation lawyer, a Congressman, a Senator and a presidential candidate.

But he never lost touch with the Tennessee hills, with the everyday people who make up the backbone of America.

They are the ones now who will miss him the most.

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J. M. ...

The Tall Man From Tennessee

By Jack Anderson

If President Kennedy should choose to expand his book, "Profiles in Courage," I suggest he write about the only man who ever bested him in politics, the man who took the vice presidential nomination away from him in 1956, the late Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.).



This Lincoln of a man, homespun, ungainly, often stood alone in the United States Senate. But he stood tall.

Consider these flashbacks: 1956—Kefauver dug deep into his own pocket, mortgaging his home and hiring out as a lecturer, to pay off old campaign bills. Yet as a presidential candidate in 1956, despite his campaign poverty, he refused a \$10,000 contribution with strings attached.

All he had to do was condemn, in a public speech, a United Nations pronouncement against Israel. This would be worth \$10,000 to his campaign, he was told. But Kefauver, though pro-Israel, refused to bargain for his contribution.

1954—The late Sen. Joe McCarthy threatened to attack Kefauver in Tennessee, painting him as a political pink. Kefauver accepted an invitation to speak against McCarthy in Wisconsin.

Estes took up the warning with his staff, listened silently as each one begged him not to pick a fight with McCarthy on the eve of the Tennessee elections. He thanked them for their advice, then quietly announced his decision: "McCarthy is bad for the country. I reckon I'll have to say so."

1954—Stung by charges they were soft on communism, Democratic Senators introduced a bill to outlaw the Communist Party and dared the Republicans to vote for it. This would have subjected people to prosecution because of their political beliefs.

The Republicans accepted the challenge and lined up unanimously with the Democrats for the bill. Only Kefauver, refusing to play politics, stood against it.

His anguished political advisers warned that his stand would be misinterpreted back home, that he would be called a Red.

"The least you can do," begged a friend, phoning from Tennessee, "is duck out on the vote."

But the final roll call was 81 to 1; Kefauver was the lone dissenter.

(Later, the bill was pigeonholed after FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover joined Kefauver in warning that it not only would be unconstitutional but would drive the Communists underground.)

1952—In the presidential race, Kefauver bucked the party bosses, beat all comers

in the primaries, and entered the Democratic convention with the most pledged delegates. Still, he needed more support to win the nomination.

Texas Gov. Allen Shivers, boss of the big Texas delegation, chose this crucial moment to pay a secret call on Kefauver. Shivers wanted to know how the Senator felt about turning the tidelands over to the states, so the big oil companies could drill for oil.

Would Kefauver agree to let Congress decide the issue and not use the veto if he were elected President? No, said Kefauver. Would Kefauver agree to turn offshore oil over to the states within a 3-mile limit? No, Kefauver said again.

Thus Texas slipped irretrievably from his grasp. And he lost the nomination on the third ballot after leading on the first two.

1950—Digging into organized crime, Kefauver turned over a compost pile of gangland-political connections. Deep in the pile was a \$2500 contribution that crime czar Frank Costello had given to the Democratic National Committee in 1947.

"Is this to be brought out at the public hearings?" demanded Democratic leaders.

"It is," said the Senator. And it was.

1949—Though a Southerner, Kefauver managed to stir up the mighty wrath of the South by supporting civil rights

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KEFAUVER ESTES

Kefauver Calls for Legislation To End Black Market in Babies

United Press International
Legislation to end black market and "gray market" traffic in babies was introduced in the Senate yesterday.

Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) offered the legislation for himself, Delinquency Subcommittee chairman Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) and Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.).

Kefauver, like Hart a subcommittee member, invited other Senators to join in co-sponsoring the measure. It is a strengthened version of a bill which passed the Senate last September but died in the House.

Selling babies interstate is not now a Federal crime.

Kefauver said a subcommittee poll of more than 500 public agencies and law enforcement officials showed a "strong consensus that it be enacted into law."

It is aimed at protecting the

more than 150,000 illegitimate babies born each year and prospective adoptive parents who, Kefauver said have been victimized by "heinous operations" of baby brokers, unscrupulous lawyers and mercenary doctors.

"Our investigations show that there is a flourishing commercial traffic in babies throughout the country," Kefauver said in a prepared Senate speech. "We have heard of payments for babies in Arizona as high as \$1000 and in California as high as \$7000, coupled with public advertisements enticing the expectant mother and eventually coercing her and exploiting her."

"The California operation is known to extend into Nevada and New Mexico and as far east as New York, New Jersey and Maryland."

"It is not uncommon for an infant adopted outside the law to cause great disappointment and heartbreak when it is

found to be deaf, blind, or mentally defective, a matter that would have been discovered earlier had the adoption been handled through legal channels."

Kefauver said Maine, North Carolina, Florida, Oregon, Utah, and Washington, D.C., were other areas with a "serious problem" in black market babies.

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He says just doesn't understand English. I repeatedly told him I am not in the least concerned about any usurpation of FBI authority. I am against a clearing house for criminal information - 1. Because of no control over dissemination of information to various officials & 2. FBI is now meeting it. H.

UPI-36

(CRIME)

WASHINGTON--A TOP SENATE CRIME INVESTIGATOR REPORTED TODAY THAT HE WAS TRYING TO CONVINCE FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER OF THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL CRIME ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

THE COMMITTEE, WHICH HOOVER HAS OPPOSED IN THE PAST, WOULD COORDINATE AND SPOTLIGHT INVESTIGATIONS AND ACTIONS AGAINST NATIONAL CRIME SYNDICATES. HOOVER WAS REPORTED TO FEEL THAT SUCH A GROUP WOULD USURP FBI AUTHORITY. *He never made any such statements. H.*

CHAIRMAN ESTES KEFAUVER, D-TENN., OF THE SENATE ANTI-TRUST AND MONOPOLY SUBCOMMITTEE SAID HE AND CHAIRMAN JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, D-ARK., OF THE OLD SENATE RACKETS COMMITTEE WERE TRYING TO WRITE A BILL HOOVER WOULD ACCEPT.

KEFAUVER SAID IN A RADIO INTERVIEW (MUTUAL--REPORTERS' ROUNDUP) THAT HE AND MCCLELLAN HAVE HAD TWO LENGTHY CONFERENCES AND SEVERAL OTHER MEETINGS WITH HOOVER AND ATTY. GEN. ROBERT KENNEDY TO DISCUSS THE MEASURE.

"THE IDEA IS TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL CRIME ADVISORY COMMITTEE WHICH WOULD FIRST BRING TOGETHER AND COORDINATE THE INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITIES AND AGENCY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT," HE SAID.

"THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT TO SUPERSEDE OR INTERFERE WITH THE FBI," HE ADDED, "BUT RATHER TO AUGMENT ITS WORK. THE MATTER IS STILL IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS...AND WE'RE WILLING TO PUT IN ANY PRECAUTIONS WHATSOEVER TO GUARANTEE THAT IT DOESN'T INTERFERE WITH THE FBI."

THE NATIONAL CRIME COMMITTEE WOULD HOLD HEARINGS ON NEW ORGANIZED CRIME MOVES AND SERVE AS A CLEARING-HOUSE FOR INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT THE ESTIMATED 125 LOCAL CRIME COMMISSIONS ARE DOING IN THEIR OWN AREAS, KEFAUVER SAID.

SENATE INVESTIGATIONS, HE SAID, "DO A LOT OF GOOD AND STIR THINGS UP FOR THE TIME BEING, (BUT) THERE NEEDS TO BE A CONTINUING GROUP TO HAVE SURVEILLANCE" OVER CRIME.

HE CONCEDED THAT THIS PROPOSAL COMES AT A TIME WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAS ORDERED REDUCTIONS IN FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY. BUT HE SAID THE ATTORNEY GENERAL "HAS BEEN FOR IT ALL ALONG."

CREATION OF A NATIONAL CRIME COMMITTEE, KEFAUVER SAID, WOULD STIMULATE INTEREST AND ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF LOCAL PEOPLE AND OFFICIALS--"AND THAT IS WHAT IS GREATLY NEEDED."

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Drug Firm Money vs. Kefauver

By Drew Pearson

One of the most significant elections of the year is taking place in Tennessee this week where a man who came close to winning the Democratic nomination for President in 1952 is battling a Faubus-type drive to oust him from the Senate.

Sen. Estes Kefauver of coonskin cap fame made the mistake—according to pro-Faubus critics—of voting for the civil rights bill, and they are determined to punish him.



Pearson

A politician is usually known for the enemies he makes, and here is the lineup of enemies working both privately and publicly against Kefauver:

Enemy No. 1—John Kasper: When he got out of prison the other day, Kasper immediately announced: "We've got to get that fellow Kefauver out of the Senate. I'm going to see that Tip Taylor is elected." Kasper is the twice-convicted rabble-rouser.

Enemy No. 2—The Mafia and leaders of the underworld who still seek revenge for the Kefauver investigation.

Enemy No. 3—Justin Potter, diehard opponent of the Tennessee Valley Authority, who has taken full-page newspaper ads for the purpose of defeating the big drug

and chemical lobby which has been working behind the scenes to defeat Kefauver because of his investigation of the drug industry.

This is one of the most powerful groups in the country. It doesn't believe in frontal attacks, can be more effective behind the scenes. For instance, Walter E. Price, City Attorney of Johnson City, Tenn., telephoned Herbert Bingham, head of the Tennessee Municipal League, asking him to confer with a representative of Dow Chemical of Michigan, who was in Tennessee for the purpose of defeating Sen. Kefauver.

The Dow Chemical representative remarked: "Now that we've got rid of Soapy Williams (Governor of Michigan) we're going to get rid of Kefauver."

When I tried to query Mr. Price as to why the City Attorney of Johnson City should be helping a Michigan company intervene in Tennessee politics, his office informed that he was in Europe. They were not cooperative in giving me his address in Europe. Mr. Bingham admitted that the conversation took place but was loath to discuss further details.

Drug Overcharges

Behind the drug and chemical companies' hatred of Kefauver is his amazing revelation that the drug companies were charging Americans three times as much as they charged for exactly the same

drug they sold in England and seven times what they charged the U. S. Government.

Kefauver showed that Merck, Upjohn, and Schering, three of the biggest drug companies, charged American druggists 17.8 cents for Prednisone, a medicine for rheumatism. Yet they sold exactly the same drug in England for 7.2 cents. Ciba, another big drug firm, sold Reserpine, a potent tranquilizer, for \$34 per 1000 tablets in the United States, but for only 60 cents per thousand to the U. S. Government.

Following this expose, some Tennessee druggists have been getting funds from outside Tennessee to use against Kefauver.

All reports from Tennessee show that Kefauver is going to win. A healthy number of Tennesseans have rebelled against these influences and pressure groups. However, the effect on other Senators is going to be important. If a Senator is subjected to this kind of opposition when he attempts to bring down the price of medicine for the benefit of poorer people, then other Senators will think twice before they start similar investigations.

Capital Capsules

Georgia's bright young Congressman Erwin Mitchell, who is quitting Congress after three years because of poor health, is telling his Southern colleagues what he thinks of them before he leaves. He is

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saying to their faces that most of them are Republicans at heart who wear the Democratic label to get elected; that they are giving the South a persecution complex with their hue and cry about the Northern assault on Southern traditions; that they are standing in the way of economic and political progress in the South . . . Foreign aid boss James Riddleberger has personally presented Miami Beach attorney Arthur Courshon a special award for setting up a saying and loan system in Chile which is now helping the Chileans to recover from their terrible earthquake damage. A big game hunter who flies his own plane, Courshon is chairman of the Washington Federal Savings and Loan Association . . . Senator Goldwater of Arizona, the conservatives' hero at the Convention, has demanded to know what the "Americans for Goldwater" organization is doing with all the money it has collected in his name. Goldwater suspects the organization has used his name to collect funds which are now being used for other purposes . . . In Chicago, kindly Joe Martin, the former Speaker who presided over the past four GOP conventions, was completely snubbed by Nixon. Joe took it with a wan smile that did not hide his deep hurt.

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'Crime and the Committee'**Kefauver Slated Sunday
With 'Twentieth Century'**

Sen. Estes Kefauver, D-Tenn., whose special crime committee made banner headlines in 1950-51 during its nationally televised hearings, will make a special appearance on "The Twentieth Century" program titled "Crime and the Committee," Sunday, in a filmed interview with CBS news correspondent Walter Cronkite on CBS-TV, 6:30-7 p. m., E. S. T.

Sen. Kefauver, whose public jousts with such personalities as gambler Frank Costello, Brooklyn waterfront boss Anthony (Tough Tony) Anastasia, former New York Mayor William O'Dwyer and Mrs. Virginia Hill Hauser, friend of the slain mobster Ben "Bugsy" Siegel—to be seen on "The Twentieth Century"—says the need for a permanent Federal crime investigating committee is as urgent now as it was some years ago.

"Some of us have been fighting at every Congress to get such a commission established," Sen. Kefauver declares. But he adds, "We never have had the

support of the Department of Justice. Some of the fellows down there feel that it might conflict with the F. B. I. I don't think so."

Sen. Kefauver, whose temporary crime committee—largely through the impact of television—dominated the attention of the American public in 1950-51, discounts certain criticism that his group's probe, sparked by his fiery chief counsel, the late Rudolph Halley, was a kind of "Roman circus."

Sen. Kefauver says, "... the fact that ... these criminal gangs were broken up, that they were dispersed (and) exposed (and) many of them deported ... (and) that we have a cleaner America as a result shows that we were fully justified, and I have no regrets about it whatsoever."

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Estes Says Egypt Crisis Aided Reds

By Richard L. Lyons
Star Reporter

BOSTON, Nov. 1—Sen. Estes Kefauver said today the Middle East crisis has handed Russia its "greatest triumph" since World War II and the United States its worst diplomatic defeat in history.

The Democratic vice presidential nominee charged the Eisenhower Administration with delays, "bumbling" and plain duplicity which he said gave Russia a Middle East foothold from which she must now be a party to any settlement. He said Republican policies have achieved what Russia could not — isolation of the United States from her allies.

The Administration, "directly contributed" to the rise of Nasser in Egypt, said Kefauver. It failed to use this country's "tremendous bargaining power" to settle the problems of that region, he said, and then was "caught flatfooted" by events which have "crumbled" the Western alliance on which our defense is based.

Confers With Adlai

Kefauver made a 5-minute nationally televised afternoon speech here on the Middle East after two telephone talks with Adlai Stevenson on the issue.

"What kind of peace and prosperity is this?" asked Kefauver. "In a single week the cost of living has gone up to the highest point in history, the Middle East blows up and we find ourselves ranged against our friends and allies."

The Senator said he had heard news reports that the Administration is considering economic sanctions against Israel which would include freezing money raised from Israel bond drives here.

Kefauver hammered away at the Middle East conflict and the "bankruptcy" of Republican foreign policy all day. In a morning speech to Boston University students, he said Republican policies had brought us to the "brink of war" for the fifth time in four years.

"Never in my memory has our leadership sunk so low," he said. "If we keep this up much longer we may return to isolationism à la Herbert Hoover simply because none of our past allies and friends will trust us."

Has Hectic Day

Kefauver told reporters he received a CIA briefing this morning but didn't learn much more than he had from the newspapers.

This was one of the candidate's most hectic days. After breakfast with Mayor John Hynes and other Boston politicians, he drove over to Boston University, then up the North Shore to the industrial city of Lynn for two speeches and then back to Boston for lunch with a Catholic Youth organization group and his television speech.

Late this afternoon he flew down to the old whaling city of New Bedford where he recited to 500 voters in front of City Hall a string of "broken Republican promises."

He spoke at Fall River, Providence and Cranston, R. I. and then flew off for a third day of campaigning in Pennsylvania. Kefauver's wife, Nancy, joined him in Boston for the rest of the week. It is her first campaign trip this year.

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Today in National Affairs

Kefauver Speech Is Called 'Most Shocking' in Years

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17. — Senator Kefauver, Democratic party nominee for the Vice-Presidency, made on television Tuesday night the most shocking speech any man in public life has made in many decades—either within or outside a political campaign. Not since the days of Sen. Tom Heflin of Alabama, Democrat, perhaps the worst demagogue in the Senate, has anything so obviously unfair and in such bad taste—and in utter disregard of the rights of innocent persons—been presented to a public audience.



Sen. Kefauver, who spoke under the auspices of the Stevenson-Kefauver campaign committee, quoted Gen. Eisenhower as having said in the 1952 campaign "throw out the crooks and cronies." He then pointed to a film of Mr. Eisenhower making a promise to clean up the government and "bring integrity and thrift back to Washington." Gen. Eisenhower, however, mentioned no names.

Since 1952, however, the chief of the Internal Revenue Service under the Truman administration and a deputy commissioner and the heads of two district Offices of Internal Revenue have gone to jail for accepting bribes or for cheating on their income taxes. Two Truman appointees—one of them the head of tax prosecutions in the Department of Justice—have been convicted of conspiracy to defraud the government. This is indeed "corruption."

Yet, immediately after referring to Mr. Eisenhower's 1952 speech, in which he had not assailed any man's reputation, Sen. Kefauver said this:

"Under the Eisenhower-Nixon administration, more heads of government agencies have been involved in corruption than under any administration since the Republican administration of Gen. U. S. Grant."

Had the Tennessee Senator stopped there, it would have been regarded as the usual exaggeration of a political speaker on the stump. But he didn't. He went on to show pictures of several public officials and named them one by one—just after he had made a blanket charge against them of involvement in corruption.

Defines "Corruption"

Now, the word "corruption" in the dictionary on this correspondent's desk is defined as "bribery" and "dishonesty" and anyone who is "corrupt" is defined as having been "influenced by bribes" and as being "dishonest."

After saying that the heads of government agencies in the Eisenhower administration were "involved in corruption," Sen. Kefauver specifically showed the pictures of Harold Talbott, former Secretary of the United States Air Force, Edward Mansure of the General Services Administration, and Peter Strobel, Public Buildings Administrator. Then Mr. Kefauver went on to say:

"But these were not the big-time operators. Let me show you one of the most rotten deals in all American history—the Dixon-Yates deal. Here was an attempt by big business men, in and out of government, to milk an entire region of our nation. Here are some of the people involved."

Showed Photographs

Then Sen. Kefauver pointed on the screen to the pictures of Adolphe Wenzell and George Woods—neither of whom was a government official—and of Joseph Dodge, former Director of the Budget, Sherman Adams, who is executive assistant to President Eisenhower, and finally to Attorney General Brownell. He then referred to the entire group as "these scoundrels."

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Not one of these men whose pictures were shown starting with Harold Talbot violated any laws or has ever been indicted by any jury or brought into court. Certainly if they were personally "involved in corruption," there has been no evidence brought forth to sustain the charge which so many listeners heard, and millions of them probably believed they were looking at a gallery of "crooks."

The individual rights of innocent citizens are not dormant or lost to them just because the injury to their reputations is inflicted during a political campaign. Senators enjoy no legal immunity for speeches delivered off the floor of Congress.

Presented Film Clip

Sen. Kefauver also presented a film of Gen. Eisenhower speaking in 1952 and promising tax reduction, if elected. Then immediately the Tennessee Senator showed a film of a 1956 press conference in which the President was saying he saw "so far, no logical reason for reducing taxes." But Mr. Eisenhower was talking about the 1956 session of Congress then going on, and taxes had already been reduced by his administration. Mr. Kefauver used the film of the 1956 Eisenhower press conference to emphasize the theme of "broken promises." The listener and viewer was left with the impression that the President, as late as 1956, had broken his 1952 pledge.

A few seconds later Mr. Kefauver, on the other hand, did refer to a tax reduction by the present administration "as the most unfair in the history of our nation." He told his listeners it was discriminatory and that a citizen who earned \$5,000 in wages had to pay \$420 taxes, whereas an investor with a \$5,000 income paid only \$200. The Senator failed to enlighten the audience on the fact that the investor had already seen 52 per cent of his rightful earnings taxed away by the Federal government before he received the dividend income on which he himself also pays taxes. And, besides, Mr. Kefauver's figures were wrong. The man with the dividend income would pay \$322 in taxes, not \$200.

Cites Civil Rights

The argument about taxes is a normal type of political bunkum, but the naming of individuals "involved in corruption" and flashing their pictures on the screen is something far more extreme. It is dangerous to the civil rights of individuals.

A composite picture used in a pamphlet in the Maryland Senatorial campaign in 1950 drew fire from so-called "liberals" and it will be interesting now to see how they react to the adroit use of the "guilt by association" technique with pictures on the television screen, pointing the finger of suspicion to officials who have violated no law. Sen. McCarthy in his most overzealous moments, and Vice-President Nixon in his most vehement and hard-hitting campaign speeches of 1954 never perpetrated anything like the speech delivered by Sen. Kefauver on a nation-wide television network this week.

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THE KEEF'S NOT SO HOT

Estes Kefauver, the Rover Boy Democratic candidate for Vice President, remarked at Buffalo Wednesday that "if Richard Nixon becomes President of the United States, the Republican Old Guard will be master of America."

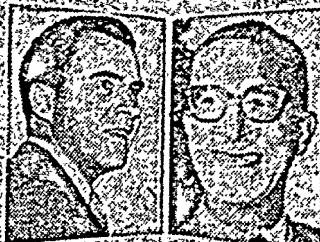
We can imagine worse fates for the country, and one of them would be for Kefauver to become President.

The Keef, for one thing, has an anti-anti-Communist record. Once he even voted against an appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, one of our best anti-Commie watchdog groups.

For another thing, the Keef in 1949, and again in 1951, introduced a Senate resolution aimed at finagling the United States into an "Atlantic Union," to include Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Holland, and Luxembourg.

This outfit would have a Congress in which we could be outvoted, and a central government superior to our Government. U. S. sovereignty and independence would go down the drain, and any time our fellow Atlantic Union members wanted to vote themselves another chunk of our national wealth, they could do so.

The last we heard, the Keef was still plugging this scheme. And that is one reason why Nixon as a possible President looks some 99 times as good to us as the Keef.



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Kefauver

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 Sidney DAVIS

BAIRD BROWNER

Alex Rose Kept Estes from Throwing in Sponge

By VICTOR RIESEL

Genial, gangling, Estes Kefauver would have been running for the Chattanooga choo-choo instead of the Vice Presidency if it had not been for the soothing voices, the political sagacity and the good will of one man—not a delegate to the convention and not a Democrat either.

THE GENTLEMAN responsible for the hats thrown into the political ring these days is Alex Rose, president of the AFL-CIO Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, a clean and crusading union, indeed.



Victor Riesel

Convention coverage, though now mostly a matter of mountainous news and film clips, would not be complete without this story: for the jangling of a telephone bell at midnight, Aug. 16, in a room at Chicago's Ambassador East, changed Kefauver's career, probably saved it, and could conceivably have made an American

President. That is if we establish that health and ill-health of presidential candidates are bipartisan.

The phone call was made by Kefauver to Rose, who doubles as leader of New York's Liberal Party. He told Alex that "my goose is cooked" and "I feel like packing and going on home."

THIS WAS JUST minutes after Adlai Stevenson had made the long trip from tradition in a few steps from the Stockyard Inn to the convention hall. Kefauver told Rose that he believed that Stevenson's call for an "open fight" for the second spot closed him out. The Tennessean said he was suddenly weary after all the work he had done swinging delegates to Stevenson.

Kefauver sorrowfully said that some of those around Stevenson must have made a pact to freeze him out for Sen.

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Humphrey, who appeared to be the strongest that night, or for Mayor Wagner or Sen. Kennedy. Rose asked Kefauver to sit tight in his Blackstone Hotel suite. With the Senator were several advisors, including a brilliant young attorney, Sidney Davis, once law secretary to Justice Hugo Black. Rose then taxied over to Adlai Stevenson's suite, also at the Blackstone.

SEVERAL OF Stevenson's top aides explained that, contrary to the Kefauver's belief, the decision for a free and open convention selection of a Veep candidate would actually help Kefauver.

It was explained this way. Sam Rayburn and Sen. Johnson wanted a closed caucus to select a running mate for Stevenson, were opposed to Estes. If a meeting were held in a room filled with smoke and Senators opposed to Kefauver and with a spokesman for Trumann—or perhaps Trumann himself—the tall man from Tennessee would certainly be counted out. Stevenson didn't want anyone

eliminated. Kefauver's only chance was in an open fight. In addition, Stevenson would then not be alienating any section of the country—neither Kennedy's New England, nor Wagner's New York, which was already soaked through with anger, nor the Midwest's Sen. Humphrey, nor the bloc of Kefauver delegates who had worked so hard for the Presidential nominee.

ROSE THEN phoned Davis in Kefauver's suite and explained what had been said in the Stevenson quarters. Rose urged Kefauver to come right down. This the Senator did. About 2 a.m. he arrived with Davis. They talked to Stevenson and his aides.

Kefauver was convinced that there had been no plot.

There was some more talk with Rose. Then Kefauver hit the delegates' trail as swiftly as his long legs would carry him from bloc to bloc.

Then his aides summoned the newsmen and Kefauver told them he was in and expected to win.

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VICTOR RIESEL COLUMN

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Genial; gangling Estes Kefauver would have been running for the Chattanooga choo-choo instead of the vice-presidency if it had not been for the soothing voice, the political sagacity and the good-will of one man -- not a delegate to the convention and not a Democrat either..

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Convention coverage, though now mostly a matter of mountainous news and film clips, would not be complete without this story -- for the jangling of a telephone bell at midnight Thursday, August 16, in a room at Chicago's Ambassador East, changed Mr. Kefauver's career, probably saved it and could conceivably have made an American president. That is if we establish that health and ill-health of presidential candidates are bi-partisan.

The telephone call to which I refer was made at midnight by Estes Kefauver to Alex Rose, who doubles as leader of New York's Liberal Party. The Tennessee Senator did not waltz this conversation around. There was no swing in his voice. He was disconsolate. He told Alex that "my goose is cooked" and "I feel like packing and going on home."

This was just a matter of minutes after Aqlai Stevenson had made the long trip from tradition in a few steps from the Stockyard Inn to the convention hall. Kefauver told Rose that he believed that Stevenson's call for an "open fight" for the second spot closed him out. The Tennessean said he was suddenly weary after all the work he had done swinging delegates to Stevenson.

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Kefauver sorrowfully said that some of those around Stevenson must have made some pact to freeze him out for Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who appeared to be the strongest that night, or for Mayor Robert Wagner or Sen. John Kennedy.

Alex Rose asked the Tennessean to sit tight in his Blackstone Hotel suite. With Kefauver were several advisers, including a shrewd young attorney, Sidney Davis, once law secretary to Justice Hugo Black. Rose then taxied over to Adlai Stevenson's suite, also at the Blackstone. There was plenty of waltzing and liltng conversation there with the victor.

The New York Liberal Party chief advised them of Kefauver's sentiments. Several of Stevenson's top aides explained that, contrary to the Senator's belief, the decision for a free and open convention selection of a vice-presidential candidate would actually help Kefauver.

It was explained this way. Sam Rayburn and Sen. Lyndon Johnson, who wanted a closed caucus to select a running mate for Stevenson, were opposed to Estes. If a meeting were held in a room filled with smoke and senators opposed to Kefauver and with a spokesman for Mr. Truman -- or perhaps Truman himself -- the tall man from Tennessee would certainly be counted out.

Stevenson didn't want anyone eliminated. Kefauver's only chance was in an open fight. In addition, Stevenson would then not be alienating any section of the country -- neither Sen. Kennedy's New England nor Mayor Wagner's New York, which was already seeped through with anger, nor the midwest's Sen. Humphrey, nor the bloc of Kefauver delegates who had worked so hard for the presidential nominee.

Alex Rose then telephoned Sid Davis in Kefauver's suite and explained what had been said in the Stevenson quarters between 12:30 and 1:30 a.m. Rose urged Kefauver to come right down. This the Senator did. About 2:00 a.m. he arrived with Davis, the man who had been at his side for almost a year. They talked to Stevenson and his aides.

-MORE-

Kefauver was convinced that there had been no plot to cut him up or purge him. Once he arrived in the victory suite, the Senator went into private huddles with Stevenson and the candidate's closest advisers. They assured the Senator that they really were for an open convention and his chances were better that way.

There was some more talk with Rose. Then Kefauver hit the delegates' trail as swiftly as his long legs would carry him from bloc to bloc.

Then his aides summoned the newsmen and Kefauver told them he was in the race and expected to win. He did.

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KEFAUVER IF EISE

WASHINGTON

Senator Kefauver of Tennessee said today President Eisenhower's re-election would plunge this country into an unprecedented era of "irresponsible government and a lack of leadership."

Mr. Kefauver, an aspirant for the Democratic Presidential nomination, told a National Press Club luncheon that Congressional Republicans failed to support the President now when the party's election prospects depended on his second-term race.

This lack of support would be even more pronounced if President Eisenhower were re-elected, he asserted. The Twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution would prevent the President from seeking a third term in 1960 and reduce his party authority accordingly.

The Senator attributed the coolness of former President Truman toward his candidacy to the fact that "old sores never heal." This was a reference to Mr. Truman's displeasure about some of the activities of Mr. Kefauver's old Senate Crime Committee. But he expressed the hope that Mr. Truman would "let bygones be bygones."

He added that his candidacy had suffered because he had the "fatal advantage of being in good health, does not have an excess amount of money, and nobody in my family owns an oil well, a railroad or a newspaper."

He predicted that he would receive from 250 to 275 votes on the first ballot at the Democratic convention next month. The number required for nomination is 686 1/2.

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N. Y. TIMES

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Senator Charges 'Double Talk' Used On Segregation

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

OAKLAND, Calif., June 3 — Sen. Estes Kefauver today neared the close of his California campaign with the roughest attack yet on the camp of his Democratic opponent, Adlai E. Stevenson.

In a carefully worded speech, the Senator questioned whether Stevenson leaders have a "private" understanding with Southern "segregationists" on the civil rights issue.

"Since his, Adlai's, statements are not unlike my own, why then is it that the Tam-mages, the Ellenders, the Caldwell's flock to his support?" Kefauver asked.

"Has anything been said in private to these segregationists that makes him more acceptable than I?"

Stumps Round Clock

The Senator was addressing a civil rights rally in Defremery Park, after breaking his own record for round-the-clock stumping on the previous day.

From 5 a. m. Saturday, when he got out of bed, until 3:45 a. m. today, when he fell back into it, or for a total of 22 hours and 45 minutes, the Senator campaigned like mad. His previous nonstop record in Florida was 19 hours.

Today he was back at it again. But first he attended services at St. John's Presbyterian Church, Berkeley.

Following an afternoon parade and Sunday social, Kefauver opened up on Stevenson leaders at the Defremery Park rally. He told the predominantly Negro audience that "one after the other of the segregationist leaders have joined up with Stevenson, even though he (Kefauver) and his opponent have taken almost identical public positions on school integration."

Questions Pledges

"What representations have been made (to the segregationists) by spokesmen from my opponent's camp?" asked Kefauver.

"Have they been assured that the words of his supporters rather than his own personal words represent the correct position of his candidacy?"

"I think these questions are important. There comes a time when a campaign promises — those made in public as well as those made in private — those made by the candidate himself as well as those made by spokesmen for him — must be dealt with."

Kefauver went on to say that he had hoped Stevenson would put an end to "desegregation as a campaign issue," by denouncing attacks made on him after he backed up the Supreme Court decision in Orlando, Fla., on April 2.

Instead, he said, although Stevenson took largely the same position he did, Stevenson supporters circulated reprints of a Huntsville (Ala.) Times editorial attacking his stand. The editorial described

See ESTES, Page 2, Col. 1.

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ESTES—From Page 1

Estes Belabors Rival's Backers

Stevenson as advocating "a very gradual, moderate approach" to integration in contrast to the senator's position.

Later, he said, ads were run in Florida newspapers describing Stevenson as "friendly to the South." Kefauver described former Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida as "the chief lieutenant" in Stevenson's camp, and told again the story of Caldwell's attack on him as a "sycophant" of Negroes, made in Stevenson's presence.

"My rival said: 'Thank you for your kind introduction,'" Kefauver told the rally. "Later, when questioned about it, he said he hadn't heard the words but disclaimed responsibility."

(Stevenson called a press conference five hours after the incident. Kefauver referred to it. He said he sat behind Caldwell but could not hear a word he said. He said he probably did not agree on everything with a lot of his supporters.)

Despite forecasts by all the "experts" that Stevenson will carry California easily in Tuesday's primary, Kefauver predicted he will win by a margin of 185,000 votes.

He said he based his forecast on a district-by-district survey and analysis by his campaign managers.

"I will carry 17 and possibly 18 of the congressional districts in the state," the Senator said.

Kefauver made similar pre-

diction last Sunday that he would come from behind to win in the Florida primary.

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 Miss Gandy _____

Matter of Fact

Liberals Ought to Love Estes

By Stewart Alsop

ONE OF THE queerest phenomena of the current political scene is the total lack of enthusiasm of the liberals and intellectuals—the old New Dealers, if you will—for the candidacy of Sen. Estes Kefauver. By all the rules of logic, Kefauver really ought to be the liberals' chosen knight in shining armor.

Consider, for example, an incident in August, 1954, when Kefauver was up for reelection in Tennessee. In a tough primary campaign, he had been roundly denounced for "softness on communism"; his most likely Republican opponent, it then seemed, was Ray Jenkins, the committee counsel who had almost out-McCarthyed McCarthy at the famous hearings.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey had introduced a catchall anti-Communist bill whose obvious political purpose was to outbid the Republicans on the Communist issue. On the day of the key vote, Kefauver's most influential Tennessee supporter telephoned to urge him to speak as well as vote for the bill and thus get off the "soft on communism" hook. Kefauver mumbled that the bill seemed to him to have "some elements of thought suppression."

Some hours later, the Tennessee backer telephoned again to repeat his urgings. He reached Richard Wallace, Kefauver's legislative assistant, who told him he was too late—a key motion by Humphrey had just been passed, 81-1, and Kefauver was the one. The supporter groaned, "That really finishes Estes."

IT DIDN'T, of course; Kefauver went on to win handsomely. But this episode alone should have been enough to make Kefauver a hero with the liberals. And the episode does not stand alone. In Kefauver's voting record there are a number of displays of genuine political courage.

In the House, for example, Kefauver was one of a handful who voted against making the Un-American Activities Committee a permanent committee. In the Senate, he voted against the McCarran Act and to sustain President Truman's veto of the act.

A Southerner, he voted against cloture (for which his fellow Southerners will never forgive him) and publicly favored antilynching legislation. Indeed, on every major piece of

domestic and foreign legislation his voting record is impeccable from the liberal point of view. Yet the liberals do not like him.

There is no doubt about that. Kefauver's win over Adlai Stevenson in Minnesota was wildly unpopular in liberal intellectual circles all over the country despite the fact that Stevenson is very much more conservative.

IT IS HARD to put your finger on just why liberals are so cold to the man who ought, logically, to be their hero (just as it is hard to explain just why many Republicans dislike Vice President Nixon). No doubt the famous coonskin hat has had something to do with it. So, no doubt, does Kefauver's drawing voice and excessively folksy manner.

Kefauver lacks the elegance and eloquence liberals like in their heroes. Many suspect, moreover, that Kefauver's liberalism is a matter of shrewd political calculation rather than inner conviction (although this would hardly account for such episodes as those described above). Others suspect that there is inadequate mental equipment under the coonskin cap (although Kefauver's handling of the Dixon-Yates investigation was, in its way, brilliant).

Whatever the reason, the liberal distaste for Kefauver is a significant political phenomenon. The liberals of the New Deal stripe do not dominate the Democratic Party as they once did, but they retain great power at conventions, as they demonstrated when the labor-liberal bloc forced old Alben Barkley to step down in 1952.

AS THINGS STAND, Kefauver can hardly hope to go to the convention with more than a third of the delegate votes, even if he knocks Adlai Stevenson right out of the ring in Florida and California.

With the Southern grandees and the Northern big city professionals unalterably opposed to him, Kefauver might still go over with the enthusiastic support of at least a sizable portion of the liberal fraternity. But despite his proven appeal to the commonalty (or perhaps because of it), Kefauver seems constitutionally incapable of attracting that kind of support. This is a major reason why it is still remarkably difficult to see how he can get the nomination.

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 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

(KEFAUVER)
 GAINESVILLE, FLA.--SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER ADMITTED RELUCTANTLY ON ARRIVAL FOR A FLORIDA STUMPING TOUR THAT HE WOULD FAVOR USING FEDERAL TROOPS IN EXTREME EMERGENCIES TO QUELL RACIAL DISTURBANCES IN THE SOUTH.

THE TENNESSEE DEMOCRAT, CAMPAIGNING FOR SUPPORT IN FLORIDA'S MAY 8 PREFERENTIAL PRIMARY, HAD PUT HIMSELF ON RECORD EARLIER AS ADVOCATING OBEDIENCE TO THE SUPREME COURT'S ORDERS DE-SEGREGATING PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

NEWSMEN WERE WAITING FOR HIS ARRIVAL HERE LAST NIGHT WITH QUESTIONS ELABORATING ON THE SENATOR'S RACIAL VIEWS. HE WAS ASKED SPECIFICALLY IF HE WOULD FAVOR CALLING OUT THE FEDERAL MILITIA TO ENFORCE INTEGRATION.

THE TENNESSEAN MET THE QUESTION WITH EVIDENT RELUCTANCE, SAYING THAT SINCE THE U.S. SUPREME COURT DESEGREGATION RULINGS ARE THE "LAW OF THE LAND," HE WOULD FAVOR USING TROOPS TO QUELL DISTURBANCES RESULTING FROM FORCED INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH.

THE LATEST DISTURBANCE OVER THE ISSUE WAS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA WHERE ITS FIRST NEGRO STUDENT, AUTHERINE LUCY, WAS SUSPENDED FOLLOWING A RIOTOUS DEMONSTRATION. LEGAL ACTION IN THAT CASE IS STILL PENDING.

KEFAUVER STRESSED THAT ONLY IN EXTREME EMERGENCIES WOULD HE BE WILLING TO CALL FOR MILITIA. HE DID NOT SAY WHETHER HE MEANT U.S. ARMY OR NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS BUT SAID ONE EXAMPLE OF A NECESSARILY EXTREME EMERGENCY MIGHT BE SUCH AS THE SHAY REBELLION OF POST-REVOLUTIONARY DAYS.

KEFAUVER SAID USE OF TROOPS ACTUALLY WOULD MAKE INTEGRATION PROBLEMS WORSE THAN EVER. HE THOUGHT THE PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE COURTS IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. HE IS VERY SHY ABOUT USE OF TROOPS AT ALL, HE SAID.

KEFAUVER PLEADED FOR "REASON AND SANITY" IN THE TOUCHY TRANSITION PERIOD RESULTING FROM INTEGRATION DECISIONS IN THE COURTS.

THE CRISIS CAN BE SETTLED, HE SAID, WITHOUT "PASSION, REVOLUTION OR HATRED."

KEFAUVER SAID HE WOULD DESCRIBE HIMSELF ON THE INTEGRATION SUBJECT AS A "GRADUALIST"--A TAG SIMILAR TO THAT USED BY ADLAI STEVENSON.

HE SAID HE WANTS THE NATION TO GO SLOW IN CHANGING CUSTOMS THAT HAVE BEEN IN USE FOR MANY YEARS.

KEFAUVER ALSO WAS ASKED FOR HIS VIEWS ON INTERPOSITION ACTION BEING TAKEN BY SEVERAL SOUTHERN LEGISLATURES AS A MEANS OF EVADING THE SUPREME COURT'S DESEGREGATION ORDERS.

KEFAUVER SAID HE THINKS THE SUPREME COURT WILL DECLARE THE INTERPOSITION DOCTRINE UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

KEFAUVER MET REPORTERS AFTER TELLING A CROWD OF 500 IN THE COURT HOUSE SQUARE HE HOPES THE LOCAL JUDICIARY AND POLICE CAN HANDLE ALL INTEGRATION ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Kefauver Denies He Met Negro Leaders in Secret

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 6 (U.P.)—Sen. Estes Kefauver denied last night that civil rights had become a major issue in California between him and Adlai Stevenson.

"I wouldn't think so," he said. Kefauver denied, in a telephone interview with the Associated Press, that he had held a secret meeting Saturday with Negro delegates to the California Democratic Council in Fresno which both Kefauver and Stevenson addressed.

The New York Herald Tribune had reported from Los Angeles that in the "secret meeting" Kefauver had gained the enthusiastic support of Negro leaders.

"I saw that (story) and let me say this," replied Kefauver. "Everything I've ever said on all issues, I have made public. There are no positions I have taken in secret. After my speech some six or seven different groups came up to tell me they were going to support me. I was glad to notice there was present an outstanding group of Negro leaders. I made no statements that were not made public."

Kefauver said he had not replied specifically to a request by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to both him and Steven-

son for their positions on civil rights questions. One of these was the proposed amendment by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) to Federal aid to education legislation. The amendment would restrict Federal aid to non-segregated schools.

"The Powell bill has not yet come up in the Senate and I'll state my position later," Kefauver said.

The Rev. L. Sylvester Odom of Oakland, delegate at Fresno and Oakland chairman of the NAACP, said tonight that Stevenson had adhered to a position taken earlier on the Powell proposal which Mr. Odom quoted Stevenson as saying: "I hardly think such an amendment necessary since the Supreme Court has declared that no child may be barred from attending any public school on the basis of race in any school which accepts public funds."

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DORIS FLEESON

Kefauver's Star Rising Again

Recent Hearings on Morality Topics Have Stirred Great Public Interest

The question of Senator Estes Kefauver's presidential possibilities—a matter many of his colleagues would prefer to ignore, as would Adlai Stevenson—will soon come to the fore again.

Within the past month Kefauver as chairman of a Judiciary subcommittee has conducted hearings in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago on a wide range of morality topics, including pornography, comic books, lewd photographs, increased violence in TV, showings and suggestive advertising of motion pictures. Little noticed here, the hearings attracted packed crowds and excellent coverage, including local TV.

Funds for the subcommittee are practically exhausted, so the time is at hand when Kefauver must ask the Senate for more. Whatever is then done or said publicly, the cloakrooms will most certainly have much to say about the motives of the Senator from Tennessee.

The politicians, perhaps joined by the press, will be inclined to pass off these morality hearings as an attempt by Kefauver to keep his name before the public. He will be widely accused of trying to repeat his 1951-52 success with

the crime hearings, which launched his original presidential boom.

It may surprise the cynical sophisticates of this Capital to learn that there is actually a tremendous amount of interest in the subjects being covered by the Kefauver subcommittee. Parents, the clergy, and educational elements of all kinds are following them in numbers unsuspected here, where the term social program has all but come to mean an evening of bourbon and soda.

Whether or not Kefauver's motives are suspect, there is reason to believe that more mothers and fathers are worried about the problems before-mentioned than they are about Dixon-Yates or Formosa. Men and women are sitting all day in hot courtrooms to hear witnesses talk about preventive measures against the spread of juvenile violence. This time there are no glamour gals or gangster molls to entertain them; two-thirds of the testimony is sober, indeed.

Senator Kefauver points to this sobriety when he argues that his political opponents need not fear his hearings. His hearings lack drama and always will lack drama be-

cause they are concerned with prevention of crime.

He was brought to them, he says, by the original crime hearings. In that memorable probe, he saw about 2,000 hoodlums, gangsters and gun molls. More than two-thirds of them, he says, told sordid stories of slums, broken homes and harsh punishment in regular prisons for early and minor offenses, prisons where they met hardened criminals.

The Senator says that he decided then he could do nothing for present offenders, but he could do something for the next generation.

The moral forces now behind Kefauver are largely unseen in Washington but they are important in this country and have ways of making themselves felt. The hearings show that the clergy, especially, is alarmed to find that while churchgoing obviously is on the rise, so is juvenile violence.

Kefauver as of now has no political plans other than to wait and see. In Chicago he conferred genially with Stevenson by telephone. Stevenson being too languid in the hot weather to come to town. He has had bronchial pneumonia.

The Senator from Tennessee is not, however, unduly modest about future possibilities. And his friends assert he is the leading personality in the Senate among the people, despite the fact that he is so much honored in the Capital.

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Mr. Mohr _____
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Senator Estes Kefauver and F. B. I. Director Hoover, two of the best known headline hunters in Washington, are at war. The two look upon things differently, especially the cost of operating the F. B. I. And there are personal factors, too. Hoover gave no special co-operation to Kefauver during the 1951 inquiry, possibly because the lanky Tennessean was exposing so many of them President Truman's former political ironies, including former Mayor and Ambassador Bill Dwyer, of New York.

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PERF. FILES

THE COATESVILLE RECORD
COATESVILLE, PA.
3-9-55
EDITOR: CLAUDE H. HEINTZELMAN

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Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____

The man who turned the TV spotlight on racketeers tells how he'd keep them on the run



MY REPORT ON

CRIME TODAY

BY SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

A large gambling syndicate quietly pulled up stakes in St. Paul, Minnesota, some years ago, and moved its entire operation to the West Coast. It dug in and began to grow with amazing rapidity. When the Senate Crime Investigating Committee reached the area in its nation-wide probe, we found murder, vice and corruption on a big scale.

When the hearings ended, the Senate committee made a number of recommendations to prevent this kind of thing from happening again in any community. But a key proposal still has not been adopted and thus the blunt fact is this: Criminals from one part of the U.S. can still move across the country and set up shop in another. They can still become deeply entrenched before honest enforcement officials can marshal strength against them. They can move into your city.

My own reappraisal of the crime picture since the Senate committee, of which I was chairman, submitted its final report in 1951, is as follows:

First, the good news:

1. The interstate wire service which fed gambling data to tens of thousands of bookmakers all over the country has been put out of business. This really hurt. Bookies and gambling joints, you see, cannot operate effectively unless they can receive odds, results and other racing information promptly.

2. Many gangs have been dispersed, their leaders exposed and their gambling headquarters closed.

3. A special racket squad, set up in the Treasury Department, has processed thousands of cases against known racketeers, collected millions in additional taxes for the Government and won hundreds of tax fraud indictments.

4. A Federal law prohibiting the shipment of slot machines across state lines is on the statute books.

5. Perhaps most important of all, our eyes have been opened. We know now to what an astounding extent crime can penetrate into our national structure. We know and we are aroused.

But there is bad news, too.

We have obliterated many of the roaches and shooed others back into the woodwork, but we haven't yet closed all the crevices. Thus, there is real danger that, unless prompt action is taken, they will emerge again and begin their infestation all over again.

To keep them where they belong, a national coordinating agency should be established. This agency would know all the new trends and names in crime and keep constant check on the old. It would correlate data gathered by all the existing Federal investigative agencies and make this data available to the proper persons and groups.

Since the history-making hearings presided over by Senator Kefauver, many a big-shot racketeer has gone out of business.

Is it vital to have this? I think so.

Had an agency like this been operating when the St. Paul gang moved to the West Coast, it would have alerted the local police promptly.

And this isn't the only instance of its kind. One gangster, tied up with the Capone group, decided he wanted to "cut in" on a Florida outfit's \$26,000,000-a-year bookie business. He broached the idea but his request was denied. The Chicago fellow and his bunch took action. They tipped off police and prompted a few raids. Finally came the crusher—the Chicago mob managed to shut down the wire service in the entire state of Florida until the rival gang surrendered.

Then there was a group of Chicago racketeers who admitted having been in the policy business there for 17 years. They moved into Dallas County, Texas, and tried to take over a potential \$14,000,000 annual gambling enterprise there. New York racketeers moved into Louisiana, California and other places.

A national agency would have been of immeasurable help to the local authorities in these cases.

There are other steps which should be taken. Congress should set up a joint Senate and House group to function as a standby committee. Thus, if some specific crime situation arises, the machinery would be ready to investigate it at once. We should strengthen our laws against the interstate transportation of gambling devices. And we must make it tougher for anyone to hide illegal income.

A few weeks ago I introduced bills in the Senate asking for these and other steps. I hope they become law. They didn't when they were introduced at the preceding session.

These steps are even more important now than they were last year. Why? Because—as The American Weekly's recent survey of crime in our big cities has dramatically shown—new and powerful criminal elements are rising, and once again America can be mired in a vast bog of corruption, bribery and murder.

It needn't happen—not if strong laws are on our statute books.

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- Miss Gandy _____

Tomorrow Will Tell— Will Crime Probe Hex Upset Kefauver, Too?

By EDWIN A. LAHEY
Times Special Writer

CLARKSVILLE, Tenn., Aug. 4—Estes Kefauver of Tennessee is winding up a bitter fight to retain his seat in the Senate. In resisting the cloak of political oblivion with which his enemies wish to envelop him in the Democratic primary tomorrow, Sen. Kefauver is also fighting one of the strange hexes of American politics.



United Press Telephone
ESTES KEFAUVER—Forced into bitter election battle.

IT IS the hex of the Kefauver Crime Committee. Nearly everyone connected with that committee has encountered trouble. Sens. Charles W. Tobey (R. N. H.) and Lester Hunt (D. Wyo.) are dead. Sen. Herbert O'Connor (D. Md.) was eased out of public life by his own Democratic state organization.

Rudolph Halley, the chief counsel of the committee, soared like a rocket in the political world for awhile, and then plunked to earth in the same manner in the mayoral campaign in New York last fall.

And now fate, in the unlikely person of Pat Sutton, the Democratic Congressman from Tennessee's 6th District, has drawn a bead on Sen. Kefauver, with the view of retiring him from political life.

But Sen. Kefauver, the hard-shakingest and most affable man in the Senate, is not waiting for fate with his hands on his lap.

The lanky Tennessean, who seemed whipped 10 days ago under the vigorous onslaught of his opponent, has made a strong comeback in a whirlwind counterattack against Rep. Sutton.

MOST OBSERVERS now believe Sen. Kefauver is over the hill, and stands a better than even chance to be renominated.

Sen. Kefauver has spread the impression well that the underworld lords, who were destroyed by his committee, are now out to defeat him.

Robert Venn, a promoter who has helped Rep. Sutton

set up television "talkathons" throughout the state, formerly was connected with a radio station in Miami in which Mickey McBride, the former race wire operator, had an interest.

Sen. Kefauver has stressed this connection to leave the impression the former race wire operators are doing everything they can to defeat him.

The Senator did not regard Rep. Sutton as dangerous until the energetic young Congressman began his "talkathon" technique, in which he goes around the clock, answering his own questions.

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Hoover Praises Work Of Kefauver Probers

State campaign headquarters for Sen. Estes Kefauver released a statement by J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, yesterday praising the work of the Kefauver crime investigating committee.

Charles G. Neese, chairman of Kefauver's state campaign committee, said the statement was released in reply to charges by Rep. Pat Sutton, Kefauver's opponent in the senate race, that the committee "didn't do any good because it didn't put anybody in jail except Frankie Costello and he for another violation."

"The people will be interested to see what J. Edgar Hoover had to say on that score," Neese said.

Developed Facts

Hoover's statement, dated March 26, 1951, reads in part: "The members of this special committee of the U. S. senate can take pride in its accomplishments during the past few months. You have developed facts which brought out into the open entanglements between the underworld and the upper world, and unholy alliances between the criminal element and officialdom which established a shocking disregard for law and order."

"The work of this committee to date has made great progress in awakening a public interest and a public consciousness in the widespread ramifications of the underworld. The committee has not been free from threats of violence and intimidation, but you have gone ahead with determination objectively and fearlessly."

Observed by Millions

"Your hearings have been observed by millions of Americans on television screens and they have seen for themselves the arrogant defiance of those who conceal their endeavors and hide behind the protection of the Constitution for which they have so little regard."

"This awakened interest augurs well for the future. I hope it will result in increased zeal for civic responsibility."

"May I also express the hope that this committee, under its particularly very able chairman (Kefauver), will continue its unbiased non-political exposure of the criminal element which has polluted all too many communities of our nation."

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(CRIME)

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO SET UP A NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO KEEP TAB ON ORGANIZED CRIME.

THE TENNESSEE DEMOCRAT SAID THE COMMISSION AND COMMITTEE WOULD GATHER INFORMATION ON CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES FOR USE BY LAW MAKERS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS.

KEFAUVER INTRODUCED SIX OTHER MEASURES AIMED AT CURBING ORGANIZED CRIME. MOST OF THE BILLS WERE REINTRODUCED FROM LAST SESSION.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FORMER CRIME COMMITTEE JOINED IN SPONSORING THE MEASURES EXCEPT SEN. ALEXANDER WILEY (R-WIS.) WHO DID NOT SIGN THE CRIME COMMISSION AND COMMITTEE PROPOSALS.

KEFAUVER'S BILLS WOULD TIGHTEN TAX LAWS FOR PERSONS RECEIVING INCOME FROM ILLEGAL SOURCES AND FORCE A WITNESS IN SOME INSTANCES TO TESTIFY IN SPITE OF CLAIMS OF POSSIBLE SELF-INCRIMINATION.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

The Washington Merry-Go-Round City Machines Operate

By Drew Pearson

Naturally you can't get any of the Democratic high command to admit it, but the frantic jockeying to sidetrack Estes Kefauver largely boils down to a deep and frenzied fear on the part of the big city bosses of having him where he could control the Justice Department.



That's the reason why a lot of Northern money is being sent down to Florida to try to defeat Kefauver with another Southerner - Russell of Georgia. It isn't so much that certain Northern Democrats love Russell; it's that they figure Florida is a key State to set back Kefauver.

To understand exactly what this means you have to understand the cardinal strategy by which the Democratic Party has won its victories in recent years.

This strategy is to control the big city machines. Such control does two things. First, it gives the party a huge block of votes to lead off in any national election; second, the power and patronage of the city machines is more important to some leaders than a national victory.

That is why Washington has long witnessed the paradoxical position of certain Brooklyn, Manhattan and Chicago Congressmen who consistently vote for liberal legislation in Washington, then go home and vote conservative on local issues. What this means is that, in return for their votes on national issues in Washington, these Congressmen and these city machines are given complete power at home.

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LABOR

WASINGTON. That man in the coonskin cap, Tennessee's gift to TV, has so successfully reached over the heads of the White House strategists and their labor allies and has developed such fantastic support inside the Democratic Party and the powerful unions, that Mr. Truman has decided on a "Draft Stevenson" drive to stop Sen. Kefauver at the nominating convention.

He will have national labor leaders' support. This I learn from one of the President's most intimate friends.

The draft to chill the crime buster would have been unleashed now if Mr. Truman were not eager to give Averell Harriman a chance to prove himself a good campaigner, capable of arousing strong labor support. But the national labor chiefs are passing on word that while they think Harriman is a good guy, they want Gov. Stevenson.

And Harry Truman is with them, regardless of what seems like a presidential boom for Harriman. That's positive! Mr. Truman's scheduled appearance with Harriman, along with the country's most influential labor chiefs at the Americans for Democratic Action banquet here, is absolutely not to be taken as a pledge of support for his nomination bid.

THE White House-labor coalition had been trying to kid Kefauver out of political existence until recently. Suddenly the combine realized that the Senator had trounced the best the Truman-labor campaigners could throw at him—cabinet members, mayors, public officials, national political labor leaders and prominent attorneys high in the social circles of each city. These primary election results startled and frightened the most cynical and hard-headed of a particularly unimpressonable stratum of this society of ours, the district machine leaders.

They were hit hard by a sudden grim thought—the people were developing a decided political allergy towards machine candidates. The people were bolting to Kefauver, as they did in the Ohio primaries. There, not only did the Tennessee Senator's "unknown amateurs" waltz through the primaries by defeating the genial Secretary of Commerce, nominal manager of the country's steel mills, but also the men who run labor's biggest national political machines.

Kefauver's men trounced Jack Kroll, national head of the CIO's Political Action Committee, who has been consulting with Mr. Truman in the past few weeks.

Kefauver's men ran well ahead of AFL Vice President George Harrison, director of organization of the AFL's national political machine, Labor's League for Political Education.

AND the Coonskinners' men beat the energetic Phil Hanna, the dynamo behind the the AFL's Ohio political machine, the man who led the drive against Sen. Taft in 1950. It means that Kroll and Hanna will not be delegates to the national convention. This is unusual for a national chief of the CIO's Political Action Committee, who in past years, if frenetic history is right, influenced the vice-presidential nominations and helped swing Harry Truman onto the 1944 national ticket.

So, the Kefauver national headquarters, whose prejudice in the matter is understandable, must be harkened to when it interprets the Senator's rank-and-file support as stronger than anything the labor leaders or the disturbed city leaders can whip up right now.

The Kefauver crew may be amateurs, but they know that when you work against the machines, you're bucking the old pork barrel boys. The Tennessean's strategists, however, are winning without benefit of patronage. How?

THEY don't quite know. Except that they are aware of strong support from the wives of working men in the big centers. They also report that despite the Administration's labor front, they have "fantastic" lower level labor support pledged secretly to them.

Their headquarters is flooded with messages from the second and third string labor leaders—business agents, local presidents, shop stewards and members of negotiating and grievance committees. This is the group which finds itself harassed by the goons and musclemen trying to make a soft buck out of the loan shark, bookie and slugging rackets.

Kefauver has caught the little guy's imagination. And the big guys on top will have to move fast if they want to stop that Tennessee waltz and deliver the vote to Mr. Truman's choice, be he Harriman, Stevenson or Truman!

(Follow Victor Riesel's "Labor Column" in the Mirror every Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday.)



Victor Riesel

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Kefauver Has News for Truman

By Robert S. Allen

Washington, Jan. 14 — Sen. Estes Kefauver's visit to the White House tomorrow will be a courtesy call to tell President Truman that he will seek the Democratic nomination for President.

The former head of the Senate Crime Committee will NOT seek advice from the President on whether he should or should not be a candidate nor will he ask Mr. Truman about his political plans.

Instead, Kefauver will report politely but flatly to the President that he has decided to toss his hat into the 1952 Democratic race come what may.

The Tennessee Senator will explain that his visit was requested because he wanted the President to know about his plans first hand before the formal announcement is made later in the week.

Then Kefauver will assure the President that he has no plans to attack him personally and that his speeches seeking the nomination will vigorously support the Administration's foreign and domestic policies.

Significantly, Kefauver will make it known that he has promised his backers he will stay in the race until the deciding convention vote in Chicago next July regardless of opponent.

This direct approach to the President by Kefauver was decided at a secret meeting which the Senator had with a small group of his supporters on Jan. 6 at the swank Washington home of the Rev. Powell Davies.

Attending the meeting were such staunch New Dealers as Leon Henderson, OPA Administrator under Roosevelt, Oscar Cox, lawyer and former White House aide, Francis Shea, Washington attorney, Sam O'Neal, former publicity director of the Democratic National Committee, Wendell Berge, former head of the Anti-Trust Division, Silliman Evans, Tennessee publisher,

Charles Aldredge, Washington public relations expert, and Rep. Wayne Hayes (D-Ohio).

The inside story is that the meeting was called at Sen. Kefauver's own request and held specifically to decide on how and when the Senator should make his announcement.

Shortly after the group had gathered, Rep. Hayes, who came prepared to announce Kefauver's candidacy, broke the ice.

"Kefauver should announce tomorrow," the noisy Hayes boomed. "We've got to beat Truman to the punch in Ohio. The Senator can make it official after I tell the press that a slate of del-

egates pledged to Kefauver will be filed in the Ohio primary. I'm convinced that Truman will let them file a slate for him and we can murder them."

"A question whether that is either the right or the wise political approach," Wendell Berge stated. "A brisk announcement and challenge like that would only irritate the President and many of his followers. Mr. Truman is still not a candidate, but he is still a potential President-maker. Our announcement must be planned and timed to take that into consideration."



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City Machines and Justice

This complete power, however, depends on a friendly cooperative Justice Department. Without this, city machines cannot safely operate. For part of their campaign revenue frequently comes from gambling and underworld sources, so that any Attorney General who gets tough about the Corrupt Practices Act or income-tax prosecutions automatically jeopardizes their business.

That was the real reason why Attorney General Frank Murphy was boosted up to the Supreme Court when he got too tough with the big city machines; and it is also why the Democratic leaders of those machines are deathly afraid of a crime-buster named Kefauver.

Likewise it is why Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida is bitterly opposed to Kefauver. For Kefauver helped expose the huge amounts of gambling contributions which helped Warren get elected—a total of \$154,079 coming from Chicago's William H. Johnson, big shot owner of dog tracks who dominates dog races in the entire State of Florida.

It was Murphy who, as Attorney General, sent Boss Pendergast of Kansas City to jail, prosecuted five members of the old Huey Long gang in Louisiana and started to investigate the Jersey City setup of Boss Frank Hague. About this time, howls of anguish from Democratic leaders were so loud that FDR had to listen to them, and Murphy was promoted to the Supreme Court.

Protests over Murphy were somewhat similar to the protests Calvin Coolidge received when his Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone started to prosecute the Aluminum Corp. of America under the Sherman Antitrust Act, despite the fact that the head of ALCOA, Andrew W. Mellon, was sitting as Secretary of the Treasury in the Coolidge Cabinet.

The protests at that time came from big business, and Stone promptly was promoted to the Supreme Court—even though he was a very close friend and former Amherst classmate of Coolidge.

Parties Covet Justice Dept.

Ever since shortly after the Civil War, when the once radical Republican Party became the defender of business, its campaign chests have received their main contributions from business. Simultaneously the Democratic Party has received generous con-

tributions from certain shadowy figures who support the big city machines. Jimmy Hines, the Tammany leader who later went to jail for his underworld connections, attended the Democratic convention in Chicago when Franklin Roosevelt was first nominated, and Frankie Costello, the gambling king was with him. Likewise the \$300,000 shake-down which Boss Pendergast collected from Missouri insurance companies did not go into his pocket but into the party's campaign funds.

This gives an inkling of why certain leaders are so sore at Kefauver. It also gives an inkling of why control of the Justice Department is so important. In the case of the Democrats, they need control of the Justice Department's criminal division which has the power to put people in jail. In the case of the Republicans they hanker for control of the antitrust division with its power to prosecute corporations.

The first Democrat since Frank Murphy who really disrupted this unofficial alliance is the gentleman from Tennessee who is now running for the Democratic nomination.

Kefauver had the nerve not only to push a crime investigation through the Senate, but to probe such cities as Chicago and New York just before elections.

Kefauver was urged by Democratic colleagues to concentrate on Philadelphia, a city where

crime was bad, but which was controlled by Republicans. Instead he began with the President's own home—Kansas City, then moved up to Democratic Chicago, and on to Democratic New York where he seriously embarrassed the former Mayor of New York, Democrat William O'Dwyer.

Ordinarily, party bosses don't shy away from a winner. On the contrary, they rush in his direction. Results from all Democratic primaries prior to this Tuesday indicate that, measured in terms, politicians understand best, hard cold votes, they have a possible winner in Kefauver. For instance, total Democratic votes cast in all primaries prior to this week is 1,417,660, out of which Kefauver has won 1,124,804, or about 80 percent.

Here is the breakdown:
Democratic votes cast up until this week:
Kefauver 1,124,804
Humphrey 102,527
Stevenson 88,913
Truman 55,502
Kerr 42,004
Russell 1804
Harriman 1563
Barkley 143

However, when the party bosses foresee a hostile Justice Department plus the possible threat of jail, then the normal appeal of backing a winner just doesn't count. The last thing they want is a Justice Department in the hands of another Frank Murphy.

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Crime in America

Corruption in Small Towns Described in Case History

By Estes Kefauver

Former Chairman of Senate Crime Committee

So far in this series, the pattern suggested is that crime and contempt for the law is a big-city operation. This is not necessarily so. The smaller cities and towns have it, too.

Sometimes, as our Senate committee was to learn, crime in

This is the sixth of a series of 20 articles condensed from the book "Crime in America" by Senator Kefauver.

smaller places was conducted as a suburban, or branch, operation of the nearest big city gang. This was particularly true in the Chicago and New York areas. On the other hand, there also is the phenomenon of the wide-open small-town, free from big-city gang influence and where the local operator—usually a single "string man"—is able to operate without paying any particular tribute to the law.

The small cities and towns, as often has been said, are the backbone of America. If corruption threatens to take them over, it is important that we find out about it and turn the spotlight of exposure upon it, so an aroused public opinion can get to work on cleaning up conditions.

In many big cities, young people come into maturity with an attitude of contempt for the law, because they see and hear almost daily that criminals, through alliances with conniving politicians and crooked law-enforcement officers, are bigger than the law. It would be a frightful thing if this same disillusionment should spread to the small-town youngsters of America.

The committee touched, briefly on one such case study in its questioning, both privately and in public hearings in Chicago, of a man named Thomas J. Cawley.

In a way, Cawley, a stocky, unabashed monosyllabic witness, was a refreshing change from the procession of hoodlum witnesses whose carefully rehearsed refrain, "I refuse to answer on the ground it might tend to incriminate me," became so grating to our ears. He, at least, made no bones of the fact that Thomas J. Cawley was the undisputed gambling king of two small Illinois towns—LaSalle, population 12,023, and Streator, population 10,447. The two towns both in LaSalle County are about 27 miles apart.

Quotes, Some Excerpts

I should like to quote simple and unadorned excerpts from the official record of the examination of this small-town gambler.

Cawley's first appearance was in executive (closed) session, October 18, 1950, at the United States Court House in Chicago.

Q. What is your business, Mr. Cawley?

A. A cigar store operator.

Q. What other business do you have?

A. I operate a farm and a book.

Q. Where do you operate your book?

A. 621 First st., LaSalle, Ill.

Q. Is that the only book you operate?

A. I operate one in Streator, Ill.

Q. Is it (the Streator operation) solely a book?

A. Well, it is a gambling room, is what it is. We have dice.

Q. You also have gambling equipment?

A. Yes.

Q. What type of games do you run?

A. Roulette, LaSalle, and that is all.

Cawley went on to say that he employs about 65 or 70 persons in LaSalle; this includes his restaurant, bar, and cigar store employees, in addition to the gambling help.

Q. How long have you operated the book there?

A. I imagine around 15 years.

Q. Is that in LaSalle?

A. In LaSalle, at Streator, I would say 10 years.

Q. Who is sheriff of that county?

A. The sheriff now is Ryan.

Says He Hardly Knows Him.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I hardly know the man.

Q. Did you know Mike Welter?

A. Yes, sir. He was sheriff three times.

Q. Did you contribute to the campaign funds of any of the other Sheriffs?

A. No, sir, only Mike Welter.

Q. How much did you contribute to his campaign?

A. \$500.

Q. Mike Welter knew what business you were in?

A. I wouldn't know whether he would or not.

Q. Why?

A. I never asked him.

Q. What we want to get at is: How can you run wide open down there without the sheriff knowing about it and doing something about it? It is generally known is it not, that you operate these places?

A. That is right. I was born and raised there. I had a good friend, the mayor of the town, and he wouldn't let none of them politicians come into our city.

Q. He would not let any politicians come in?

A. He wouldn't let them politicians come from the county into the city from LaSalle.

Q. He would not let the sheriff come in?

A. That is right.

Q. So he is the one who let you keep on running, is that it?

A. He never let me keep on running. He didn't do any more for me than he would for anybody else. Anybody can go down in that town right today and open up, and it doesn't cost them a 5-cent piece.

Q. The sheriff does not bother you.

A. That is right.

Q. Do the people like it, you think?

A. I think they do—90 per cent of them.

Everybody Knows His Business.

Q. What is the present chief of police's name?

A. Eddie Kasprovicz, something like that.

Q. He knows what business you were in?

A. Yes. Everybody in town knows what business I am in.

Q. Do you pay money for protection?

A. No, sir.

Q. Never have paid any money?

A. No. When I do, I will get out of business.

Q. Do you contribute any money to political parties?

A. I might contribute to both parties, a check, a hundred dollars here or a hundred dollars there, yes.

Q. That was to the political party, but to no particular individual?

A. That is right.

Q. Have the Mayor or Chief of Police ever done anything to put down your book?

A. No, sir.

Q. In questioning, revealed that Cawley's business was a farm.

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ly enterprise of which he owned 52 per cent. His share of the net profits the previous year (1949) was approximately \$67,000. He said his partners were a brother and two sisters; that they "absolutely" were not connected with any one from Chicago or elsewhere, and that "when they (the Chicago element) come in, I go out."

We next delved into Cawley's connections with the racing wire service. He was in that business, too, in both towns. His ticker service, which he bought from one of the Continental Press distributors, was cut off at LaSalle shortly before he testified but still was operating at Streator.

Admits He Was Raided

Q. You had never been raided?

A. Yes, I was raided once. I have had one conviction.

Q. What was that?

A. Well, running a gaming house.

Then, two months later, the committee had Mr. Cawley back in Chicago for examination in open hearings. In the meantime we had read in the Chicago newspapers that, the day after he told us in executive session that he ran without interference, his place in LaSalle was shut down tight by order of the Mayor.

In Streator, the police chief was quoted as saying he had called at Cawley's Paddock Club but found "nothing but punchboards and lucky bowls." But the following is what we heard from the still unruffled Cawley.

Q. Do you still have an establishment in both places (LaSalle and Streator)?

A. That is correct.

Q. Are they still operating?

A. That is right.

Q. Have they been down to speak of for any period of time in the last two or three months?

A. Very little.

Q. You have no trouble operating now?

A. That is right.

Q. Everything is going the same as usual?

A. Yes.

Q. Your books are operating and your crap games are operating?

A. That is correct.

Cawley went on to list, perfectly frankly, in response to questions, all the forms of gambling in which he was engaged. In addition to the horse books, he listed a baseball pool, punchboards, roulette and a small poker game. Slot machines had been out for some time.

Still curious as to how he got away with it, I picked up the questioning.

Q. How do you account for the fact that you can operate the way you can, Mr. Cawley?

A. Well, it has been going on down there for 25 years.

Q. You said 90 per cent of the people like it?

A. That is right. We had an election down there that proved that.

Q. Tell me about that.

A. The sheriff—two sheriffs run, one runs on an anti-gambling ticket and the other fellow runs on an open ticket, and the fellow on the open ticket wins the election.

Q. Don't you sell liquor in your places?

A. . . . They took my liquor license away from me.

Q. And when did they take the liquor license away from you?

A. After I got back from this meeting the last time. (Laughter in the hearing room.)

Q. But you still sell liquor?

A. That is right.

Q. But it hasn't made any difference in your operation?

A. No. No.

Tomorrow: Miami — A Pol- luted Playground.

Condensed from book "Crime in America," by Estes Kefauver, Copyright 1951. Published by Doubleday, Inc. Distributed General Features Corp.

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ESTABLISHED 1882
The Chattanooga Times
117 East Tenth Street
ADOLPH S. OCHS, President, 1878-1935
Published Every Day in the Year by
THE TIMES PRINTING COMPANY,
Chattanooga, Tennessee.
JULIUS OCHS ADLER,
Publisher and President.
ADOLPH SHELBY OCHS,
Secretary and Treasurer.
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OUTDOING M' CARTHY

It is queer reasoning which can accuse Estes Kefauver of playing both sides of the political street. Those of Mr. Kefauver's supporters who are more interested in his political advancement than in the welfare of his conscience threw up their hands when he was one of seven senators who defied politics on the anti-subversive bill. Mr. Kefauver's refusal to play both sides of the political street has often caused him to take positions which seemed at the time to be politically unwise, but which have had a way of turning out all right. It is pointed out elsewhere that both the CIO and "society women" supported him in Tennessee. Well, Fulton Lewis Jr. took up the newspaper story of Monday, and gave it his full indorsement Monday evening in his broadcast from Washington. Fulton Lewis Jr. represents an extreme reactionary political faction which could never muster enough votes to defeat a United States senator in Tennessee. Getting on the Fulton Lewis Jr. blacklist is smart politics.

The latest attack on Mr. Kefauver said that he had misrepresented the position of J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI on the anti-subversive bill. A telegram from Mr. Hoover said that he had not voiced an opinion, the FBI being in the Department of Justice under the attorney-general. The attorney-general has spoken for the FBI in condemning the anti-subversive bill. President Truman in his veto message said that he had consulted the Department of Justice and that the bill would greatly hamper the FBI. Mr. Hoover is known to be personally against the anti-subversive law as passed though he says it is not within his function to express opinions on legislation. If he is not against it, his superior in the Department of Justice has been misled, as has the President of the United States. Senator Kefauver has become one of the most highly regarded members of the United States Senate. His independence and his rigid insistence on voting according to his conscience indeed makes the charge that he plays both sides of the political street seem to out-McCarthy the discredited jumping Joe himself.

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Editorial:
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EX-CAPONE MEN FACE INVESTIGATORS—Two former members of the Al Capone mob in Chicago, Paul de Lucia and Louis Campagna (left to right in foreground), face Senate crime investigators. Seated on rostrum (left to right) are Henry Patrick Kiley, George Robinson and Rudolph Halley, all of the committee staff, and Senator Kefauver.

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Broadway and ELSEWHERE

by JACK LAIT

Estes in Plunderland

The definitive story of Kefauver's committee investigating organized crime has never been told, and its inception, character, and potentialities have not been made clear.

He is 47 years old, has four more years on his present Senate term, is a Fair Deal man except that he opposes FEPC. He plunged into the job of probing nationwide complex syndicated racketeering and vice with the naive viewpoints and knowledge of a Tennessee Congressman who campaigned in a coonskin cap and had guts enough to fight and beat Boss Crump.

He tore into this investigation with no conception of the forces he was fighting and the political whirlpool into which he was diving. Where he comes from there is no gangsterism excepting for local politics. He did not realize that his party was tied up in most of the United States and higher up in the Capital with the top men against whom he proposed to proceed.

The explosion that followed when he introduced his bill shook and shattered him. He was called on the carpet. He was let in on the tieups between the big mobsters in New York, Chicago, Kansas City, Miami, Cleveland, St. Louis, Pueblo and other Democratic centers—the Mafia ruled heads of the traffickers in gambling, dope, vice, labor, dry state bootlegging and commercial monopolies with Democratic forces. But he refused to let the Administration sidetrack his motion to a standing committee controlled by hacks, and won a compromise, though he lost Sen. Ferguson, a famous crime-buster.

The only two Republicans, admitted on seniority, were Wiley of Wisconsin and Tobey of New Hampshire, both up for reelection, fighting for their political survival and too busy for "probing."

The Committee counsel was chosen for him by Judge Ferdinand Pecora, a White House pet and a protege of Ed Flynn, now a candidate for Mayor of New York. Rudolph Halley had been the attorney for the transportation company in which I reported the gangsters own or then owned a large part of the stock. He and his partner, Hugh Fulton, had been attorneys for the Truman Committee. Truman asked about my item and was assured it was false as to any racketeer ownership in the transportation line, and that I had retracted that statement. I never did and I do not now.

Kefauver had known nothing about Halley or his political or client associations. He accepted Halley. But his principal source of information, which had originally caused him to start the investigation, was what he had read in Chicago Confidential. He asked Lee Mortimer, my collaborator, to take a leave of absence from the paper and act as the paid adviser to the Committee. Before he got a decision on this, he hastily withdrew his offer, claiming "other newspapermen would be offended." That was a polite alibi quickly arranged when influential Democrats vehemently vetoed the idea.

Kefauver wanted Tom Murphy, Federal prosecutor fresh from his victory in the Hiss conviction, but this was killed by the Justice Department. He then tried to get Boris Kostelanetz, and that was thumbed down because Kostelanetz had sent to Atlanta the Capone mobsters who extorted \$2,000,000 from the movie industry and its unions. Kefauver fought unsuccessfully for the bravest best start.

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At an open hearing into national gambling, the subpoenaed gamblers were represented by Morris Shenker, St. Louis lawyer, formerly on the Missouri Democratic Committee, who last week was named by National Democratic Chairman Boyle to his Finance Committee.

Every effort has been made to keep Kefauver concentrated on gambling. Syndicate heads know the nation is not shocked over bookmaking. But there was a panic when the Senator slopped over into racing wire services, the apparatus for funneling payoffs into the hands of the top men, the largest fluent source of racketeer money, though not as profitable as narcotics, the compact medium for tangible "take-home" millions. The committee has scarcely touched the spine of the syndicate system, but it will recommend the following legislation:

To make it a felony to finance illegal operations (that was the gist of GOP State Sen. Halpern's bill which this year was ignored in Albany).

To require stock brokers to list actual ownership of securities held for principals or beneficially for dummies, and to require corporations to publish statements of ownership like those required of newspapers.

To strengthen the U. S. Bureau of Narcotics, crippled with a puny budget and a staff inadequate to do one-tenth the needed work against an international set-up of sordid wholesale smugglers and peddlers who deal in misery, corruption, destruction and death.

These findings will stun the Mafia boys, who smugly think they have stymied Kefauver. They strike at the roots of the protection of criminals, whose political domination is a growing menace and scandal.

Kefauver believes there should be a national crime commission, on lines of the foremost body of its kind in Chicago under leadership of Virgil Peterson. He has no hope of getting Congressional help on this but may propose it be financed by public-spirited citizens with a central bureau, something like a private F.B.I.

SECRET

SEP 11 1950

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER
 Tenn. is the man who
 tilted with the windmill and
 won. His victory over the
 machine of
 Boss E. H.
 Crump of
 Memphis
 ranks as one
 of the top po-
 litical accom-
 plishments of
 1948.
 Crump called
 Kefauver a
 "pet coon of the Communists."
 Kefauver replied by donning
 a coonskin cap and saying, "This
 coon may have a ring around its
 tail, but it will never have a
 ring through its nose." Now
 45, he was elected to House in
 1938 and was reelected four
 times. Native of Madisonville,
 Tenn., now lives in Chattanooga.
 Football star at University of
 Tennessee. Graduate of Yale
 Law School. Married.
 Three children.

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 NOT RECORDED
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Washington Post
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