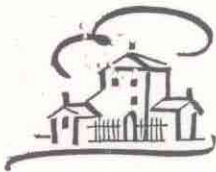


***** *Washington*

Witch *****

Hunt

BY BERT ANDREWS



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ONE

*The Hunters and the
Hunted*

THE war to protect civil liberties—*your* civil liberties—is never-ending. As the central figure in one of the newest and fiercest battles of that war there is a man who has come to be known by the all-disguising name of “Mr. Blank.”

He is a real man. He is not a character in a weird novel or a bad dream. He is so real, in fact, that he could be *you* or *me*, and the things that happened to him—and are still happening to him—could befall you or me.

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This *begins*, then, as the story of Mr. Blank.
But it is a story of many ramifications.

. . . of how Mr. Blank was discharged from the Department of State of the United States of America as "a potential security risk" without ever being informed of the nature of the charges against him and without ever being confronted by his accusers.

. . . of how a witch hunt, once it begins, can strike at anyone, no matter how innocent he might be.

. . . of the incident that made me angry enough about Mr. Blank's case to want to do something about it, not only for the sake of Mr. Blank but also for *your* sake and for *my* sake.

. . . of how the greatest of the bureaucratic agencies of the mightiest government in the world was made to back down when the cold, bare facts were exposed to public view.

But there is much more to it than the mere case history of one individual.

For the study of this case history leads directly into a consideration of the larger factors involved; the factors that explain why the Department of State and other government agencies "got this way" during the aftermath of World War II.

It leads to consideration—

. . . of the part played by J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which he heads.

. . . of the case of Ring Lardner, Jr., and other

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Hollywood figures who were cited for contempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

. . . of the case of veiled charges and innuendoes against Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director of the Bureau of Standards.

. . . of the strange professions of loyalty to the United States made by William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist party, U. S. A.

. . . of how those professions stacked up when compared with statements made by Josef Stalin, Viacheslav Molotov and Andrei A. Zhdanov, the Russian leaders.

Then, reverting to Mr. Blank, there are the additional accounts—

. . . of what can be accomplished against a witch hunt when the triple-throated voice of the *people* and the *press* and the *radio* join in shouting: "This is wrong!"

. . . of the troubles that beset a man who goes job-hunting with the words "potential security risk" plastered on his name and reputation, even though the triple-throated cry has led to a correction of the general situation.

. . . of the worries that beset a man who blandly participated in the "no-hearing" case of Mr. Blank when he, himself, was thrust into a situation where he very much wanted a hearing.

There were four men present in a State Department room on the morning of November 1, 1947.

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Three were State Department officials.

One was this reporter.

The case of Mr. Blank was being discussed.

The talk revolved generally around the ethics and decency and fairness of dismissing *any* individual without letting him in on the secret of who accused him of what, and without granting him the right of appeal.

There wasn't any argument about whether the State Department had the *right* to do all this.

It definitely had the right by act of Congress.

The argument was whether it was the American way of proceeding.

Finally, weary of the talk, one of the State Department men said words that shocked the reporter. There were no stenographers present, so there is no exact record. But this was the sense of what he said:

"Why beat around the bush on a matter like this? It is entirely conceivable that any one of us in this room could be made the victim of a complete frame-up, if he had enough enemies in the Department who were out to get him." (He was talking about himself and the other two State Department men.)

"Yes," he continued, "such a thing would be perfectly conceivable. And we would not have any more recourse than Mr. Blank, even though we were entirely innocent."

The reporter was astonished, and a bit frightened.

"*What* did you say?" the reporter asked, coming down hard on the word "what."

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The State Department man repeated his statement.

The reporter said words that amounted to these:

"If a man of your intelligence can say a thing like that without being shocked at what you are saying and without a feeling of personal peril, then something is wrong. And it's high time the story of Mr. Blank was told to the people of the United States to let them decide what was done right and what was done wrong in his case."

The postwar climate was not new. An earlier hunt had begun in the same atmosphere more than a quarter of a century ago. It was history repeating itself—without regard for past lessons.

Men old enough to remember, students of history, fathers and mothers of today's government workers saw the new open season develop just as it had after World War I. Then, though, it was first the executive branch which felt compelled to clean house. Now it was the legislative demanding scalps of the executive.

One needed to turn back the pages of history but a quarter of a century to appreciate the danger. In the Wilson era the administration persisted in exercising stringent controls over private thinking, though any justification for it had ended with the armistice.

Woodrow Wilson's Postmaster General, Albert S. Burleson, continued to keep a rigid but no longer justified watch over the press and the mails. With similar presidential blessing, the Attorney General, A. Mitchell

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Palmer, launched a one-man crusade against "Reds." Arrests on mere suspicion were wholesale. Entrapment was encouraged. "Seditious meetings" were provoked and aliens were rounded up for deportation. Congress considered new and more drastic sedition laws.

When the pendulum had swung too far, as it was doing now, vehement protests arose from everyone who knew what was at stake.

Charles Evans Hughes, concerned for constitutional rights, spoke up before the Harvard Law alumni.

"We may well wonder, in view of the precedents now established," the former Supreme Court Justice said gravely, "whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged."

Now, that other great war had been victoriously waged. The period of Justice Hughes' fears had arrived. Twelve years of liberal government under Franklin Delano Roosevelt had given rise to recurrent and continuing charges that the Federal establishment was permeated with "Communists, pink Socialists, and fellow travelers." The charges had been generally discounted and brushed aside by the American public.

But public confidence waned with the collapse of the illusive wartime friendship between Soviet Russia and the Western Democracies. With the renewed war of the ideologies, with American capitalism the principal target of Russian communism, the possible presence of Com-

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munists and fellow travelers in government took on new and seemingly sinister importance.

Then the first climax came: A Canadian Royal Commission, during the summer of 1946, disclosed that a Soviet spy ring, its agents camouflaged as diplomats, had worked hand in fist with leftists in the Canadian government to pry out atomic secrets shared by Canada and the United States.

The floodgates were open. With a burst of indignation, members of Congress demanded effective measures to guard government offices against infiltration by adherents of foreign ideologies. A Gallup poll, published August 25, 1946, indicated wide support of proposals to bar Communists from Federal offices. The question was how.

Congressmen recalled that Patrick J. Hurley had resigned the preceding November as United States Ambassador to China with a blast charging that the President's policy in Asia was being sabotaged by foreign-service career men in Washington and at the Embassy in Chungking. The saboteurs, General Hurley said, sided with "the Chinese Communist armed party" and, paradoxically, with "the imperialist bloc of nations," which he identified as Great Britain, the Netherlands and France.

Hurley's broadside took on new meaning now. The House Un-American Activities Committee went to work with increased vigor; the House Post Office and

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Civil Service Committee became restive; conservatives in the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees became alarmed. Their principal concern was the State Department, but they agreed that all offices of government had to be purged.

Conflicting stories of State Department vigilance were heard in the House. Representative Edward Eugene Cox, Democrat, of Georgia, reported that the Department had been "exerting itself to the limit" to eliminate undesirable employees. He said that a security committee, established within the Department, had purged "hundreds of people and they are going out daily."

Representative Bartel J. Jonkman, Republican, of Michigan, had a different version. He said that Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State, had informed him that recent wholesale dismissals had been due solely to reasons of economy. Referring to lists of permanent employees suspected of disloyalty, which had been forwarded to the Department from various sources, Acheson had told Jonkman that "accusations against but one employee have been substantiated and this person has been discharged."

That summer—1946—James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State, went before the Appropriations Committees to press the Department's budget requests for the next fiscal year. He was caught between a crossfire of inquiries on the extent of the Department's purge of disloyal employees. It had gone no further, he explained, than the

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civil-service law permitted. If it was the consensus of Congress that the Department should have a freer hand, Congress should say so.

Congress did. It said it in a special rider to the State Department's appropriation bill. The provision came to be known as the McCarran rider because its author was Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat, of Nevada, chairman of the sub-committee which handled the supply measure. The rider permitted summary discharge of any State Department employee by the Secretary "in his absolute discretion . . . whenever he shall deem such termination necessary or advisable in the interests of the United States."

Similar arbitrary power of dismissal had been granted the Navy and War Departments in World War II legislation, and later to the hypersensitive Atomic Energy Commission. The new provision, which remains on the books for the three Departments and the Commission, has the effect of waiving the normal statutory protection against discharge accorded permanent-status civil-service employees.

Employees of the three Departments and the Commission found themselves on an island alone among civil-service employees. Unlike the others they could be turned out summarily without learning any charges, without having an opportunity to reply, and, in the case of removal, perhaps for political or religious reasons, without the usual appeal to the Civil Service Commission.

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The State Department, though, was cautious with its new power. No instances of misuse—or, in fact, use—of the McCarran rider were reported at first. But early in the summer of 1947 State Department officials returned to the Senate Appropriations Committee for money for the fiscal year of 1948.

The pressure for scalps was greater this time. The Department had the power but had not used it. Inexcusable! The cost would be severe cuts in appropriations, particularly for the important cultural and information program (Voice of America) which Congressmen had convinced themselves was a bee-hive of left-wing holdovers from the war agencies. Department officials hurried back downtown and made a quick search for likely scalps. Presently they were served up—those of Mr. Blank and nine others. Committee members now “understood” the Department’s financial requirements better.

Other committees of Congress looked to other Departments. They were interested in the entire roll of 2,200,000 Federal employees. Congressman Edward H. Rees, Republican, of Kansas, later chairman but then ranking minority member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, led the initial drive in 1946 for a legislated government-employee loyalty probe. It was necessary, he argued, not only to purge the disloyal, but to protect the loyal from suspicion. There was good reason to suspect, he maintained without contradiction, that the

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Canadian spy ring had not been confined to Canada. He was far from being alone in this belief.

In July, 1946, Rees was constituted a sub-committee chairman to investigate these matters. Eighteen days later, shortly before adjournment, the sub-committee reported. It said that testimony at secret sessions was "sufficient to indicate the immediate necessity for certain action." However, no detailed plan was advocated; nor was the testimony made public.

The sub-committee recognized, however, "the impossibility of adequately protecting the government (with existing appropriations) from the infiltration of persons whose primary loyalty is to other governments." The Civil Service Commission, the committee also found, had already begun to draw up instructions to be issued to other Federal agencies for stop-gap steps.

"The only way to afford complete protection to our government," the sub-committee concluded, "is to require all persons who apply for positions to be thoroughly investigated and fingerprinted in advance of employment." This would require an immediate increase in appropriations from loyalty investigations by the Civil Service Commission and the Departments. But no action was taken by Congress prior to adjournment.

Chairman Rees, meanwhile, finding himself a minority in his own sub-committee, recommended that the committee hold further hearings and make a "full and complete investigation." He put in a bill to set up a full

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loyalty probe. It passed the House. It never got through the Senate because President Truman set to work to keep the problem an administrative one, which he thought it was.

The first step, in November, 1946, was the appointment of a six-man Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty, its membership drawn from top officials in the Civil Service Commission, Army, Navy, State Department and Justice Department. Its conclusions, after four months of intensive study and investigation, were:

"1. Although the vast majority of federal employees are loyal, some are subversive or disloyal. Because of the secretive manner and method of their operation, it is difficult to assess the numerical strength of the disloyal group. Whatever their number, the internal security of the government demands continuous screening, scrutiny, and surveillance of present and prospective employees.

"2. The presence-within the government of any disloyal or subversive persons presents a problem of such importance that it must be dealt with vigorously and effectively.

"3. In addition to the emphasis properly placed on Communist and Communist-front organization activities, attention should be directed to the resurgence of native Fascist movements.

"4. Even if all the specific recommendations contained in this report are adopted and effectuated, there is still a distinct need for aggressive and uninterrupted counter-

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intelligence, particularly in its counter-espionage phases. A clear example of the need is presented in the recent Canadian experience with Communist espionage activities. It would be unrealistic to assume that foreign powers are not maintaining intelligence networks in this country.

"5. A guarantee of full and complete protection to the government is a commendable objective, but is rendered difficult of achievement by the fact that public funds are not unlimited and must be made available for many other necessary and vital purposes.

"6. There are compelling reasons for authorizing the Secretaries of State, War and Navy Departments and the Atomic Energy Commission to remove summarily any employee in the interest of national security. These more sensitive agencies require this specific authorization to safeguard the government from the destructive influence of disloyal or subversive persons."

With the general conclusions there were extensive specific conclusions, outlining the commission's idea of how a continuing administrative loyalty check should function. On March 22, 1947, the President issued the requisite Executive Order. Necessary appropriations were not at once forthcoming. Some men in Congress still hoped to defeat the President's order and force adoption of probe by statute.

Eventually the President won. The check started, carefully directed by a loyalty review board of eminent citizens, administered on the lower levels by the departments

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and agencies themselves, aided by a financially fortified Federal Bureau of Investigation. Except possibly for the island of summary authority, it would be no witch hunt.

Mr. Blank was one of ten State Department employees trapped on that island.

The ten were dismissed as "potential security risks" on June 23, 1947.

The State Department swiftly backed down in the cases of three when it developed that the suspicions against them were, to say the least, greatly exaggerated, and when it began to appear that the Department would be made to look ridiculous if the stories of the three were aired.

These three were allowed to resign "without prejudice."

What was the difference between such dismissals and such resignations?

Imagine yourself an employer receiving an application from job-hunters. You like their work records. But you check references and former places of employment. On one, you get back a report that he resigned voluntarily. On another, you receive word from the State Department that he was fired as a "potential security risk." Would you hire the latter? The answer is obvious.

That, then, was the position of the seven whose names had *not* been cleared.

And so, as a group, they turned to the law firm of Arnold, Fortas & Porter, whose members are:

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Thurman Arnold, former Assistant Attorney General; Abe Fortas, former Under Secretary of the Interior, and Paul A. Porter, former head of the Office of Price Administration and one-time emissary of President Truman to Greece with the rank of Ambassador.

No subversives there!

These men, to their eternal credit, took the case without fee because of the issue of civil liberties involved.

They began at once to use the battering rams of their legal lore and their knowledge of government, gained from the inside, against the stone walls of bureaucracy.

They had so little luck that Mr. Porter, in a July conversation with this reporter, said words something like these:

"Look, this is an outrageous case. We want to try to solve it without publicity. Obviously, our clients do not want their names made public if they can avoid it. If their names do become known, they will be tarred forever, even though they may be innocent—and we believe they are innocent of any real wrongdoing."

Mr. Porter paused there.

"But," he continued, and it turned out to be a big "but," "it may be necessary to turn on the spotlight of public opinion, and if so, I'll ask your help."

The help was promised, but before it was asked there were such intervening steps as these taken by the law firm:

1. A letter from the law firm to John E. Peurifoy,

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Assistant Secretary of State, on July 9, 1947. It said in

part:

"Secretary of State George C. Marshall, in a press conference, stated that the dismissals were because of indirect association with representatives of foreign powers. The affidavits (of the clients) specifically deny any association, directly or indirectly, with any one known or suspected by them of being a representative of a foreign power.

"If there is no basis for charges against them, as the attached affidavits state, I am sure you will agree that a serious and grave injustice has been done.

"If there is any basis for the charge, justice to the employees as well as public confidence in the Department of State requires that they be confronted with specific charges and given an opportunity to meet them."

2. A letter from Mr. Porter to Mr. Peurifoy, on September 2, 1947. It said in part:

"I have had two conferences with you on this matter and on both occasions I advised you that we had agreed to represent these employees on the express condition that their affidavits were accurate and that they did not fail to disclose any material fact.

"I requested further that you furnish us with any evidence of disloyalty on the part of these employees or with any data that the Department has which raises question as to the accuracy or completeness of the affidavits submitted.

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"No such information has been received.

"I desire now to repeat this request and will be available to discuss the matter further with you at your early convenience."

3. A letter from the law firm to Secretary Marshall on October 4, 1947. It said in part:

"We are addressing to you this appeal on behalf of seven employees of the Department of State whom this office represents to ascertain whether you have had the opportunity to review the action of the Department before we give further advice to these aggrieved individuals.

"We have today received a letter from Mr. Peurifoy in which he transmits the recommendation of the Personnel Security Board that none of the remainder 'be now permitted to resign without prejudice' and states 'that the Department proposes to take no further action with respect to the employees concerned.'"

The letter insisted that the Department's own statement on its security principles had been completely ignored in three particulars:

No charges had been submitted to the individuals or their counsel.

No hearing had been given any of these individuals in the accepted sense that a hearing means an opportunity to appear and submit evidence in response to charges.

No response had been made to the affidavits submitted by these employees denying the general and vague accu-

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sations that they associated "directly or indirectly" with representatives of foreign powers.

The letter to Marshall concluded:

"We submit that the procedure followed with respect to these employees is unfair and un-American. On their behalf we have asked that they be permitted to resign without prejudice in order that their economic future would not be jeopardized by the stigma of disloyalty or in the alternative that they be provided with charges and an opportunity to confront their accusers and rebut such charges. This we feel is their fundamental and simple right as American citizens.

"The procedure that has been followed is tragically analogous to the tactics employed in the police states dominated by communists and fascists and has no place in the American system where standards of civil liberties, fair play and the inalienable principles of the Bill of Rights are the privilege of the humblest without regard to race, color or creed."

The letter was written in vain. Exactly nothing happened until Sunday morning, November 2, 1947. On that day the *New York Herald Tribune* carried in all its grim detail the story of "Mr. Blank."

It was an account that shocked the nation and compelled the State Department to retreat from its stubbornly held position.

It encouraged those who had been too timid to fight for civil liberties to rally their forces and say:

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"This witch hunt has gone far enough."

It revived the fundamental belief of Americans that a man is innocent until he has been proven guilty.

For these reasons, and because it is a case which may be studied in the future when the atmosphere of America in 1947-1948 is under discussion, the essential facts

are repeated here.

Mr. Blank had been summarily dismissed from his State Department job.

He was regarded by the department, on the basis of a report from the F.B.I. on the results of eight months of shadowing him, as a bad security risk. He was not accused of disloyalty. Because the Department did not reveal the nature of the charges against him, there was no way for anyone outside the top echelon of the Department to know just what he did or was accused of having done.

There was no way for anyone outside the top echelon to know whether he was a victim of a "witch hunt" or a man guilty of offenses that might warrant even greater punishment than dismissal.

The State Department took the position that in such cases it could not reveal the charges lest it "give away" all it might have learned about the accused and thus tip off other persons with whom the individual might have associated.

One State Department source acknowledged it was entirely conceivable that an entirely innocent man might

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be made the victim of a frame-up, granting the unlikely possibility that sufficient enemies ganged up on him. The source acknowledged something even more important: that under the procedure such an innocent man would have no more recourse, no more chance of demanding and getting the charges against him, than would an individual guilty of disloyalty and violation of security.

The Department said it would be very glad if some system of review could be established which would insure any accused individual of the right to have a real review made of his case—a review that would satisfy everyone that no violation of civil liberties had been committed.

Some of the facts that emerged about Mr. Blank were: He worked for the government from February, 1942, to the date he was "severed," June 23, 1947. He worked successively for the Office of Price Administration, the War Production Board, the War Department, the Foreign Economic Administration and the State Department. In the late summer of 1946 the F.B.I. put two agents on him. They kept close watch on his "daily comings and goings." They learned the identities of people he talked to. They took a picture of him one day as he crossed the street with a woman employee in the office in which he worked at the time. Subsequently they showed the picture to his wife—in his presence.

In April, 1947, the agents visited him and his wife. They questioned them closely about their past years and

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the people they knew. That was when they showed her the picture.

In June, 1947, he was dismissed "without any statement of charges."

He received a "hearing" in July before four State Department superiors. He was told then that it was not in the nature of an appeal, that the case was closed as far as the Department was concerned, but that the law did not prohibit his employment by any other agency of the government.

He insisted he was not a Communist, as the F.B.I. agents alleged, and that his only "association with representatives of foreign powers" was in the course of his official duties at the State Department.

He felt he was entitled to learn the charges against him and have an opportunity to answer them. He offered, at the "hearing," to send additional information, and was told to go ahead—"you send it over and we'll slap it in the file."

He was denied the right to resign.

He was denied the right to see George C. Marshall, Secretary of State.

There were two major documents in Mr. Blank's case. One was his affidavit given to his lawyers. The other was the transcript of the State Department "hearing."

His affidavit to his counsel told of the visit to his home on the evening of April 15, 1947, of two F.B.I. agents. They were there two hours. They charged his wife and

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him with having been members of the Communist party in Harlem, N. Y., some time about the year 1935, and stated that he was a "high official." (He had not met his wife in 1935.) They gave no indication as to the source of their information save that they knew it from paid informers. He told them he never had spent any time in Harlem. They recited his daily comings and goings for eight months. They knew with whom he had lunch, who visited his home and whom he visited.

They questioned him about many acquaintances, about a couple who had gone to a concert with him and his wife, about a man who had received mail at his home and about a check which they saw him receive. He explained he had borrowed some money to make an advance payment for nursery school for his child.

They said he had been photographed with a girl from his office while crossing the street for coffee. They pulled this picture out and showed it to his wife.

The day following the F.B.I. visit, he reported it to his supervisors, offering to resign if this accusation should result in a lack of confidence in him. He told one of his superiors about being shadowed. The superior bluntly told him that, based on his long experience as an administrator, he was a dead duck whether innocent or guilty, because of the widespread hysteria in Washington at this time.

His offer to resign was countered with an expression of complete confidence.

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The State Department security officers examined him for a total of twelve hours at intervals during May and June of 1947. They questioned him on his opinions, friends, interests, jobs, associates, etc. He offered twenty-nine specimens of his published and unpublished writings from 1933 on. Nothing in these interviews appeared to incriminate him in any way.

During the period from April to June, when he was undergoing questioning, the office had so much confidence in him that steps were taken for his promotion. He was even given a private office, with a staff and secretary.

However, on June 23, 1947, at 5:30 P.M., he was handed a letter by an administrative officer to the effect that as of that moment his services were terminated "in the interest of the United States." Thus he was summarily fired without a hearing or knowledge of charges or accuser.

When he returned the following morning to collect his personal belongings, he was forbidden entry to his office.

He sent a letter on June 30, 1947, protesting the action and asking for a fair hearing.

A few days after the dismissal, Arch K. Jean, of the personnel division of the Department, telephoned him to appear within a day before a committee of four, including Mr. Jean, to make a statement. When he appeared before the panel and asked for the charges, they said they would neither ask nor answer questions. He was to say

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anything he pleased which he believed relevant. He spoke for about a half hour stating that he was innocent of anything which could reflect on his loyalty. He also requested an interview with Mr. Marshall.

This weird "hearing" was held on July 2, 1947. The four-man panel was headed by Hamilton Robinson, director of the Office of Controls of the State Department. On it also were three of his subordinates, Mr. Jean, Saxton Bradford and Thomas E. Hoffman.

The transcript of the proceedings is a document unique in the annals of the long struggle for the preservation of civil liberties in the United States. It is offered in its entirety, except for the omission of certain names, mention of which would serve no purpose. In such star-chamber inquiries, the accused remains defenseless to the point of complete bewilderment. The nature of the charges, the identity of his accusers and his constitutional rights to prove his innocence are all denied him.

The "hearing":

MR. ROBINSON: Well, I think we'll start, if we may, by making a little, brief statement to start the record off, which I will read. Mr. Blank, the basis for your termination from the Department was explained in the Department's press release on June 27 and, for the sake of the record, I think I'll read the pertinent part of the release:

"The State Department has terminated the services of ten employees against whom derogatory information has

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been developed through investigation. In taking this action, the Department followed its policy of dropping employees from its rolls where substantial doubt exists as to their security. In a few of these cases, other administrative considerations entered into the decision to terminate the employees concerned."

However, in order to give you an opportunity to be heard on the question and to assure that your record will be as complete as you care to make it, this Committee was established for the purpose of hearing any statement that you wish to make, either verbally or taking any written statement you care to insert in your record. That is partially for the purpose of permitting you to have a complete record, as complete a one as you care to make, since the McCarran Rider does not prohibit your employment by any other agency of the government. I want to make it clear, however, that this is not a legal proceeding, this hearing, and it is not in the nature of an appeal. The proceedings which were taken are final so far as the Department is concerned and, under those circumstances and under its terms of reference, the Committee is not going to ask you any questions, except such as we may feel helpful to your presentation for explanatory purposes, nor are we able to answer any questions, and so we are delighted to listen to any statement that you care to make on that basis.

MR. BLANK: As I told Mr. Jean when he phoned me yesterday, it is very difficult to make a statement as I am

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completely bewildered by what it's about. You gentlemen can appreciate the press release doesn't say very much anyway in any one specific case. I did have the opportunity of being called by the Department security people, I think, for about twelve hours of detailed questioning at which I believe I supplied most of the information. I think it came out, I know Mr. Hoffman will verify this, that a great deal of it hadn't come to the Department's attention and that I brought most of it to the Department's attention. I, really, frankly, don't know what to say, since I don't know what the charges are because of the result of those hearings—I don't think anything came out that I would consider to be a charge. I mean, I can make a general statement as to what I think my own loyalty position is, I have no doubt in my own mind as to my own loyalty, I don't think I have ever been tempted in that direction or ever committed any act that would be considered disloyal to the government. I have never jeopardized the security of the Department or the government. I came down here over five years ago to work for the government to help the war effort. I found the kind of work that I was interested in; the encouragement I got from my superiors, in other jobs and my present one, indicated their willingness to see me continue and at no time did any question ever arise as to my loyalty. I worked for the War Department in the middle of the war in Materiel Command of the Army Air Forces as a civilian, which had, in my personal opinion, much

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more secret data than I have ever touched in the Department. In the middle of the war, not only did I handle production data, but I handled design data of not only the contemporary aircraft but of future aircraft. I think I was cleared by G-2, I have never been questioned by anybody, I was cleared by FEA, I have always been cleared, so that I have no idea of anything concrete. I don't know whether you want me to go into all the information that I gave the security people.

MR. ROBINSON: Since this is for your own benefit, you'd better decide about that. We'll listen to anything you want to say.

MR. BLANK: I wondered if you gentlemen had read that record—am I allowed to ask that question?

MR. ROBINSON: What record are you referring to?

MR. BLANK: That the security people took, the questioning which gave in great detail my whole past history.

MR. ROBINSON: Yes, I think the answer is yes, that it certainly has been read and considered.

MR. BLANK: So you do have this detailed knowledge of what I have done in the past. I don't know whether I brought the attention of the Department or whether they had the information themselves, as to the fact that I forget the date, about two months ago—the F.B.I. visited me and I gave the Department all the details, but there was nothing concrete brought out in any of that information. I thought I had satisfied every question they brought up.

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MR. ROBINSON: Well, we realize the difficulty you are in, in this position; on the other hand, I'd suggest that you might think back over your own career and perhaps in your own mind delve into some of the factors that have gone into your career which you think might have been subject to question, and see what they are and see whether you'd like to explain or make any statement with regard to any of them—that is about the best I can do as far as helping you along that line.

MR. BLANK: Well, as you appreciate, I have been thinking about anything in my career in the past that could be subject to question and I, frankly, don't see anything. I think there is something going on in Washington which the F.B.I. is interested in of which I have no idea. I have heard they have seen from forty to sixty people, they are after something, they questioned me in detail about certain people I knew, people I had worked with, mainly, at FEA and WPB. What they are after I don't know, there is something that is bothering them and I am bewildered by what they are after. Perhaps there is something going on. I feel if there is, I am outside the picture. By some accident or quirk, I have worked with some of these people whom I didn't even see socially. I happened to get into a car club with somebody whom a question came up about. I am at a loss to go into any detail. They accused me, as I pointed out to the Committee, of being a Communist, but, as I pointed out to the Committee, I mean the security people, I have denied that point, there

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was no evidence raised. I admitted, when I went to the University, when I taught there, I attended all kinds of meetings that were held on the campus, but never joined any organization. The security people made me swear to that fact under oath, that I was not a Communist nor was I affiliated to a long list of organizations which they asked me questions about. All I know is that this action taken is—well, the punishment doesn't fit the alleged crime. I mean, I don't know whether you gentlemen realize what you have done to me, not you personally, but what the Department has done—completely blackballed me from earning a living in the future. I don't know where to turn.

MR. ROBINSON: I think you can be assured that the Department was not unaware of those aspects of it.

MR. BLANK: On what basis has the Department done something like that, without even telling me? I am just bewildered about it. I am trying to be as frank as I possibly can.

MR. ROBINSON: The only way I can suggest helping you is that you just go ahead and spill your feelings about all the things that you might think might have been involved.

MR. BLANK: It's very difficult. I mean, I once helped edit a pamphlet on "What Price Milk?" which criticized milk companies for their large profits. My whole career has been in teaching and working, it is extremely difficult for me to make any statement. I wish you gentlemen

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could help me by asking me questions. I realize you are tied down by a law.

MR. JEAN: You mentioned that you were associated, through a car club, with some people.

MR. BLANK: Well, I don't know. I am not associated, I don't know whether they came out of a car club. They asked me about certain people I worked with at FEA. There is a rumor going through Washington that they are after Treasury people and people who worked on the so-called "Morgenthau Plan." I am just in the dark about this, I wish somebody would tell me what it is about. I don't mean—I am just bewildered about this whole thing. Perhaps there are some people I have met and know whose reputations aren't exactly the best, according to certain people, but there is nothing in my actions toward them or toward anything else that would indicate any question of loyalty or anything that I can see. I mean, my very work in the Department should be some indication of that and, as I understand it, nobody whom I have worked with or worked for, has been called in on this—people I worked with day and night and Saturdays and Sundays and every day on problems, people with whom I have shared a room and gone to lunch with.

MR. ROBINSON: Well, who would you say were those people?

MR. BLANK: (Mentioning six associates) All those people are my superiors. I worked with all those people steadily and closely. They know exactly what I have

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been working on, what I have been thinking, how I have reacted in the Department on those things. I don't know whether you gentlemen know what I have been doing, I have worked on the post-UNRRA Relief Program and they gave me the job of programming it. The day after I got the dismissal note, at 5:30, the stuff I had prepared was taken up to the Taber Committee—stuff for which I was responsible. I was the one who prepared the first material on the Greek stuff. They took my material, they know exactly what I have done since I have been in this Department, and I am positive they are willing to testify as to that. They are as mystified as I am about it. I have shared an office with a colleague now since last December, we have argued about and discussed things, they know what is on my mind and how I have reacted toward the United States policy and what we have been involved in.

MR. JEAN: What would you say your reaction is?

MR. BLANK: Completely in accord with what our government has been doing, not only that, but working day and night toward those ends. The F.B.I. followed me and they admitted that they had to come Saturdays and Sundays and nights, they were a little disturbed about my working on these programs.

MR. JEAN: You say you number among your friends people who are frowned upon by others.

MR. BLANK: Well, I don't know whether they are frowned upon, the investigation brought out that I knew

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somebody whom I see occasionally, who works for Russian War Relief, but I knew him because we lived in the same house, but I knew many other people in the same house and I gave the names of other people whom I saw more often than I saw him. As I pointed out to these people, it is not a question of the few people certain people may have some doubts about, but it is a question of all the people I know that should be taken into consideration. But, apparently, the interest is just for the few who are not thought of well and I don't know why these people aren't. Mrs. ———, I think they questioned me a lot about her—I knew her because she was in the office and came to my house once or twice and I was in her house once or twice, it was a purely social thing. Why they questioned me about her, I don't know. They questioned me about giving things to certain people. In every case I pointed out it was on my thesis. I finished my Doctor's thesis and went around visiting economists in Washington who could read it. Once they asked me why I got a check, for example, at lunch. My little boy went to nursery school and I had to pay a \$60 bill three days before pay day, and I called a friend of mine and I borrowed \$100 and I paid him back a week later. It's things like that that just seem to me to be silly, that are important to other people. I'd like to know what all that means. I think I brought all this out, didn't I, Mr. Hoffman, in the long questioning?

MR. HOFFMAN: I think most of it, yes.

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MR. BLANK: I am trying to recall these things that were of interest to the F.B.I. I have no idea why they questioned me about them.

MR. JEAN: Do these people you mention, to your knowledge, express an ideology that differs from American philosophy?

MR. BLANK: I frankly have never got that far with them. You know the situation we were in at FEA. Mr. ——— went to Japan, Mr. ——— went to Germany, and I ran that whole shop. So, in relation to business, Mrs. ——— sent me a whole slew of letters, they are in my file, on her observations in Paris, and I would give those to you if you'd let me get into it. We saw her a few times socially when she came back because she had a great many interesting things to tell about her trip abroad.

MR. JEAN: Have you seen her recently?

MR. BLANK: Yes, her husband got fired and I called her up and she said they were leaving and I invited them for dinner before they left for New York. I told the security people I was calling her up because I had heard she had gone to the hospital when she heard her husband was fired. Why that happened, I don't know. I just think it is unfortunate that I have come in contact over the last year with certain people that I know nothing about.

MR. ROBINSON: Now, you have said several times "certain people" but so far you have only mentioned one or two.

MR. BLANK: Well, Mrs. ———, ———, then ———

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—, I don't know if he is the man that the check affair took place with, why they questioned him about me I don't know. They questioned me about ——— very completely, why, I don't know; then some complete strangers, somebody I had mentioned ———, a friend of mine who stayed in my house, he worked for OPA and now teaches at the University of ———, I don't know why they mentioned his name—that other name I always forget, I met him once at a luncheon at the Federal Reserve Board on a problem he had been working on in relation to something we had been doing in the Department and, well, ——— came up and my pamphlet business came up that I helped on, and my connection with ———, who is now dead. She was ———'s previous assistant and I got the job after she left through her, and she went down to this Milk Consumers Protective Committee and asked me to help her and I had been very grateful for the opportunity I got, because this job I got which was supposed to last for two weeks lasted for five years, which included my teaching at college and work at the National Bureau, and when she asked me to help her—

MR. JEAN: What was the full name of that Bureau?

MR. BLANK: National Bureau of Economic Research.

MR. ROBINSON: You said a few minutes ago that most of the people you seem to be questioned about are the ones that are apparently undesirable from the point of view of the questioners. If you think that only half the picture was shown, would you care to put in the record some

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names of people, other than your supervisors, who would present a fair picture of your associations?

MR. BLANK: Yes, the fact is, I gave the security people a terrific list of names and everybody called me back in town—you didn't miss seeing anybody. I'll try—

MR. ROBINSON: No, if you have already given it—I just wanted to give you the chance to say that if you wanted to.

MR. BLANK: The fact is, I brought in a typewritten list, not only that, I brought in copies of everything, not everything, but nineteen specimens of what I wrote since 1933, at least two pieces for each year which I believed would be an indication of the way I thought over the period of years. I believe the security people analyzed those documents I brought in, beginning with 1933, did you not?

MR. ROBINSON: Well, you can be sure everything you have submitted has been considered.

MR. BLANK: So that is why I am completely bewildered about the whole situation. Did I leave anything out that you think I ought to bring up? We are trying to get the facts out in this, I presume. Do you think I ought to mention anything else? I assume you gentlemen are trying to get at the facts.

MR. ROBINSON: I don't think we can suggest to you things that you ought to discuss. I think it's up to you to decide. As I say, we are trying to help by making suggestions to you, in a general way, which may make your record

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more complete when it all comes together. But so far as saying you ought to talk about this or you ought to talk about that, I don't see how we can do that. This is your opportunity to say anything that you want.

MR. BLANK: Gentlemen, it's my "opportunity" to say anything, but really, to be frank—you gentlemen aren't responsible—it's really not an opportunity. I don't know what to talk about. I mean, I am—

MR. ROBINSON: All right, I withdraw the statement it was an opportunity, if you prefer.

MR. BLANK: I am not blaming you gentlemen, you are held within certain rules and regulations, but I'd like to know what to talk about and what to say. It's extremely difficult in such a situation. I don't know who said anything about me or what has been said about me and the press release makes it even worse, I mean, the kind of statement where nothing has been developed. I mean, I am not trying to get mad or anything, I appreciate the situation, but I am involved in a very disastrous way in this. You mentioned about having an opportunity to insert additional stuff—will I get an opportunity after this?

MR. ROBINSON: Anything you want to put in.

MR. BLANK: Does that include my bringing statements by my colleagues and people I worked for? Could I have them insert statements in the record for me?

MR. ROBINSON: Sure, I don't see any reason why not. After all, as I said in the beginning, the purpose of this

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is to give you as complete a record, as far as your case is concerned, as you can make it or care to make it.

MR. BLANK: Well, I care to make it as complete as possible. This whole thing, the way it developed was that I came to the Department. The fact is, I came the very next morning that the F.B.I. visited me and went to my superior, I called _____ and _____ and went to their office and told them the complete story. They immediately got in touch with _____, who was sick, and they went to see _____, he was the top man that day because Mr. _____ was abroad and _____ was out of town. They went to _____'s office; he was out and I think they saw _____. They told him the story and I gave them all the details I later repeated to the security people. They came back to me and told me this, this is my interpretation, which I verified later—

MR. ROBINSON: "They," meaning who?

MR. BLANK: _____, mainly. He came back and said I would have nothing to worry about in this thing, that the charges in this consideration were not true, that the security people would look into it, that I should cooperate with the security people, and that if anything did arise I would be called before them. The fact is, I even offered my resignation that very first day, for two reasons: One, I asked the advice of some people and they said with the present state of things in Washington, whether you are right or wrong, once this thing gets started you are out; and secondly, I was in the midst of some very delicate nego-

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tations with gentlemen on the geographic desks, and I told them I didn't want this charge hanging over me to hurt the Division in our relations with the geographic people, and they had my resignation and they told me no, they refused to accept it because they felt the charges were unwarranted and if there were anything that I would be given time to resign and you can verify that.

MR. BRADFORD: Who told you that?

MR. BLANK: Mr. ——— and I told that to the security people. I mean, most of the information. I don't know, you people won't answer my questions, so I don't know, but I assume from the kind of questions and answers and things, that most of the information about me came from me and not from the F.B.I. to the Department. Most of my writings and everything I have come with, everything I know, assuming that the deal would be fair and I am not trying to blame anybody around here for it, and under those circumstances you can appreciate the way I feel about the situation—being told to go back and not to worry, that I'd be notified if they had anything on me, being given plenty of chance to resign if they had anything.

MR. ROBINSON: Just to clarify the record, wasn't your discussion with Mr. Hoffman and the people in the security office after you talked with the F.B.I.?

MR. BLANK: Yes, sure, because I immediately reported the next day, the next morning as soon as I got in, the complete details of the conversation. Mr. ——— has a

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memo on that in which he wrote down when I reported everything to him. I think I have been reasonable and fair and tried to turn over every bit of information available to you, but I can only go so far. You must admit that it is entirely possible that some of the information gotten about me may be wrong; it may be wrong or misconstrued, so all I ask is a chance to know what it is. Anybody who has come down and devoted themselves the way I have, and especially what I have done in the last year when we have been completely understaffed—day and night and Saturdays and Sundays working on this; why, just a week before this all happened they were pushing me into a promotion, I get a private office and an executive desk, I get three people to work for me, in line with everybody else being cut down in the Department; for the kind of work I have been doing. They take the stuff up I prepared a day after I get kicked out, having complete confidence in the material I prepared.

MR. ROBINSON: I think I might just say for the record here one thing which I believe is worth pointing out, and that is that it is fairly clearly indicated in the press release that this action was taken on the ground of a doubt as to security, and what I would like to say for the record is that we carefully bear in mind in all these cases that there is a very definite difference between the word "security" and the word "loyalty." I just want that to be on the record.

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MR. BLANK: May I ask what the difference is? It's not clear to me.

MR. ROBINSON: There's a vast difference between security and loyalty.

MR. BLANK: I think—may I ask that question?

MR. ROBINSON: Yes.

MR. BLANK: To clear up the difference between them, I mean to me, I think one—

MR. ROBINSON: Well, I'll point out a difference. I think loyalty must necessarily be a conscious proposition. Security, or lack of it, might be conscious or unconscious. And I think that probably serves the purpose of what I am trying to do, but I am making that statement for the record without any implication as to any conclusion that you should draw from that statement, but you made several statements about that and I just want to make clear that this action was based, as the press release stated, as a matter of security.

MR. BLANK: You mean that the punishment for an alleged violation of security is more severe than questions of loyalty? What I mean is, assume this whole thing is true about my security, isn't the punishment to deprive me literally of a livelihood in the future one of the severest penalties you could pay? What have I done, assuming and I'll assume that you are correct in what you state, I mean, you have completely deprived me of the only things I can do, either working for the government, going back to teaching, or working for private industry

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—what am I going to tell employers? You are not going to find me lying about it because they would catch up with me and I wouldn't lie about it either. Could I explain this difference between security and loyalty to some kind of college where I am trying to get a teaching job?

MR. ROBINSON: I am not suggesting that. I am not even suggesting the distinction is proper in your case, I am merely suggesting one is not necessarily synonymous with the other. I think if you feel that, I don't know whether you feel there is anything you wish to add to this as a statement.

MR. BLANK: You say I have the opportunity in the future to add things?

MR. ROBINSON: Yes, you send it over and we'll slap it in the file.

MR. BLANK: No indication—I wish I had some indication. Will I be given an opportunity to read this statement?

MR. ROBINSON: Sure.

MR. BLANK: Because I was told I could read the other statement, I never called about it to check on my previous statement.

MR. ROBINSON: How are we going to make it available? Are you going to be here in Washington or would you rather come in and pick it up? I don't know how long it will take, two or three days, presumably, to get it.

MR. BLANK: I'll be around.

MR. ROBINSON: I want to make clear this is your statement, we are not asking you questions, you are making this

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statement for yourself, therefore, you can do any damn thing you want with it. If you don't like it when you get through, you can tear it up and rewrite it, you can do anything you want to or add to it if you want to.

MR. BLANK: I understand the Secretary is a reasonable man. Is it possible for you gentlemen to make an appointment for me to see him?

MR. ROBINSON: I'm afraid that isn't our function.

MR. BLANK: Well, I am making a request anyway. I am not casting aspersions, of course, on anybody here, but I'd like to get in touch with the final authority on this matter.

MR. ROBINSON: Well, certainly, there is no reason in the world why you shouldn't, but I am afraid we are not in a position to be able to do anything about that. Just as a suggestion, you might want to get some of the people you say have confidence in you, and so forth—

MR. BLANK: Well, they are attempting to see certain people. I know that I am trying to do something on my own, of course. Are there any questions?

MR. ROBINSON: Do you have anything further, Arch?

MR. JEAN: I have nothing further, no.

MR. ROBINSON: Do you have any phase of it?

MR. BLANK: Well, I'd just like to close by reiterating again what I have said before that, in my own mind and in my own conscience, I have no question as to my own loyalty and my own responsibility to the security of this government. I have a clear conscience completely, so I

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can only state my sincerity. This whole thing has me completely bewildered.

MR. ROBINSON: Well, I'll just add that if, at any time, you want to add anything further to this, just get in touch with Tom Hoffman and send anything over to him you want to incorporate in the record, that will be all right.

MR. BLANK: Well, I think they wrung me dry in twelve hours of questioning which I asked for myself.

MR. ROBINSON: O. K.

MR. BLANK: Thank you.

(Hearing adjourned at 3:40 P.M.)

The accused had denied all suggestions that he was a security risk or disloyal.

"I have never done anything to merit the destruction of my reputation, and have always been completely devoted to my country and the State Department," he insisted.

That was the note on which the first story about Mr.

Blank ended.

It undoubtedly would have been the end of Mr. Blank, too, so far as getting out from under the shadow of suspicion was concerned, had it not been that three voices were raised.

They were the voices of the press, of the radio—and of the people.

The voice of the press was the first to be heard.

Led by the *New York Herald Tribune*, the newspapers

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of the nation began to hammer away at the star-chamber aspects of the case of "Mr. Blank"—and of the six others who shared his sufferings.

On this issue—as on similar major issues—the press of the country was practically unanimous.

From the *New York Herald Tribune*, November 3, 1947:

"Why the individual in this case was not allowed to resign is very hard to understand. It is not the principle that is defective here—for some rather grim principles are being forced upon us—but the procedure. And if the nation, driven to protect itself from disloyal and Communist infiltration, is not in turn to lose itself in police purges, drumhead courts, liquidations and all the catastrophic evils they bring with them, the utmost care in procedural fairness and justice is imperative. It is not evident here."

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 3, 1947:

"The hearing was a farcical affair."

From the *Washington Evening Star*, November 4, 1947:

"Nobody can validly question the State Department's right and its duty to rid itself of all employees regarded by competent authority as unfit for duty in this sensitive department. But unless disloyalty is involved, certainly the right of resignation without prejudice should be open."

From the *Washington Daily News*, November 4, 1947:

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"Discharge from Government service, on charges or suspicion of disloyalty, could be cruel punishment to innocent persons denied the opportunity to defend themselves which they would have if they were tried for crimes. The American people want the disloyal ejected from Federal jobs. But they also want the utmost possible assurance of protection for the loyal."

From the *Washington Post*, November 8, 1947:

"It is of the utmost importance for the future of Government employment that the present confusion between discharges for disloyalty and discharges for security reasons be dispelled. The State Department and other offices such as the Central Intelligence Agency have abetted this confusion."

Thus spoke the voice of the press.

The voice of the radio was just as firm.

Here are some of the arguments commentators carried to their millions of listeners:

Elmer Davis, over the American Broadcasting Company network:

"There is hysteria, in Washington and in the country; the Thomas Committee has helped whip it up, so has the not very well-informed clamor of some Congressmen outside that committee; and the result is that we are making ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world."

Martin Agronsky, over the American Broadcasting Company:

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"This kind of action is not the American way, it is the way of the police state. All American editors who believe with Thomas Jefferson that 'the price of freedom is eternal vigilance' might note and comment."

That was the voice of the radio.

How about the voice of the people?

Hundreds of letters poured in, and two—only two—attempted to defend the State Department procedure. One denouncer said in part:

"If this man is innocent, he has simply given his reputation, not his life nor his character, in his country's service. He should not try to gain public sympathy for his plight. In this personal trial he has the best possible opportunity to show the stuff of which he is made."

Here are excerpts from two of the hundreds of letters condemning the star-chamber proceedings:

From Wellsville, New York:

"On the face of it, the procedure has all the elements of out-Russiating the Russians."

From Chicago:

"I have read it with growing horror. Nevertheless—when I sat down to write to Secretary Marshall, urging him to remedy the situation that obtains in Washington, I realized that because of my wife and children I dared not write to him. I am a schoolteacher and although I am not a Communist, I could be smeared as was the Mr. Blank of whom you wrote."

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The three voices—of the press, of the radio, and of the people—began to get results.

The results were of vital interest to Mr. Blank and the six who were accused with him. They were of equal importance to all the other civilian employees of government. Indirectly, they had significance for every American. For, within a little more than two weeks, the "impossible" was achieved, in that a great bureaucratic agency of the mammoth and slow-moving government machine was compelled to back down completely and to eat words it had uttered with smug confidence that they would be accepted as final.

There was a running fight before this was achieved. On November 3rd, three developments indicated the wind was shifting.

Arnold, Fortas & Porter received a new letter from Acting Secretary Lovett. It was postmarked 6 p.m. Saturday, November 1st. It arrived at the law firm's office on Monday morning. It was in answer to the letter that had been sent to Secretary Marshall by the law firm as long before as October 4th!

The law firm believed, and so did most of Washington, that there never would have been an answer if the State Department had not learned on the morning of November 1st from this reporter that the New York *Herald Tribune* intended to publish the pertinent documents concerning Mr. Blank.

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Mr. Lovett, in his letter, was still stubborn.

He rejected the law firm's appeal that the seven men be allowed to resign without prejudice or be given a complete statement of the charges and a hearing. He said they could appeal to the Civil Service Commission. He made it clear that, even on appeal, the charges would not and could not be made known to the accused. He said, "When a reasonable doubt is raised as to whether the continued employment of an individual would constitute a security risk it is the policy of the department to resolve such doubt in favor of the government."

The law firm fired back an answer the same day.

The reply assailed Mr. Lovett's use of the words "reasonable doubt."

Did a "reasonable doubt" as to the reliability of an individual justify the Department in publicly accusing him and at the same time withholding the evidence which was the basis of its accusation?

"That is exactly what the Department has done," the firm's letter said.

"The purpose of the State Department in ridding itself of suspected members is fully served when such men terminate their employment. We had not thought it was the duty of the Department to pursue such men into private life with unproved accusations.

"We earnestly request that you change your present policy of pursuing them into private life with charges

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against which you give them no opportunity to defend themselves."

Then, on this November 3rd, came the first hint that the White House was interested. Harold B. Mitchell, president of the Civil Service Commission, called on President Truman. They talked about the case. Afterwards, Mr. Mitchell merely announced that the President had approved nominations for membership on the Loyalty Review Board for Federal employees. Subsequently it was learned they talked of the necessity of setting up safe-guards.

November 4th passed without action.

On November 5th Secretary Marshall held a press conference. He seemed uncomfortably aware that he would be asked about the case of Mr. Blank; about the whole loyalty investigation set-up. He had a mimeographed statement ready.

Secretary Marshall insisted the Department had never intended to make public the names of the accused or the charges against them. (He acknowledged that the names had "leaked.") They could only have leaked from someone within the Department. Only one newspaper—and that in Washington—published the names. All others refrained, lest innocent men be smeared. The others would have published the names had the Department officially stood behind issuance of the list. They did not fall for a "leak.")

Secretary Marshall had an excuse for not releasing the

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charges. He said the State Department's action was based in large part "on highly classified material not under its control." This was tantamount to saying the material had been supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or other investigating arms of the government, and that the State Department could not disclose it, even though innocent men might have been hurt.

Secretary Marshall emphasized two points:

That the Civil Service Commission had the right to determine the eligibility of the dismissed persons for employment in other government agencies. (This in support of the rather strange argument that a man dismissed from a "sensitive agency" as a bad security risk would be harmless if allowed to work in a non-sensitive agency.)

That the Loyalty Review Board which was in the process of being established could consider an appeal "to permit the employee affirmatively to establish his loyalty."

But he emphasized again that information supplied to the State Department by other agencies would not be given to the Commission or the Board unless the Commission or the Board was able to persuade the other agencies to come through with it.

It is only fair to Secretary Marshall to say that few observers believed he had any hand in directing the case against the seven men. Most observers believed the responsibility lay with underlings and that the Secretary knew little or nothing about it until the storm of public opinion began to make itself felt.

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Secretary Marshall's statements brought sharp comment from Thurman Arnold.

"The Secretary is now merely passing the buck to two agencies outside the State Department," Mr. Arnold said. "We still stick to one simple request—that the individuals be given a hearing in the American way or be allowed to resign."

The wheels of government began to move—backwards.

On November 8th the makeup of the new Loyalty Review Board was announced. Nineteen men and one woman were appointed to it. It was headed by Seth W. Richardson, Assistant Attorney General under former President Herbert Hoover and former attorney for the Congressional Committee which investigated Pearl Harbor.

The new Board, created under President Truman's Executive Order, could hear appeals on all cases of employees dismissed after October 1, 1947. It was not at once certain whether it would have jurisdiction over the cases of the seven, who were dismissed prior to October 1st.

Mr. Richardson and Mr. Mitchell, both outspoken opponents of "witch-hunting," made some things clear.

They said the Civil Service Commission would have the right to hear the cases of the seven—if they filed appeals. But this hearing would deal only with their right to employment in non-sensitive agencies. It would not meet the allegation that they were security risks.

They said the Commission would ask the State Department for all documents under its control.

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They said the Commission would ask the F.B.I. and other government investigating agencies for any additional documents.

Mr. Mitchell said that the Civil Service Commission, if it deemed it necessary, might even ask the new Loyalty Review Board to consider the cases of the seven, even though they arose before October 1st.

Most important of all—and in direct conflict with Secretary Marshall's intimation that this couldn't be done—it became certain that the Civil Service Commission or the Loyalty Review Board could obtain material developed by the F.B.I. For J. Edgar Hoover said:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation will lend its fullest co-operation to the Civil Service Commission and the Loyalty Review Board.

"This will include making available to the Commission and to the Review Board the contents of its files where pertinent."

Thus one safeguard was established.

Mr. Richardson announced others when he told of the procedure the Loyalty Review Board would use. He said:

1. An accused employee would first come before an agency loyalty board appointed by the head of his Department.

2. He would be served with written notice of the nature of the charges in sufficient detail to enable him to prepare his defense.

3. If the agency board recommended his removal, the

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employee would be entitled to appeal to the head of his Department.

4. If the Department head accepted his board's recommendation, the employee could appeal to the Loyalty Review Board.

5. The Loyalty Review Board, on completion of its hearing, would make an appropriate recommendation to the Department head.

All this—and the many other provisions—would not prevent "sensitive" agencies from getting rid of unwanted employees. Under the McCarran rider they still had the power to fire anybody. But it did mean they could not dismiss an employee on grounds of being a bad security or loyalty risk without producing evidence to back up the charges and without giving him a chance to defend his name.

The actions of Mr. Richardson and Mr. Mitchell put the State Department still further on the defensive in the cases of the seven who had been given none of the protection now accorded to other employees as a matter of right.

Secretary Marshall, his Department on the run, held another press conference on November 12th.

He was asked five questions.

He was asked whether, in view of Mr. Hoover's statement, the State Department would now make available to the Civil Service Commission or the Loyalty Review Board the material it had obtained from the F.B.I. Sec-

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retary Marshall replied that that would be a matter between the F.B.I. and the other two bodies. He reminded the questioner that he had not said that "all" the material not under the State Department's control had come from the F.B.I.

Did it come from Army or Navy intelligence services? Secretary Marshall did not answer.

He was told that the Loyalty Review Board appeared to have no jurisdiction over the cases of the seven, since they occurred before the date designated for board authority. "We will study that matter," he said.

"You mean there will be a reconsideration of these cases?"

Secretary Marshall said no; that he merely meant he would study them.

"Do you expect to talk personally to the men who were dismissed?" (This from a reporter who knew that some of the seven had complained that they had been unable to see the Secretary.)

Secretary Marshall said he had no comment.

His statements left things up in the air.

Next day the law firm again hammered at the State Department for failing to take some definite action.

"Remove this terrible stigma," the firm said. "The responsibility to provide a speedy and an adequate remedy is squarely upon the State Department.

"We are completely at a loss to understand the reluctance of the Department to grant this request. It is our

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firm conviction that the principle here in issue is of fundamental importance to this nation."

The heat was really on!

On November 14th both President Truman and the State Department had something to say.

President Truman, at a press conference, said emphatically that no "witch hunt" would be allowed. He said that all persons suspected of disloyalty would be given written notice of the charges in sufficient detail to enable them to prepare a defense. He added:

"In some unusual situations, security considerations may not allow full disclosure of charges. I realize fully the stigma attached to a removal for disloyalty.

"Accordingly, I have ordered the agencies of the government, except where a few agencies find it necessary to exercise extraordinary powers granted to them by Congress, to give hearings to persons who are charged with disloyalty."

A State Department press attaché said for the first time that the Department hoped the new Loyalty Review Board would take appeal jurisdiction over the cases of the seven. He said—and this was a complete reversal—that the Department would make available to the Loyalty Review Board *all* material upon which the Department's action was based. He acted as if the State Department would be very happy indeed to get this headache off its mind once and for all.

But the Loyalty Review Board could not accept juris-

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diction in the cases of the seven. It told the State Department so. It explained that its powers were not retroactive to the date the seven were dismissed.

That put it squarely up to the State Department to stick to its guns or to bear a retreat.

The retreat—it was, in fact, a rout—came on November 17th.

Five months after the seven had been dismissed, and a little more than two weeks after the cases had been exposed to public view, the State Department suddenly announced that the seven would be allowed to resign without prejudice “in order to avoid a possible injustice to them.”

(It said nothing of the effects of that “possible injustice” on the individuals during the five months they had suffered under the stigma placed upon them by dismissal without hearing.)

The State Department pointed out that the Loyalty Review Board could not take jurisdiction. The State Department added:

“In view of that determination, the dismissed employees have no way to appeal the Department’s findings in their cases.

“Seven of the former employees have requested that they be permitted to resign if no appeal is possible.

“Inasmuch as the only remedy presently available to them (that of obtaining clearance for employment elsewhere in the Federal government) is not effective be-

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cause they do not intend to seek such employment, the Department has concluded that, in order to avoid a possible injustice to them, they should be permitted to resign without prejudice.

“Furthermore, in view of the great importance which the Department attaches to the right of appeal for its employees, it is taking all steps to insure that its employees will have the right of appeal to the Loyalty Review Board in the future.”

Here, then, was complete victory—a victory won against odds by the power of the press, the radio and the people.

There was still an unanswered question pertaining to future cases. It was: “Should the Loyalty Review Board reverse the decision of the State Department in a security case, would the State Department restore the employee to his old job?”

Hamilton Robinson answered for the State Department. He said: “The State Department will accept the recommendation of the Loyalty Review Board insofar as the employee’s loyalty is concerned, but reserves the right to determine for itself whether or not, for security reasons, the employee is to continue in his old job.”

That was the stand most observers believed should have been taken in the first place by the State Department.

Literally no one had disputed the fact that the State

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Department should be allowed to rid itself arbitrarily of employees it believed it could not trust. What was disputed was the right of any government agency to accuse an employee of disloyalty, dismiss him on such grave grounds and refuse him a chance to establish that he was a good, true American.

It was not until December 20, 1947, that the seven employees received Department letters which accepted their resignation. The words "without prejudice" were conspicuous by their absence.

The letters read:

"My dear Mr.——:
"Your resignation from the Department of State effective June 23, 1947, is hereby accepted.

Sincerely yours,
"ARCH K. JEAN
"Chief, Division of Departmental Personnel."

Mr. Jean was asked why the words "without prejudice" were omitted from the new letter.

"Inadvertently, if anything," he said.

"What?" he was asked.

"Inadvertently would be the only answer to that," he said.

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"If they request a letter with that phrase in it, will they get it?" he was asked.

"Sure," he said. "That was the announced intention." There were still, of course, some unanswered questions about Mr. Blank. How did he fare? Did the State Department's charges "pursue him into private life"? Was he able to get a job?

The best source on such queries was Mr. Blank. He has put down, in his own words, the story of the months immediately after his dismissal.

His account reveals what could happen to any Federal employee discharged on such grounds.

It is offered here in full because of the grim picture of what arbitrary dismissal under such circumstances can do to the heart and soul and livelihood of an individual.

This is Mr. Blank's own story:

"Ever since June 23, 1947, when I 'resigned' from the State Department, I have faced the task of finding a job to support my wife and two young children. To date, almost eight months later, I still find myself unemployed.

"To say that these months have been trying is an understatement. During the first four months, before the dismissal was changed to resignation, my interviews for jobs centered chiefly around the reason for my dismissal from the State Department instead of my qualifications for a job. Hence I was continually pressed to explain what I could not explain—why I was fired. To most people to whom I spoke it was unconceivable that the

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State Department would fire anyone so arbitrarily and abruptly, without a statement of charges and with no opportunity to utter a word in self-defense. This had to constitute my 'explanation' for having been dismissed from the Department.

"After my clearance, even though I can now say I have resigned instead of having to say I was dismissed, the shadow of the circumstances of my resignation still pursues me in my quest for a livelihood.

"During the past eight months I have seen very little of my family. I could not have looked for a job more diligently. Still stunned by the dismissal notice, I left town immediately after June 23rd to look for a job. I have been out of town practically every week since, spending only week-ends at home. Even during the summer, when it was difficult to see people, I did not spend one consecutive week with my family, in spite of my wife's exhortations to take a little rest. My older child is quite perplexed and disturbed at my erratic comings and goings and despite our efforts to shield him from the reality of my unemployment, he is old enough to sense the anxiety and indignation we are experiencing. No one in the house can miss the eagerness with which we answer the telephone or the expectancy with which the mailman is awaited in the hope that each message may at long last bring news of a job. So far the hope has not materialized and the let-down feeling can be appreciated

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only by someone who has similarly yearned anxiously and incessantly over a long period of time.

"In preparing to look for a job, I consciously thought of every possible source of approach. Accordingly I wrote to my college professors, the college employment office, former business associates, friends, business persons who were suggested to me, newspaper advertisements, public employment agencies, and the like.

"Toward the latter part of June, I visited an Army officer with whom I had worked in one of my government jobs, whose brother is an important official in one of the country's leading advertising firms. I asked for an introduction to his brother, knowing that his firm employed persons with my abilities. The Army officer was very frank in saying that, much as he desired to send me to his brother, he considered it inadvisable since he knew from experience that his brother's firm had previously refused employment on the grounds of prejudice to someone he had formerly recommended. He felt certain that the same prejudice plus the circumstance of my separation from the State Department would prevent my getting a job with that firm. The matter was therefore dropped at this point.

"Early in the summer of 1947, armed with letters of introduction from persons in Washington, including State Department officials, I went to New York to see among others an executive of a large textile firm. Since his firm already employed an economist, he sent me to

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the economist for one of the wealthiest families in the country. Although this man expressed sympathy, he stated candidly and categorically that under the circumstances of my dismissal from the State Department, he would not do anything for me. Subsequently, when matters were cleared and I was permitted to resign, I again contacted him, but nothing came of the interview.

"During the summer I saw quite a few people, numbering about ten to fifteen per week. Most of the time in interviews I found myself explaining why I was looking for a job instead of being able to discuss my job qualifications. By this time my college professors were taking an interest in me, but fall teaching jobs were already filled. Their efforts on my behalf, therefore, were to write to the State Department in an endeavor to uncover the nature and substance of the reason for my dismissal.

"The Department knew that I was trying to get a teaching job as well as a business connection and when one of the professors at the University wrote to the State Department requesting that I be given a hearing, he received a most interesting reply. It stated that I had already had two hearings and that although I did not know the specific charges, I knew them in a general way. The letter ended by saying that the dismissal did not involve any question of loyalty and did not render me ineligible for other government employment. The professor confronted me with the State Department let-

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ter and asked me to explain my statement that I had had no hearing when the letter said I had had two hearings. I explained to him to the best of my ability the nature of the State Department 'hearings.' And when the situation was finally exposed in the New York *Herald Tribune*, the nature of those 'hearings' was disclosed in all its worthlessness. Despite the fact that the professors were willing to take my word for the nature of those 'hearings' it can well be imagined what a black cloud accompanied me in my quest for a job.

"In August, 1947, I saw the head of an international economic agency whom I had previously known. After talking to him, he indicated he would hire me on the basis of my experience alone. I was about to tell him of my special predicament when he told me, curiously enough, a story in which the Nazis had involved a man in a security case. This served as the transition to my particular case, after which he then stated that under these circumstances he would have to check with the State Department and other references before he could definitely hire me. When in Washington, he went personally to visit the persons I had worked with on economic problems in the State Department. Despite the highest recommendations from my colleagues in the Department and from other sources, he felt he required a letter from the Department stating there was no objection to his hiring me. The nature of the response

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from the administrative office of the Department was such that I was turned down completely.

"My next substantial job lead came through an introduction to one of the country's large textile houses. I had several interviews with the vice president and controller. These interviews were concerned with the role of an economist in business. I spent a great deal of time studying the industry and planning an outline of the functions and usefulness of an economist. The question of why I had left the State Department did not arise, although I presumed they knew the story from the person who introduced me to the firm. Matters seemed to progress in a very satisfactory manner, and finally in October it was agreed that they would consider me to work on a special problem for the firm with a view toward a permanent attachment pending the successful outcome of the special assignment. All that remained to be settled were salary, hours, office help and other such conditions of employment, when I was notified that the firm had changed its mind. I do not know what prompted the reversal.

"By this time my savings and annual leave money were exhausted and I applied for my retirement fund. Fortunately for me, the Jones Bill had recently become law, permitting persons with less than ten years' employment to take their money from the Federal retirement system upon leaving the Federal government. During the interval between applying for the pension

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and receiving it, I lived on borrowed money, which I later repaid from the retirement money.

"About this time I really began to feel strymined. The expense of traveling weekly from Washington to places of greater job opportunities began to be oppressive. I was (and still am) torn between bearing the expense of travel and the alternative of staying put in Washington where job opportunities for professionals outside the Federal government are practically nil. Another possibility is to move with my family to some place like New York where advertisements for professionals in the newspapers are of much greater frequency. The housing situation, however, is such as to deter me from moving before I have found a job.

"When the President's Committee on Civil Rights published its report, it occurred to me in view of the nature of the report that the members might be appreciative of my situation. Accordingly, I wrote to a leading member of the committee, telling him of my circumstances and enclosing a résumé of my education and experience. Several weeks later I received a reply from his secretary noting receipt of my letter and stating my résumé had been filed in the personnel office of his firm. There the matter rests.

"Several prospects seemed to bud during the fall of 1947. I was introduced to one of the district vice presidents of a quasi-public banking institution. He was sympathetic to my plight but said he was unable to find an

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opening for me. At about the same time, I received an urgent call to rush to New York to meet someone who might have something for me. I flew there, met a small-businessman, and after a few conversations he decided that my background was too broad for the type of job he had. I lost another job opportunity with a publishing house, at about this time, because, in this case, they thought the job requirements were beneath my skill and abilities.

"During this period, I was in touch with members of organizations of my own religious background. No job resulted from them, although one organization was very kind in permitting me to use its office facilities and stenographic help. In the case of another one, its Washington representative, to whom I was introduced, told me that because of the similar religious backgrounds, the Board of Trustees was interested in the cases of the seven persons who were dismissed from the State Department and expressed a desire to help these persons in a concrete way at an executive board meeting. This Washington representative said he would contact the board, in view of its expressed positive interest, and give them my background so that they could assist me in obtaining a job. Nothing resulted.

"All this transpired before the separation from the State Department became a resignation. The State Department finally reversed its position and permitted us to resign without prejudice. Now, in November, 1947, I

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could say in my job hunting that I had resigned, though it was still difficult to explain why I resigned.

"After this clearance, a number of prominent and influential persons became interested in my case and tried to help me get a job. Despite this, several leads that I had did not materialize.

"One day in early December I received a telegram stating I was one of several persons recommended for a job as an economist for an agency of a large municipality. During the interview, I found that the job was exactly what I wanted and felt that my background in experience and education was custom-made for the job. I was asked to furnish letters of recommendation directly to the person in charge. These I secured from prominent persons, including three former top Washington administrators and two State Department officers and others with whom I worked or had in some way been associated. Some of the people sent me unsolicited carbon copies of the letters of recommendation they had written for me. It may be of interest to illustrate by three excerpts the kind of letters written by some who were my immediate superiors in the State Department:

"Mr. Blank worked with me from approximately June, 1946, to June, 1947, in the Department of State. His position, which was one of wide responsibility, involved primarily (a) the laying out and supervision of difficult economic analysis projects concerned with the industrial and economic recovery, and reconstruction

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and financial needs of European countries; and (b) work as economic adviser in relation to the State Department's programs and policies of economic aid to European countries.

"Mr. Blank has unusual ability and did his job in an unusually competent, energetic and creative manner. He works well with people of all kinds and has considerable facility in expressing himself and getting ideas over to others. His work always showed not only the result of good theoretical and technical background but of considerable practical sagacity born of wide experience.

"Mr. Blank has been working fairly directly under my supervision for the past year, and I would unhesitatingly recommend him for any position which he himself felt capable of handling.

"I have found Mr. Blank's work to demonstrate an unusual ability. He not only has a good background of economic theory and history, but, more important, he is able to use his achievements in the theoretical field in actual practical everyday industrial economic problems. He has had engineers on his staff, and as you may know, engineers often do not work willingly for economists. But Mr. Blank had far less difficulties than one would normally expect, and he succeeded in having people of different walks of life and backgrounds work very successfully together on solutions of rather complex problems.

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"I am sure that if his assignment in your department would parallel the type of work he has done within my knowledge, he will discharge those duties to your satisfaction and gratification. In so far as I can visualize his function on your staff, this would be the case, and I am more than usually happy to recommend him to you."

Mr. Blank's story continues:

"I made a determined effort to obtain this job with the municipality because I was so suited for it, and although I was told I would hear one way or the other directly from the person in charge, to this day he has not communicated with me. Indirectly, however, I learned that I was to be disqualified on a technicality. Upon hearing of this technicality, I wrote to the person in charge, stating my view that I did not feel the technicality barred me from favorable consideration. A reply was never received. Again I am not sure why I did not receive this job.

"In another case, the economics department of my college attempted very diligently to obtain for me the only decent teaching job that was available for the February semester. Again I lost out on a technicality which, however, had no relation to my State Department experience, although I was very seriously considered.

"Concurrently with the above, since my clearance, I answered newspaper advertisements, and visited employment agencies, but nothing ever developed along these lines.

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"On a Sunday morning in the middle of January, 1948, I received a telephone call asking me if I would like a few days' work, to begin immediately. Naturally I accepted. The job, which lasted four days and nights, was to prepare an economic report for a prominent industrialist. This was the only employment I had in the eight months after I left the State Department.

"At present a number of persons have written to several industrial and merchandising concerns to inquire about the possibility of their utilizing the services of an economist. It has also occurred to me to try to obtain funds to write some articles on various economic problems with which I am acquainted.

"By now all my liquid funds are exhausted. I have spent my savings, annual leave and pension funds. Fortunately, when I first came to Washington, I bought the house I am now living in. I have recently mortgaged it to the hilt to obtain the money necessary to feed my family. When the blow first fell, several persons very generously offered to lend me money for an indefinite period. At that time, however, I wanted to use my own funds before resorting to borrowing. When it became necessary to borrow, however, I discovered that the only source from which I could borrow was to mortgage the house. Although a few personal friends and our personal families would be more than willing to give us all they have, they are in no position to support a family of four. "The above account of day-to-day job hunting is not

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a complete picture of what happens to a man out of work. The anxiety, uncertainty, tension and suspense that are borne every moment of every day telescope into a severe burden over a protracted period of time. The constant strain of worry over financial insecurity develops short-temper and impatience, making it difficult to withstand the outburst of energy and noise so natural to children. They therefore become at times the unfair outlet for their parents' anxiety.

"To all this must be added my realization that I was unjustly deprived of my job, a job which I thoroughly enjoyed and in which I was doing exceedingly well. I have been very much heartened, however, by the widespread expressions of indignation at the State Department's action, the public pressure which finally forced the reversal from dismissal to resignation and the numerous personal messages of sympathy and expressions of confidence in my character and ability. This has been a fight on two fronts—one, to get cleared, which was accomplished when the State Department reversed itself; the other, to find a job in my own field to support my family. I am confident that I shall be successful in the second as I was in the first."

There was a happy ending. Early in 1948 Mr. Blank got a post in which he could make a new beginning. The truncated justice finally won for Mr. Blank and his fellow "risks" was not, of course, to end the hunt.

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As the pursuit continued the nation was given a dramatic, if ironic, demonstration of how far it might go. The demonstration came exactly eight months and seventeen days after Mr. Blank got his peremptory notice on orders from Hamilton Robinson. This time there were charges, fuzzy and synthetic—but charges which could be met and answered. This time the accused was none other than Hamilton Robinson himself!

Robinson, scion of an old and fine family, a ten-year member of the New York Republican Club, a Taft School, Princeton, Oxford and Yale Law School man, was not, to be sure, charged by the Department whose chief purge officer he was. The demand that he be purged came from a member of Congress, just as had the original cry for scalps. The reason: Representative Fred E. Busbey, Republican, of Illinois, was dissatisfied with the new caution shown by Robinson in cleaning out the Department. Busbey learned that Robinson had an allegedly leftist second cousin. Robinson's scalp was called for.

The protests raised in November against the Department's disregard for human and civil rights now were joined by strong new voices. The new tones, strangely, emanated from the State Department. To the clamor of the press, radio and the people were added the strong voices of Secretary Marshall and Assistant Secretary John Peurifoy.

In March an echo of the accusations directed at them in November came from the State Department itself. In-

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dignant at the attack on his key subordinate, Robinson, Marshall demanded "fairness and decency." He affirmed now that, in probing loyalty, care must be taken to "avoid action based on spiteful, unsupported or irresponsible allegations."

Peurifoy, too, had seen the light. He denounced the open season on "character assassination" and "gossip mongering."

"I am also, quite frankly, disturbed," Peurifoy told the House sub-committee investigating Mr. Robinson's loyalty and qualifications, "by the present tendency to extend the highly questionable theory of 'guilt by association' to lengths that amount to a travesty of the traditional American justice."

When the hunters became the hunted, the cycle was completed. Mr. Robinson, who had refused to give Mr. Blank the slightest hint of the allegations against him, went before the sub-committee. He, however, demanded and was given a full hearing. Like Mr. Blank he insisted that the charges be openly stated. Unlike Mr. Blank, his request was acceded to without hesitation.

Not even Mr. Robinson could miss the irony of the scene. He had an F.B.I. report on Mr. Blank. Representative Busbey had an F.B.I. report on Mr. Robinson. So far as was ever learned there was no evidence that Mr. Blank was either disloyal or any of the softer hues of red. Mr. Blank was nevertheless summarily discharged, and the reason was never divulged. Mr. Robinson's discharge

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was demanded, and the reason was he had a second cousin.

Mr. Blank had complained to Mr. Robinson: "I don't know whether you gentlemen realize what you have done to me—completely blackballed me from earning a living in the future. I don't know where to turn."

Mr. Robinson had replied: "I think you can be assured that the Department was not unaware of those aspects of it."

When it came Robinson's turn, he and Peurifoy irately fought the implications and charges leveled by Representative Busbey.

Representative Busbey replied on the floor of the House: "Mr. Robinson, as well as Mr. Peurifoy, seems to be laboring under the impression that this is an attack on the personal reputation and character of Mr. Robinson. . . . Nothing is further from the truth."

But the sharpest parallel and yet the greatest difference between the Blank and Robinson cases was in the manner and latitude with which the two men were able to demand the charges.

Mr. Blank humbly went before Mr. Robinson and his three associates for a secret session. Told to make a statement, he replied: "I am completely bewildered by what it is about. . . . I really frankly do not know what to say, since I don't know what the charges are. . . ." He got no help from his examiners.

With little delay, Mr. Robinson got an open hearing

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before the House sub-committee. Flanked by his chief, Peurifoy, Robinson demanded: "Let us start out with what the charge is. What is the charge? You made a charge, Mr. Busbey, in which you said there were certain facts known to my superiors, because of which I should have been removed from my office months ago. . . . I think, in all fairness, Mr. Chairman, it would be a good thing to let Mr. Busbey come out with everything he has instead of dragging out the business from one time to another. If he has any more let us have him say it now."

Mr. Robinson's request was met promptly. The result: Representative Busbey produced his information. The sub-committee chairman, Representative J. Edgar Chenoweth, Republican, of Colorado, listened tolerantly but impatiently to the Busbey dossier on Mr. Robinson. When it was over, Representative Chenoweth closed the hearings and dropped the matter. Representative Busbey complained on the House floor about this abrupt ending.

Mr. Robinson went back to his work of checking the loyalty and security of the State Department's 20,000 employees. It was a safe assumption that the rights of the 20,000, so far as he had anything to do with them, would be respected and defended in the future.

But it was too much to expect that Mr. Robinson would be permitted to continue his own hunt without harassment by the Congressional huntsmen. It was only a matter of time before Mr. Robinson gave up. He submitted his resignation and it was accepted.

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