

THE RED RECORD OF SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY

The close identification of Senator James E. Murray with Communist front activities in eastern centers may come as a surprise to Montana voters far-removed from the Boston, New York, Chicago and Washington headquarters of subversive and Communist organizations. The Daily Worker, the Communist propaganda magazine, Soviet Russia Today, Scoop, and other publications in which Senator Murray's name has appeared over the years, both as a contributor and in news columns, have few subscribers in our State.

Official records of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Communist and Communist front publications themselves, reveal, however, that the senior Senator from Montana has been identified by membership, sponsorship or association with 13 Communist or Communist front organizations, all of which have been so designated by the Attorney General, Congressional or Legislative Committees, or all three. They are:

1. American Slav Congress*
2. National Council of American Soviet Friendship*
3. Russian War Relief, Inc.
4. Washington Tom Mooney Committee
5. Greater New York Conference on Inalienable Rights.
6. Abraham Lincoln School of Chicago.
7. National Lawyers Guild
8. International Workers Order*
9. American Youth Congress*
10. Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America
11. National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*
12. Washington Committee for Democratic Action*
13. American Committee for Yugoslav Relief*

*denotes those cited as Communist by the Attorney General
other citations appear at end of text.

In addition to this impressive list of Communist front connections, the hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reveal that Senator Murray was connected with six of the nine former Congressional Committee employees who claimed their privilege under the Fifth Amendment in refusing to testify as to whether or not they were Communists.

Further, the Senator has been a contributor to such well-known Communist propaganda publications as Soviet Russia Today, as author among other things of a "Tribute to Lenin", Scoop and the New Masses, and has been referred to as a "hero" of the Congress by the Communist Daily Worker.

The full story of these associations may serve to explain to Montana citizens the motives behind some of the Senator's activities and legislation in Washington.

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1. The American Slav Congress is a "Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this country of Slavic birth or descent . . . an important weapon of Moscow's political warfare against the United States," according to the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its House Report 1951, April 26, 1950, page 1. The Attorney General cited the American Slav Congress as a Communist organization.

Senator Murray was one of the "sponsors" of the dinner given by the American Slav Congress, in honor of former Sen. Claude Pepper, October 12, 1947, along with Louis Adamie, Zlatko Balokovic and others whose names crop up frequently in Congressional investigations of subversive activities. (House Report 1951, page 106).

2. Senator Murray was also a "sponsor" of the National of American-Soviet Friendship, cited as Communist by the Attorney General in his list of December 4, 1947. Of this organization, the House Un-American Activities Committee said:

"The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is nothing more than the present day, stream-lined model of the

Friends of the Soviet Union. The latter organization, according to the findings of every agency or committee which ever investigated un-American activities, was a subversive organization founded and controlled by the Communist Party. The Friends of the Soviet Union long ago came into such disrepute as a Communist front organization that it became necessary from the Communist standpoint to supplant it with a new organization. (HUAC, Appendix IX, page 1193)

The California Committee on Un-American Activities found it to be "a direct agent of the Soviet Union, engaged in traitorous activities under the orders of Stalin's consular service in the United States." (Report 1948, page 327).

As a sponsor of this organization, Senator Murray was associated with Edwin S. Smith, its executive director, who was also a member of the National Labor Relations Board. Senator Murray was a member and later Chairman of the Senate Committee which approved Smith's appointment to this federal agency and his reappointment for a second term. Smith, who is now engaged in importing and distributing newsphotos and publications from behind the iron curtain (Time Mag. 6/1/53 page 20) has consistently refused to testify concerning his alleged affiliations with the Communist Party, claiming his privilege against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution.

Senator Murray was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet friendship, celebrating the 10th anniversary of American recognition of Soviet Russia. According to the Boston Herald coverage of the meeting, the Senator harshly criticized "men who persist in viciously misrepresenting the Russians and their government by spreading fear of their intentions."

The Senator from Montana said that "Russia was one of the first world powers to recognize the need for collaboration of peace loving nations in preserving peace. For years Litvinoff pleaded before the League of Nations for collective security. It was Russia which continually urged the democracies to prevent such acts of aggression as the invasion of Ethiopia and Manchuria" (Boston Herald, November 15, 1943.)

3. Senator Murray again paid glowing tribute to the Communist regime in Russia, and warned against "sinister voices" in America that he said were creating distrust of the Russians, at a rally in Baltimore, sponsored by Russian War Relief, Inc., June 22, 1943. Of this organization, the House Un-American Activities Committee stated: "it is firmly in the hands of those who have a history of close cooperation with the Soviet Union the Communist Party or its satellite front organizations." (HUAC Ap.IX p469, Baltimor Sun, June 23, 1943)

4. Senator Murray was chairman of the "Washington Tom Mooney Committee, cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities (Report 1948, p. 336).

"Many front organizations were built around agitation for his (Mooney's) release," according to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. "Mooney himself frequently declared his preference for Communist support while he was in prison, and, after his release practically limited his affiliations and associations to Communist organizations." (HUAC ApIX, pp1372,1713)

Senator Murray introduced a Senate Joint Resolution urging the Governor of California to grant Mooney a full pardon, but the Senate took no action on the matter.

5. Senator Murray strayed far from the interests of his Montana constituents when he appeared as a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, along with many well-known Communists and fellow travelers.

This conference, according to the House Un-American Activities Committee, combined the forces of 11 Communist front organizations, including the National Negro Council, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (with which Senator Murray was associated), American Youth Congress, Council for Pan-American Democracy, Descendants of the American Revolution, Jewish Peoples' Committee, League of Women Shoppers, International Committee on African Affairs, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, and the National Lawyers Guild. (HUAC, Appendix IX, page 772)

6. Senator Murray again appeared as principal speaker at a Communist rally when the Abraham Lincoln School of Chicago sponsored a meeting on post-war international organizations, December 1, 1943. His appearance was advertised in handbills distributed from Chicago Communist Party headquarters, and the Chicago Tribune reported that a gathering of 800 applauded his remarks. The Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General as well as by Congressional and legislative committees.

7. Senator Murray has served as a speaker for and a defender of the National Lawyers Guild, "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party and its front organizations", according to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (House Report 3123, 81st, 2nd; N. Y. Times, Feb. 8, 1947).

When the Committee issued its now-famous report on the National Lawyers Guild, Senator Murray read into the Congressional Record the complete text of a rebuttal by Guild President Thomas I. Emerson. Professor Emerson, according to the Committee, is listed as a member or associate of the Civil Rights Congress, Jefferson School of Social Science, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the National Council of the Arts Sciences and Professions, all of which have been cited as Communist front organizations. (See Cong. Record Page A7073 81st 2nd).

8. Senator Murray again displayed his speaking ability again at a rally of the Jewish-American section, International Workers Order, which "is a subservient instrument of the Communist Party in the United States" according to the reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Sixth National Convention Bulletin of the IWO said Senator Murray spoke "for firm collaboration with the Soviet Union", paid tribute to the IWO for its contribution "to the national unity of the United States". and "drew tremendous applause from the huge audience".

9. The American Youth Congress was cited as Communist by the Attorney General and as a Communist front by various investigating Committees. The California State Committee called it "one of the most influential front organizations ever established by the American Communist Party." Communist influence in the American Youth Congress was exposed by the Dies Committee as early as 1939, yet in that same year Senator James E. Murray was among those issuing a "call" for the Fifth Congress of Youth, annual convention of the organization, in New York City. (HUAC Hearings Regarding Jack McMichael, 1953)

10. The manner in which Communist weave a labyrinth of front organizations with fine-sounding names is well illustrated by the relationship between the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7-9, 1940, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the Conference on Civil Rights, and the Civil Rights Congress.

Official records show Senator Murray was one of the sponsors of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties. It was described as a "Communist-inspired" conference by the California committee in its 1948 report, and by the House Un-American Activities Committee as "an important part of the solar system of the Communist party's front organizations". (3/29/44) Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the Communist Party national Committee, was a featured speaker, as was Edwin S. Smith, mentioned earlier for his connection with Senator Murray as executive director of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, a member of the National Labor Relations Board whose appointment was twice approved by Senator Murray's committee, and one who has claimed his privilege against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution when asked to answer questions concerning whether or not he was a Communist.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was formed at this conference. The House Un-American activities committee called it "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" and the Attorney General cited it as

Communist, pointing out that its major efforts had been the defense of Communist Party leaders.

12. The Washington Committee for Democratic Action, also cited as Communist by the Attorney General, was described as the local chapter or affiliate of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Attorney General Biddle pointed out that: "National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist front organizations."

Senator Murray was one of the sponsors of a Conference on Civil Rights conducted by the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. Records list the treasurer of the organization as Charles Murray. Charles Murray is the name of the Senator's son and Administrative Assistant.

In 1946, apparently too well known by its old name to be of further value, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties merged with another Communist front organization to form the Civil Rights Congress, which in turn has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General. Of this organization the House Un-American Activities Committee noted it was: "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

13. Senator Murray again did the honors as a principal speaker at a dinner sponsored by the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, February 7, 1945. This Committee was cited as Communist by the Attorney General, as well as the House Committee.

At this time when Tito's government was still firmly attached to the leadership of Soviet Russia, Senator Murray praised him as a great leader and urged that we respect the "human rights and fundamental freedoms" of the Yugoslavs.

Senator Murray joined with Paul Robeson and others in sponsoring for Soviet Russia Today, a Communist propaganda magazine, a dinner celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Red Army, February 22, 1943. (Testimony of Edw. G. Robinson, HUAC)

The Senator was a contributor to this magazine on at least two occasions. On the first, in the November 1942 issue of Soviet Russia Today, he appeared as the author of an article title "A Quarter Century of Progress". Senator Murray's subject was "progress" in the Soviet Union since the Red Revolution in 1917, at which time he said the Russian people "broke with the dark past of oppression, and embarked upon a new highway of progress and civilization". The Senator said that "the Russian people had tasted of that new life, of that full life which had brought to them greater economic and educational opportunities, greater freedom, and greater security from want. The Russian people have tasted what has been the heritage of our free-born American people since our own revolution in 1776 - the opportunity to build their own life unmolested and unhampered by outside forces." The article continues with praise of the Russian government and "the great leader Joseph Stalin". "Thank God for the wisdom of her leaders!", the Senator exclaimed.

In April of 1943 Senator Murray again appeared in Soviet Russia Today with a laudatory article on Russian military might titled "World's Youngest Army". This apparently was an outgrowth of the Red Army dinner mentioned above.

Senator Murray was author of another Soviet Russia Today article in November, 1943, in which he said President Roosevelt "deserves the gratitude of every American for his courageous and wise decision" in extending diplomatic recognition to the Soviet government, and deplored "what a blunder the earlier Administrations had committed by refusing such recognition."

As a final example, Senator Murray appeared in Soviet Russia Today with a "Tribute to Lenin", from which the following is quoted:

"The name of that man, that genius, that leader, was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He instilled into his people faith in their own powers, releasing thereby forces which had been dormant since the early dawn of Russian history. He launched the Russian people he had liberated

from the yoke of autocracy on a road of glorious achievement. . . . The glorious victories which the Soviet peoples have been piling up since June 22, 1941, are the eternal monument to the vision, the genius, the wisdom and the idealism of the great son of his people -- Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, whose memory is today deeply revered not only by the peoples of the Soviet Union, but by those who love liberty and peace throughout the world."

Senator Murray also contributed articles to the Communist publications NEW MASSES and Scoop. In the latter he paid tribute to the "honesty and fairness" of the Communists, predicted a "blossoming of trade and friendship" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and denounced "treacherous slander" of those who distrusted the Communist regime.

The Senator's name also appears frequently in the columns of such publications. The Communist Daily Worker referred to him as a "hero" of the 80th Congress and has vigorously supported legislation introduced by Murray.

Articles written by the Senator have been introduced in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, and he himself has given circulation to such items as an article on "Asia and the State Department" by Owen Lattimore, which he introduced in the Record of January 24, 1947 and which lauded General Marshall's policy in China.

These associations, sponsorships, contributions to the Communist and Communist front press, in which the title and prestige of the United States Senator of the State of Montana was freely loaned to Communist-front activities, serious as they are, might be classified as "extracurricular" functions of James E. Murray. A more serious question arises with regard to the extent that these activities were reflected in the conduct of the Senator in official Senate duties. On this subject, the hearings on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, and Activities of United States Citizens Employed by the United Nations, all conducted by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, have much to reveal concerning Senator Murray.

His voting record over 20 years in Congress and the legislation he has sponsored give further insight into the true nature of his representation of the people of Montana

The principal anti-Communist legislation enacted in recent years has been the Internal Security Act of 1950, known at the time as the Mundt bill. Senator Murray vigorously opposed this measure, declaring he was convinced "there is no need for the bill." Murray said that: "hisotyr is filled with examples of temporary mob excitement, stirred by false or exaggerated charges. On various occasions down through the years mass hysteria has gripped the populace for temporary periods, resulting in a with hunt. . .". . . "

The majority of members of the House and Senate did not agree that the effort to root out Communist infiltration was "mass hysteria" or "a witch hunt" and the bill passed over a veto.

In this debate, Murray was aligned with Jerry J. O'Connell, Chairman of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, an organization described as a "propaganda adjunct of the Communist Party" in a House Committee report. Throughout the long night of debate, O'Connell directed strategy from an alcove near the Senate chamber, in frequent consultation with left-wing senators and with members of the Communist party. O'Connell and Murray have been associated also in various Communist front activities.

Legislation introduced and sponsored by Senator Murray has been shaped by the associates and organizations described herein. For example, the preamble to his full employment bill is said to paraphrase the Soviet Constitution, while the socialized medicine bill is in accord with policies advanced by Lenin, the Russian revolutionist lauded by Murray in the Soviet Russia today article. Murray's consistent advocacy of the Missouri and Columbia valley authority bills is a device to centralize power in the federal government, and this fits into Communist strategy. Communists teach that the overthrow of government if facilitated by drawing into a central bureaucracy control over all resources of a nation.

The Red Web on Capitol Hill

The hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reveal nine instances where alleged Communists, who have claimed the privilege against self-incrimination of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution when questioned on Communism, were employed by Congressional Committees.

Of these, three were employed on the staff of the Senate Select Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, of which Senator James E. Murray was chairman and his son, Charles Murray, was secretary.

Three others were employed on the staff of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of which Senator James E. Murray was ranking member and later Chairman.

Senator Murray, as Chairman of the Small Business Committee, wrote to the Department of Labor requesting that Henry Collins be "loaned" to his Committee staff. Senator Murray wrote that he had "several discussions: with Collins and was "greatly impressed with his knowledge of small business problems." The Senator said Collins would be "particularly valuable". This request was granted, and Collins became staff director of the Murray Small Business Committee, his immediate supervisor being Charles Murray, the Senator's son.

Collins was named by Whittaker Chambers as a member of the Communist General Staff inside the government of the United States. The investigations of various committees associate him in numerous ways with others who have been exposed as members of the Communist cells within our government. Collins has refused to testify as to whether or not he was a Communist party member on the grounds that his testimony might tend to incriminate him. At last report he was director of the American Russian Institute.

A second "fifth amendment" witness whom Senator Murray especially requested to serve on his Small Business Committee was Harry Magdoff. The Senator made his request to Henry Wallace, who agreed to release Magdoff from his agency for work on the Committee. During Congressional hearings Magdoff refused to answer any questions regarding alleged Communist associations.

The third such individual on Senator Murray's Small Business Committee was Alfred J. Van Tassell. Van Tassell was employed by the War Production Board, from which Senator Murray drafted him for the committee job. He served on the Committee until he left to join the staff of the United Nations. During the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearings on activities of United States citizens employed by the United Nations, Van Tassell refused to testify concerning affiliations with the Communist party, claiming his privilege against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution.

Charles Kramer (Krevitsky) was mentioned by both Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers as a Communist who was channelling secret government information to Russia. The various reports on his activities picture him as a leading member of the cell of which Alger Hiss was said to have been a member. Kramer held down several government jobs, before he was hired to conduct hearings and write reports for a subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee, of which Senator Murray was a member and later Chairman. Many believe that he prepared the bill on "socialized medicine" introduced by Senator Murray. He is now reported to be a "researcher" for the Progressive Party, and has consistently refused to testify as to whether or not he is a Communist on the grounds that his answers might tend to incriminate him.

The same Labor Committee, of which Senator Murray has been so influential a member, employed Charlse S. Flato for a period of four years. Flato had worked previously with Kramer in other agencies, and he was assigned to the Committee, at Committee request, as chief investigator. In appearances before Congressional Committees he has taken refuge in the Fifth Amendment when asked questions relating to the Communist Party and his acquaintance with others accused of Communist membership.

Also a member of the Murray Labor Committee was Mrs. Margaret Bennett Porter. Mrs. Porter came to the Committee from the Department of Agriculture, at Committee request. Like the others, she has declined to answer questions relating to the Communist Party.

Thus of the nine persons alleged to have represented the Communist party within Congressional Committees, six were employed by the two Committees of which Senator Murray was Chairman or ranking member. The late Senator Bob LaFollette, widely respected as a leading liberal, reported that he resigned from one of these committees because of the infiltration of fellow travelers. His article on the subject in a national magazine apparently had no effect upon Senator Murray or Senator Pepper, insofar as the employment of these persons is concerned.

In its report, the Internal Security Subcommittee pointed out the connections that existed between various suspected individuals, many of whom have no openly admitted Communist party membership during their government employment, both in their work, in their organizations, in the publications to which they subscribed and contributed, and in their private lives. One member or sympathizer in high position could open the door for many others. Evidence indicates that in the White House, the key figure was Laughlin Currie. In the Agriculture Department, and later in Commerce, it was Henry Wallace. In Treasury, Harry Dexter White paved the way. In Congress, Senator James E. Murray along with Senators Pepper and Thomas of Utah gave the opportunity for infiltration.

As the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported:

"Almost all of the persons exposed by the evidence had some connection that could be documented with at least one - and generally several -- other exposed persons. They used each others names for references on applications for federal employment. They hited each other. They promoted each other. They raised each other's salaries. They transferred each other from bureau ot bureau, from department to department, from congressional committee to congressional committee. They vouched for each other's loyalty and protected each other when exposure threatened."

The members of the Executive branch mentioned have long since been exposed and left government. In Florida and in Utah in 1950 the voters, aware of their records, retired Pepper and Thomas. Senator James E. Murray is the last of these people in high public office, a relic of the days when Communist fronts rode high, wide and handsome in the Nation's Capitol.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Respectfully referred to

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Very respectfully,

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M. C., District.