

STATINTL

Hard-headed, hard-working Senator Thomas J. Dodd fights a non-stop battle for freedom—at home and abroad



Crusader From Connecticut

BY EUGENE H. METHVIN

PRESIDENT John F. Kennedy looked around the White House dining table on February 14, 1961, at the 19 Cabinet and legislative leaders assembled for the first joint breakfast meeting of his administration. The bacon and eggs finished, he raised a touchy question. "We have this request to let a Vermont manufacturer ship ball-bearing machines to Russia," he said. "Senator Dodd asked President Eisenhower to hold it up, pending Senate investigation. Now he says the shipment will harm our national security. What about it?"

"The Russians can buy the same kind of machines from European manufacturers," said Secretary of

Commerce Luther Hodges. "If we bar the shipment, we only cheat our own businessmen out of the profits."

"I wouldn't jump to a conclusion so lightly," said Vice President Lyndon Johnson. "Tom Dodd has a habit of being right."

Two weeks later, Senator Dodd discovered that the machines were going to be shipped despite his protests. Whereupon he strode into President Kennedy's office and handed him a seven-page report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which Dodd is vice chairman. Twelve of the most eminent technical experts in the field, the President read, agreed to a man that not one of the European

machines cited by the Commerce Department approached the capabilities of the American machine. The latter was a unique product representing the pooled expertise of many companies; 72 of these machines had been enough to supply the entire U.S. military and space effort with the tiny precision bearings that enabled us to miniaturize equipment and so offset the Soviet rocket-thrust advantage. Yet we were about to hand 45 of the machines to the Russians!

When he finished reading, President Kennedy ordered the shipment to Russia canceled.

For Whom the Bells Tolled. Hard-headed, hard-working Sen. Thomas Joseph Dodd is a man with a passion for getting and analyzing the facts—especially facts about communists, communism and the cold war. Time and again, events have proved his forecasts right. Even many who disagreed at the time now concede that Dodd was right on Laos, West New Guinea, the Congo, Cuba, British Guiana, Berlin, Ghana and many other foreign-policy tests. He has justly won respect for what one columnist calls "his ability to foresee crises long before they have tumbled about our ears." He has become the Senate's most dynamic voice for a foreign policy based on freedom for people everywhere.

Whenever great Kremlin-generated tides of euphoria and "peaceful coexistence" have washed over Washington, Dodd has stood fast as

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a rock. In the summer of 1959, for example, when Premier Khrushchev was invited to tour the United States, the nation was immediately engulfed in a wave of naïve hope. Dodd was too tough-minded to go along with the mood. Looking every inch a Senator, with snow-white hair, a ruddy face and a grim set to his finely-chiseled Irish jaw, he rose in the Senate to remind his colleagues who this visitor was. "Khrushchev rose as hangman of the Ukraine," he said. "In a single year 400,000 men, women and children were murdered under his direction. I have documentation here, if anyone wants to see it." Dodd then reminded his colleagues of Khrushchev's role in subduing the 1956 Hungarian rebellion, in which the Soviet boss earned the title of "Butcher of Budapest."

During his 1959 visit to the United States, Khrushchev was shocked by the strength of the anti-communist feeling he found. (Many towns—following Dodd's suggestion—greeted him with silence or with tolling churchbells.) Back in the Kremlin he said, "There are forces in the United States working against us. They must be publicly whipped, subjected to the torments of hell!" Ever since, the communist press has directed a drumfire of smears at the senior Senator from Connecticut.

Eloquent G-Man. From earliest boyhood, the Senate was Tom Dodd's goal. The family home in Norwich, Conn., was a good starting place. Tom's mother, a former schoolteacher, used to stand her little son atop the kitchen table and school him in the art of advocacy. At the dining table his father, a contractor, would toss algebra problems to his five children, or quote Shakespeare by the page, or recite from the inaugural addresses of every President from Grover Cleveland on. Meanwhile, playing around his grandpa's livery stable—which was a local Democratic Party hangout—young Tom breathed politics.

While at Yale Law School in 1932, Tom Dodd organized "The Flying Wedge," a band of reform-minded young liberals who made crusading speeches for Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. He so impressed Homer Cummings, a Connecticut lawyer

who, after the election, became the FBI's Assistant General Counsel, that the mings asked him to join the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Dodd rapidly made his mark as a gang-buster. Assigned to St. Paul, he helped chase the most wanted gangster of the era, John Dillinger. Wounded in a gunfight, Dillinger escaped. But it was Dodd who tracked down and arrested "Doc" May, the gangland medico who treated Dillinger for his wounds.

In 1934, Dodd left his promising FBI career to become Connecticut director of the National Youth Administration, establishing educational and job opportunities for Depression-deprived young people. (Another young New Dealer, Lyndon B. Johnson, had the same job in Texas.) Next, he was called to Washington to help organize the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. Trying civil-rights cases before southern juries, then cases of Nazi subversion and espionage, and later, wartime industrial cheats, he made an impressive name for himself. In the spring of 1945, he was sent to Nuremberg to prepare for the Nazi war-crimes prosecutions.

Nightmare Memories. As chief trial counsel at Nuremberg, Dodd put in 18 grueling months. It was a long time before he could sleep soundly again. Not only Nazi brutality sickened him; he watched Soviet prosecutors try to blame the Nazis for their own army's massacre of 15,000 captured Polish soldiers in the Katyn forest, near Smolensk, in 1940. "It was perfectly clear to any honest lawyer that they had fabricated the evidence," Dodd says.

Something else stuck in his craw. "I learned of the desperation and terror of hundreds of thousands of Russian war prisoners and slave laborers held by the Nazis whom we, through ignorance, returned against their will to the Soviet authorities. I am still tormented by accounts of mass suicides in which men slashed their wrists with tin cans and women jumped with their children from upper-story windows, rather than face return to Russia.

"I was conducting a postmortem of the Nazi terror machine," Dodd recalls, "but I saw communism's similarities in a thousand details.

Neither tyranny tolerates opposition, both menace the world with their hate ideologies—the Nazis in the name of race hate, the communists in the name of class hate."

Weary and soul-sick, Dodd returned to Connecticut—to Hartford—to practice law. Ironically, it was his opposition to anti-communist demagoguery that called him back into national affairs. In 1950, Sen. Joseph McCarthy stumped the state, hoping to purge Connecticut's Democratic Sen. Brian McMahon. Mindful of their heavily Catholic constituencies, other state political leaders declined to reply to McCarthy. Dodd, convinced that the Wisconsin Senator was careless with facts and reckless and indiscriminate in his anti-communist charges, could not refuse. Said Dodd, "I never saw a stronger case with a weaker lawyer. Senator McCarthy actually harms the anti-communist cause by making it seem ridiculous."

McMahon won. And so compelling was Dodd's eloquence that in 1952 the Democrats urged him to run for Congress. After two terms in the House, he was elected to the Senate.

Lone Voice. Many times Dodd has spoken out on foreign policy in a lone, scorned voice. In May 1960, he denounced the unpoliced nuclear-test moratorium, which had then been in effect 18 months, expressing the "gnawing conviction that the communists are not abiding by it." Khrushchev confirmed the suspicion in September 1961 with a series of 30 nuclear explosions punctuated by a monster 57-megaton blast. This gullible trusting of the communists, said Dodd, proved to be "the most flagrant bipartisan blunder in the long history of our foreign policy."

Yet Washington soon returned to the old routine. By February 1963, with a draft treaty on the table in Geneva, talk was buzzing of new U.S. concessions to bring about a full nuclear-test ban. In a 20,000-word speech, widely praised for its technical expertise, Dodd cited the record of 13 major U.S. concessions: retreating from on-site inspection of all suspicious earth tremors to 20 inspections a year, then to 12, then 8, then 5; and—ultimate folly—agreeing that Russians could man

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the monitoring stations in their own territory. "Sanitized Approved For Release : CIA-RDP75-00149R000200310007-2
ing gangsters to police themselves," said Dodd.

The Geneva treaty became a dead issue. Dodd, supported by 33 other Senators, then renewed his 1960 proposal for a limited, atmospheric test ban, violations of which can be readily detected. Within three months the Treaty of Moscow was signed, and the Senate ratified it—after the administration promised vigorous underground testing to maintain the U.S. deterrent.

Thankless Task. To be vice chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, investigating communist subversion, is a stormy and thankless task. But, in 1959, Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson persuaded Dodd to take the post out of duty, as a liberal whose record as a civil-rights advocate would reassure those fearful of new excesses. His performance in the job has been one of scrupulous fairness. Says Senator Paul Douglas, dean of the Senate liberals, "Although Tom Dodd is a vigorous anti-communist, I know personally that he has many times stood up for those unfairly accused by the far right."

In May 1960 the New York chapter of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) called a gigantic rally at Madison Square Garden. Scheduled to speak were Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Michigan Gov. G. Mennen Williams, labor leader Walter Reuther and former GOP Presidential candidate Alf Landon. Then, 48 hours before the meeting, Dodd verified information that SANE's New York chapter had been heavily infiltrated by communists, who planned to use it to support Soviet diplomatic pressure on the United States. The chief planner and organizer of the rally, Henry Abrams, was a veteran member of the Communist Party.

Dodd telephoned SANE's national chairman, Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*, and laid the evidence before him. Cousins flew to Washington and asked Dodd not to release the material so short a time before the meeting. "Many prominent, innocent people will be present; who could be damaged by the headlines," he said. Dodd agreed, saying, "I certainly don't want to

hurt anybody through guilt by association." The rally went off as scheduled. Later, Dodd publicly revealed the communist role, ordered a closed hearing and called in 27 witnesses from SANE's Greater New York chapter. When 22 of them, including nine local chairmen, took the Fifth Amendment on questions of Communist Party membership, SANE expelled them. It revoked the charter of the New York chapter and built a new one excluding communists.

"Tom Dodd could have seriously damaged SANE and made political capital out of the investigation," says Norman Cousins. "Instead he confined himself to a few specific cases and maintained absolute respect for the rights of the individuals concerned."

Cuban Hangover. How, in the critical year before Castro came to power, did U.S. policy in Cuba miscarry so disastrously? Investigating, Dodd discovered that as early as 1955 the FBI was sending reports to the State Department describing ominous communist involvements in Castro's background and organization. The tempo of such reports increased during 1957 and 1958. Why, then, did Washington actually encourage Castro's takeover?

For two years the subcommittee took testimony, heard half a dozen ambassadors, double-checked the State Department's own massive inquiry. A vast amount of evidence came to focus on one official, who had systematically summarized the intelligence reports to say there was no *conclusive* evidence that Castro was communist—a true statement by itself, yet a distinct misrepresentation of the intelligence flowing in. Called before the subcommittee to explain, the official's own testimony was damningly vague, contradictory, evasive. After long questioning, the subcommittee had to conclude that he had lied and dodged under oath. Why? "The disturbing truth is *we don't know*," says Dodd, "and the State Department has taken no meaningful action to find out."

The upshot? While the officer in question got a pay raise, the State Department fired its chief of security evaluations, Otto F. Otepka—the man who made the first exhaustive investigation of the officer's performance and recommend-

ed action against him. First, State then last September sought to fire him for cooperating with Senator Dodd and the subcommittee. To prove this cooperation, trash bags in Otepka's office were secretly rummaged, torn papers were pieced together, his files searched, his typewriter ribbons and carbons "read"—even though federal law guarantees the right of any civil-service employe to furnish information to "either House of Congress."

On November 5, 1963, State announced that it was firing Otepka as guilty of "conduct unbecoming an officer of the Department of State." That afternoon Dodd stormed on the Senate floor: "No one suspected of espionage or disloyalty has been subjected to such surveillance and humiliation. In the topsy-turvy attitude it has displayed, the State Department has been chasing the policeman instead of the culprit."*

Dodd thinks that the effort to "get" Otepka comes from intermediate State Department bureaucrats who are still smarting under the resentments generated by Senator McCarthy's wholesale charges against the Department in the early 1950's. Dodd does *not* charge that the State Department is full of communists. He does say, "We'd be fools to think that attempts at infiltration ended with Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White. That is why we need hard-nosed professional security men like Otepka, and congressional investigating committees."

In pursuing his forthright course, Tom Dodd has received his share of brickbats, slurs and even threats on his life. Despite all efforts to sidetrack him, he moves straight ahead, guided by principle, and by the overriding conviction that the most fateful issue today is whether the frontiers of freedom or of communist tyranny will advance.

"Freedom *must* move forward," says Dodd. "The struggle can be won only by a mighty national effort, which our ideals now call upon us to make—an effort to defend freedom where it exists in the world, and to extend it where it does not."

*At this writing, Otepka's dismissal is still on appeal to Secretary of State Dean Rusk.