Routing Slip

FROM: Hochler

TO:
- Mr. Andrews
- Mr. Ayers
- Mr. Bell
- Mr. Connelly
- Miss Conway
- Mr. Dawson
- Adm. Dennison
- Mr. Elsey
- Mr. Feeley
- Mr. Harriman
- Mr. Hassett
- Mr. Hochler
- Mr. Hopkins
- Mr. Houston
- Gen. Landry
- Mr. Lloyd
- Gen. Maylon
- Mr. Murphy
- Mr. Nash
- Mr. Neustadt
- Mr. Niles
- Mr. Ross
- Adm. Soares
- Mr. Spingarn
- Dr. Steelman
- Mr. Stowe
- Gen. Vaughan
- White House Files

☑ For your information, and return. ☐ For your request.
☑ For your preparation of reply. ☐ For your comments.
☑ For appropriate handling. ☐ For your files.
☐ Per our telephone conversation.

Remarks: Attached is the November Report which Johnson et al. at State prepared for inclusion, but which the latter wouldn't use after it was finished.
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The combat of the Korean War coupled with the recall of a renowned military leader, the theater commander of the first United Nations force ever to take the field, precipitated a Senatorial inquiry which for significance and scope is without precedent in the history of the American Republic. The inquiry aimed at developing a complete and comprehensive record on policies and actions relating to these matters.

The inquiry lasted 7 weeks and heard at length 14 witnesses whose testimony totaled nearly two million words.

The Committee sought and succeeded in bringing out relevant details from a panel of witnesses who cooperated fully with the Committees by furnishing forthright and detailed responses. Despite the immense momentum of the topics under investigation and an unprecedented atmosphere of emotionalism and bitterness, the conduct of the participants was nonpartisan and judicious—a demonstration of responsibility in which the Committees can take great pride.

The hearings were intended to be a dispassionate and impartial effort to ascertain the truth, not merely for its own sake, but to inform the American people and the Congress on matters of critical importance to the present and future welfare of our nation. At their end, it was apparent that their purpose had been achieved to a degree beyond reasonable expectations. That this was due in great measure to the ability, fairness, and integrity shown by Senator Richard B. Russell, who presided at the hearings, is conceded by all.

Hearings in the Democratic Tradition

It is our conviction that the inquiry and the manner in which the record was compiled are in the highest democratic tradition. It is further our belief that a free, full, and searching discussion of points of controversy is vital in a democracy. Such a discussion is the more important in this time of emergency because it is a source of national
strength and unity of purpose which is essential to the triumph of the democratic ideal.

However, the functioning of this healthy procedure does not end with the creation of a body of evidence. There remains a grave responsibility to be assumed by every American to weigh with maximum care and thoroughness the evidence developed and on the basis of this evidence, reach to sound and well thought-out conclusions. This is a responsibility which falls most conspicuously upon the membership of the Committee.

Shortly after the conclusion of the formal hearings, and in accord with the discharge of its particular responsibility, the membership of the Committee joined unanimously in a statement to the American people, to the free world and to the Communist world. The statement warned against any interpretation which would regard the differences of opinion developed at the hearings as indications of division or cleavage within the United States and thus a sign of weakness. The statement also emphasized the importance of continued unity of purpose in the Congress and among the American people.

Unity Essential

The foregoing declaration—as far as it applies to the signatories of this report—was not lightly made. World conditions are as critical today as they were at the conclusion of the hearings. It is clear that efforts to divide or confuse the American people will inevitably have an impact on the course of events in Korea. The authors of this report recognize the awesome and delicate task confronting the American negotiators in Korea. Our whole intention is directed at giving a maximum of aid and support to General Ridgway and Admiral Joy.

At this writing it is not clear that the talks in which they have been engaged will be resumed, and if resumed, there is no firm assurance of success. However, if they are resumed and carried through to a successful conclusion, we shall have taken a step, a very vital step,
along the hard road toward peaceful settlement of world differences through negotiation.

Report-of-Eight: A Blow at Peace Talks

Despite the obvious sensitivity of the present situation, there is no cause to stifle any honest expression of views. Nevertheless, we believe that good faith and an interest in national unity would have demanded an open exchange of views among the members of the Committee before the release of any findings or recommendations. Consequently, we cannot condone the clandestine preparation of a report, however, stylized, and its release to the public before any effort had been made to circulate the document among the Committee membership or solicit views as to its content. The fact that a report signed by eight members of one political party was so handled increases the extent to which it presents a divided front to the people of the United States and to the world.

The partisan nature of the "report-of-eight" and the essential selfishness which moved its publication might be passed over as a shortsighted attempt to make political hay had it dealt solely with the past. Here this the case, the damage to national unity would have been minor and the signatories to the following report might have been content to let the full record speak for itself against what is basically a petty and ineffective attempt to rewrite history. However, the report of eight did not confine itself to the past but addressed itself to the future. Its final conclusion struck at the very heart of the cease-fire talks at Kaesong. This conclusion would mean an appeasement and a victory for aggression any settlement would of the Korean conflict.

In our view, no greater or potentially more disastrous disservice could have been done to General Ridgeway, Admiral Joy and the other men who have been working to reach an honorable settlement of the Korean conflict. It puts on notice this nation and the world that a substantial fraction of a major political party opposes the cease-fire talks in the
first place and does not favor their continuance.

People First Philosophy

We believe that the American people are closely united behind the endeavor of the United Nations negotiators to reach an honorable resolution of the situation in Korea. This, we are convinced, is the origin of the close teamwork that has prevailed so far and which must continue to prevail between the United Nations command, our political and military leaders and our United Nations allies. An essential ingredient in this teamwork is the united front displayed by the Congress and the American people.

Unity Must be Preserved

The attempt by the authors of the report of eight to impugn the whole base of the cease-fire talks threatens a serious breach in this teamwork. This is a threat which cannot be ignored. Therefore, the signatories to the following report have joined together to stave off this threat by issuing the ensuing statement — to correct the distortions of the record contained in the previous report and to give to the brave and dedicated men at Korea a firm and ringing, bi-partisan vote of confidence; not only for their own but for the cause of the world. Our hope is our prayers for a successful conclusion to their mission go with them as well as our pledge to do all in our power to preserve the united support which they must have if they are to complete their task.