

PRELIMINARY INVENTORY  
OF THE  
RECORDS OF THE  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES,  
83RD CONGRESS

*(not published)*

Compiled by  
George P. Perros

The National Archives  
National Archives and Records Service  
General Services Administration

Washington: 1960

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction . . . . .	1
Inventory . . . . .	7
Appendices:	
Appendix A (List of folder headings comprising the "Regular File") . . . . .	9
Appendix B (List of the folder headings of the records relating to the investigation in Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina) . . . . .	11

## INTRODUCTION

On July 21, 1954, the House of Representatives, following custom, created, by adopting House Resolution 439, 83rd Congress, a select committee to oversee the 1954 campaigns of candidates for election to the House. The resolution, which had been submitted on February 9, 1954, by Representative C. W. Bishop, of Illinois, and which had been reported on July 14, 1954 (House Report 2215, 83rd Congress, 2d session), by the Committee on Rules, provided in part as follows:

Resolved, That a special committee of five Members be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives to investigate and report to the House not later than January 3, 1955, with respect to the following matters:

1. The extent and nature of expenditures made by all candidates for the House of Representatives in connection with their campaign for nomination and election to such office.
2. The amounts subscribed, contributed, or expended, and the value of services rendered, and facilities made available (including personal services, use of advertising space, radio and television time, office space, moving-picture films, and automobile and other transportation facilities) by any individual, individuals, or group of individuals, committee, partnership, corporation, or labor union, to or on behalf of each such candidate in connection with any such campaign or for the purpose of influencing the votes

cast or to be cast at any convention or election held in 1954 to which a candidate for the House of Representatives is to be nominated or elected.

3. The use of any other means or influence (including the promise or use of patronage) for the nomination or election of any such candidates.

4. The amounts, if any, raised, contributed, and expended by any individual, individuals, or group of individuals, committee, partnership, corporation, or labor union, including any political committee thereof, in connection with any such election, and the amounts received by any political committee from any corporation, labor union, individual, individuals, or group of individuals, committee, or partnership.

5. The violations, if any, of the following statutes of the United States:

(a) The Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

(b) The Act of August 2, 1939, as amended, relating to pernicious political activities, commonly referred to as the Hatch Act.

(c) The provisions of section 304, Public Law 101, Eightieth Congress, chapter 120, first session, referred to as the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947.

(d) Any statute or legislative Act of the United States or of the State within which a candidate is seeking nomination or re-election to the House of Representatives, the violation of which

Federal or State statute, or statutes, would affect the qualification of a Member of the House of Representatives within the meaning of article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States.

6. Such other matters relating to the election of Members of the House of Representatives in 1954, and the campaigns of candidates in connection therewith, as the committee deems to be of public interest, and which in its opinion will aid the House of Representatives in enacting remedial legislation, or in deciding contests that may be instituted involving the right to a seat in the House of Representatives.

7. The committee is authorized to act upon its own motion and upon such information as in its judgment may be reasonable or reliable. Upon complaint being made to the committee under oath, by any person, candidate, or political committee, setting forth allegations as to facts which, under this resolution, it would be the duty of said committee to investigate, the committee shall investigate such charges as fully as though it were acting upon its own motion, unless, after a hearing upon such complaint, the committee shall find that the allegations in such complaint are immaterial or untrue. All hearings before the committee, and before any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, shall be public, and all orders and decisions of the committee, and of any such subcommittee shall be public.

For the purpose of this resolution, the committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such public

hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Eighty-third Congress, to employ such attorneys, experts, clerical, and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by such chairman and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

On August 5, 1954, the select committee was authorized to incur expenses "not to exceed \$25,000, including expenditures for employment of experts, special counsel, and clerical stenographic, and other assistants."

Accordingly, the Speaker on August 9, 1954, named as members of the Select Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, 1954, Representatives C. W. Bishop (chairman); Kenneth B. Keating, of New York; Howard H. Baker, of Tennessee; Hale Boggs, of Louisiana; and Frank M. Karsten, of Missouri. Stanley P. Kimmel was appointed general counsel, and Mrs. Marie J. Nye clerk.

One of the earliest tasks of the committee was the preparation, with the assistance of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, of a handbook on campaign information, in which the organization and the jurisdiction of the committee were announced, and in which relevant extracts of Federal statutes governing elections were incorporated. The committee distributed the handbook, along with a copy of the House

Resolution 439, 83rd Congress, among those directly concerned. In addition, questionnaires were sent to the 833 candidates for election to the House calling for information on campaign receipts and expenditures. Likewise, political committees and organizations were directed to furnish copies of all statements for 1954 filed with the Clerk of the House under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.

Five formal complaints alleging violations of election laws and election irregularities were lodged with the committee. The committee investigated two of the complaints. It did not act in the other cases because, in the first, the complaint became moot upon the election of the complainant; in the second, the committee lacked jurisdiction; and in the third, the complainant failed to respond to the committee's request for affidavits in support of his allegations.

On October 27, 1954, the Republican director of organization of the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina submitted a complaint, accompanied with affidavits, charging the purchase of votes and the illegal use of absentee ballots. A preliminary inquiry by a staff member disclosed such irregularities as to warrant a full investigation. Consequently, the committee launched a full probe, culminating in public hearings in Statesville, N. C., on December 7, 1954, in Boone, N. C., on December 8, 1954, and in Taylorsville, N. C., on December 9, 1954. But because of the short tenure of the committee's authority and the lack of sufficient funds, the committee could not make a conclusive investigation. It decided, therefore, to submit the complaint, together with such findings as it had made, to the House of Representatives at the beginning of the 84th Congress,

with the recommendation that it be referred to the House Committee on Administration.

The other investigation of allegedly wrongful political campaign tactics began on November 4, 1954, when Fred E. Busbey, the Republican candidate, Third Congressional District of Illinois, filed a complaint alleging that his Democratic opponent had violated the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, and that certain labor unions, acting on behalf of the latter, had violated the Taft-Hartley law. Thereupon the committee sent to Chicago a staff member to investigate the charges; he conducted a full inquiry and reported his findings to the committee. And it decided the case on the basis of the investigator's report.

The committee referred to the Attorney General of the United States some matters which had come within their ken. Among them was the discrepant reporting to the Clerk of the House and to the select committee, of contributions received from the Communist Party by a candidate for election to the House of Representatives from New York.

The Select Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, 1954, concluded its labors on the eve of the 84th Congress; its last official act was to transmit, on January 3, 1955, to the House of Representatives its report, House Report 2585, 83rd Congress, 2d session, which includes the verbatim transcript of the committee's hearings in North Carolina.

The records described in this inventory, amounting to six cubic feet, are the records of the House Select Committee on Campaign Expenditures, 1954. They are a part of Record Group 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives. No person may have access to, or receive information from, the select committee's records, without the permission of the House of Representatives.



"Regular File" July 1954-Jan. 1955. 4 ft.

1

This segment of the files of the committee, denominated by its staff as the "Regular File," comprises applications for employment with the committee, together with supporting documents; other personnel records; correspondence of members of the committee regarding its agenda; newspaper clippings dealing with the 1954 political campaigns; lists of the names of the 1954 nominees for election to the House; statements (on forms furnished by the committee) by candidates for election to the House of Representatives, showing amount received and expended; correspondence of S. P. Kimmel, General Counsel; prints of House resolutions 439 and 631, 83rd Congress; investigative files on complaints; correspondence (accompanied, in some instances, by related documents) with the States and Territories concerning the committee's request of September, 1954, for lists of the names of the political organizations operative within their respective jurisdictions; copies of the 1954 reports of political committees and organizations filed with the Clerk of the House pursuant to the Federal Corrupt Practices Act showing contributions and expenditures; correspondence with political committees and organizations concerning such reports; requests of libraries for copies of the committee's publications; copies of vouchers showing expenditures of the committee for articles and services; a copy of House Report 2685, 83rd Congress, 2d session, and a copy of "Campaign Information, Congressional Election, November 2, 1954." For a list of the folder titles of this series, see Appendix A; for related records, see entry 2.

Records Relating to the Committee's Investigation in the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina. October, 1954. 1 ft. 2

These records, documenting the committee's most extensive investigation, consist of staff memoranda, correspondence, affidavits, executed subpoenas, transcript of the hearings, and stenographic notebooks. See Appendix B for a list of the folder titles of these records. For related records see entry 1.

Minutes of the Select Committee. Nov. 1954-Jan. 1955. 1/8 in. 3

The minutes record, in summary form, proceedings in the three public, and the six executive, sessions held between November 10, 1954 and January 3, 1955. Chronological.

APPENDIX A

List of the folder headings of the records comprising the "Regular File" (entry 1)

Applications

Baker, Hon. Howard H.

Bishop, Hon. C. W. (chairman)

Boggs, Hon. Hale

C

"Campaign Information, Congressional Election, November 2, 1954"

Campaign News items

Candidate lists

Candidates-Reports

A

B

C thru D

E thru F

G thru H

H thru K

L thru M

N thru R

S

T thru Z

D

Delivery receipts

E

Equipment

G

H

House Report 2685, 83rd Congress, 2d session

H. Res. 439 & 631

Investigation

Busby

Delaware-Wilmington

Flynn-24th-New York

North Carolina-9th Dist.

North Carolina-12th Dist.

Ernest H. Powell, Jr.

Wampler-Virginia

J

Journal of committee expenses

Karsten, Hon. Frank M.

Keating, Hon. Kenneth B.

Kissel, S. P. - Personal

Legal-American Law Division

M

Murray, William E.

Nominees-Senate

Political Organizations (Sec. of States)

Political Organizations

Political Organizations-Reports

A thru H

I thru P

S thru Z

Amalgamated Political Action Fund

Americans for Democratic Action

California Machinists Non-Partisan League

California State Central Comm. of the Prohibition Party

Citizens for Eisenhower Congressional Committee

C. I. O. Political Action Committee

Democratic National Committee

Jackson J. Malts for Congress Committee

Labor's League for Political Education

National Federation of Public Women

Nebraska Rep. Finance and Budget Comm.

New Hampshire Rep. State Comm.

New York City C. I. O. Council

New York Rep. State Comm.

Pro America, California Chapter

Republican Finance Comm., Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Republican Finance Comm., Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Republican National Committee

Republican State Central Comm. of Oregon

Trainers' Political Education League

United Rep. Finance Comm. for the State of New York

United Steel Workers of America, Political Action Fund

Warren County Rep. Comm., Glens Falls, N. Y.

Wyoming Republican State Committee

Procedures

Receipts

Replies-Political Organizations (no report)

Requests

Returned from Organizations

S

Still, Samuel H.

Subversives

T

U

V

Vouchers,

Vouchers, memos for

W

## APPENDIX B

List of the folder headings of the records relating to the committee's investigation in the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina (entry 2)

Alexander County  
 Alleghany County  
 Ashe County  
 Boone Cases (Dec. 8, 1954)  
 Caldwell County  
 Chairman of the County Boards of Election and Republican Members  
 Cabarrus County  
 Iredell County  
 Miscellaneous  
 Rowan County  
 Served Subpoenas (Boone)  
 Served Subpoenas (Statesville)  
 Served Subpoenas (Taylorsville)  
 Spencer Precinct  
 Stanley County  
 State Board of Elections (Canvass)  
 Statesville cases dismissed  
 Subpenas receipted, Statesville  
 Subpenas receipted, Taylorsville  
 Subpenas Receipted in Watauga County  
 Taylorsville cases (Dec. 9, 1954)  
 Transcript of the hearings; stenographic notebooks  
 Washington (General)  
 Watauga County