

b7c
[REDACTED]

Definite possibility exists that [REDACTED]
will continue to "peddle" allegation implicating
Mr. [REDACTED] in Senator's recent death, is being noted

as possible having compromised information to Senator longer
than another individual. Under normal circumstances, details
of this nature would be of interest and would be disseminated
to appropriate enforcement authorities. However, in this case
such action does not appear feasible due to highly questionable
reliability and integrity of [REDACTED] original source of
data. For the same reason, interview of [REDACTED] for purposes
of corroborating and refuting allegation would appear futile.

b7c
[REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

[REDACTED] It is recommended data not be disseminated to
FBI or San Antonio Police Department, "operator", I. O., and
[REDACTED] not be interviewed in view of his known background
and possible criminal intent. If you agree, no further action
is required.

W.H. GPR - KJ ✓ ✓
I agree,
JG

F B I

Date 5/10/57

Transmit the following message via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY
MISCELLANEOUS, INFORMATION CONCERNING

[REDACTED] NYC,
telephoned this office 5/3/57. She advised that she received information from [REDACTED], NYC, several months ago that Senator MC CARTHY was being slowly poisoned by radiated water and that the Senator's wife JEAN was involved in the plot. [REDACTED] stated further that among those to whom she told this story was Senator WILLIAM F. LANGE of North Dakota, on the occasion of her having lunch with the Senator, at the Senate Dining Room, on or about 2/2/57, also lunching with them was her long time friend [REDACTED], NYC. [REDACTED] said further that she has known [REDACTED] for approximately 3 years having met him in connection with her work on behalf of General DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR's candidacy for the Presidency. This acquaintance was renewed during 1956 because of mutual interests in the matter of fluoridation of the NYC water supply. She was now reporting this to the Bureau because of Senator MC CARTHY's sudden death due to hepatitis on 5/2/57. The files of the NYO reflect that [REDACTED] was the subject of a sedition case from 1942 to 1949, [REDACTED]. She was prominent in organizations which were pro isolation, anti semitic and anti British during World War II and made speeches critical of President ROOSEVELT. During 1949 she was active in an organization known as "Women For the United States of America". [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is the subject of NY file 100-39592. This file indicates that [REDACTED] was alleged to have made statements critical of Government actions during World War II and to have been very radical and outspoken in this regard. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. No interview or [REDACTED] or [REDACTED] is contemplated by this office.

SEARCHED INDEXED-50
KELLY

3 MAY 10 1957

3-Bureau
1-NY 100-39592
1-NY 100-24279

Mr. Belmont

Approved:

b7c
✓ Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 6 1957

WESTERN UNION

TO NEW YORK FBI

FJ BROOKLYN NY MAY 6 1224PME

J EDGAR HOOVER

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO RECEIVE SPECIAL DELIVERY TRIBUTE TO
SENATOR McCARTHY WEDNESDAY MORNING DEADLINE
PATRICK F SCANLAN THE TAPLET 1 HANSON PL BROOKLYN NY

1241P

62-76332-✓
NOT RECORDED
102 MAY 13 1957

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 7 1957

TELETYPE

URGENT 5-7-57 1-22 PM JFR

TO SAC, NEW YORK 1

FROM DIRECTOR 2P

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING-

DR. PATRICK F. SCANLAN /

MANAGING EDITOR

THE TABLET

ONE HANSON PLACE

BROOKLYN SEVENTEEN, NEW YORK

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR TELEGRAM I AM PLEASED TO SUBMIT THE
THE FOLLOWING- QUOTE SORROW OVER THE PASSING OF A FRIEND
IS HEIGHTENED WHEN SUCH A MAN HAS A MISSION AND IS
CALLED HOME FROM HIS EARTHLY PURSUITS. SUCH A MAN WAS
THE LATE SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY. HIS PATRIOTISM, HIS COURAGE,
AND HIS PASSION FOR THE AMERICAN WAY CANNOT BE DOUBTED. IT
WAS INEVITABLE THAT HE SHOULD BECOME THE CENTER OF
CONTROVERSY BECAUSE OF HIS MISSION AND THE ZEAL WITH
WHICH HE PURSUED IT.

END PAGE ONE

62 MAY 22 1957

1957 K

PAGE TWO.....

MAY HIS SOUL REPOSE IN PEACE. UNQUOTE
SINCERELY YOURS,

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
END AND ACK
WA R 1 NY IN
TU SIAXP XX DISC

F B I

Date: 5/13/57

Transmit the following message via

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, F B I
FROM: SAC, MILWAUKEE (66-922-659)

MESSAGE: SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY
ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING DEATH;
MISCELLANEOUS

CONFIDENTIAL
DECLASSIFIED BY

5886

5/18/78

b7c [REDACTED] Appleton,
[REDACTED] advised an agent of this office on 5/13/57
that he had on 5/6/57 received a telephone call from a New York
City doctor, identity not disclosed by [REDACTED] who stated that
he did not believe the alleged account of the Senator's death
could be accurate and that the disease referred to as the cause
of death by Bethesda Naval Hospital could not have caused death
and that he suspected that someone may have been giving the
Senator arsenic and demanded that an autopsy be performed.
According to [REDACTED] the doctor had no basis for the allega-
tion other than dissatisfaction with the published medical
accounts. [REDACTED] stated that he consulted the Attorney
General's Office of the State of Wisconsin to determine his
course of action and that he was told that there was no
jurisdiction for an autopsy in Wisconsin, since the death
occurred in Maryland. [REDACTED] stated that he so informed
the doctor.

Above for information of the Bureau. No further action being
taken by Milwaukee Division.

FULTS

[REDACTED]
Mr. Nichols

5 - Bureau (Air Mail)
1 - Milwaukee (66-922-659)

66-922-145

RECORDED 8A

10 MAY 17 1978

b7c [REDACTED]

Declass
4/25/78

67C

Dug

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Mr. T. [REDACTED]
Mr. N. [REDACTED]
Mr. B. [REDACTED]
Mr. D. [REDACTED]
Mr. M. [REDACTED]
Mr. P. [REDACTED]
Mr. E. [REDACTED]
Mr. T. [REDACTED]
Mr. T. [REDACTED]
Mr. N. [REDACTED]
Tele. P. [REDACTED]
Tele. H. [REDACTED]
Mrs. G. [REDACTED]

GII

RECORDED-66

INDEXED-66

May 16, 1957
66-332-46

b7c

Bronx
New York 52, New York

Dear [REDACTED]

In Mr. Hoover's absence from Washington,
I am acknowledging your letter postmarked May 10, 1957,
with enclosure.

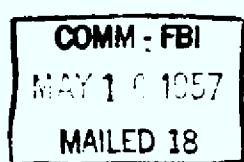
Although he will appreciate the interest
prompting your writing, he would be unable to answer your
inquiry. I am sure you will understand the reasons for such
a policy on his part.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary

NOTE: Correspondent's enclosure was a stamped, self-addressed envelope which is being utilized in reply.

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



b7c

fif



RECORDED-66
INDEXED-66
MAY 16 1957
b7c

TRUE COPY

b7c

[REDACTED]
Bronx 52, New York

5/8/57

J Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:

I hope you will be able to straighten out something for me as it is affecting my relations with my family & friends. I know of no one else who can give me a straightforward truthful answer.

Was Senator McCarthy guilty of ruining the lives of thousands of people? Some say he was a terrible character others set him up as a patriot & I think you are the only one who is honest enough to give a truthful answer. I am enclosing a self-addressed envelope so as not be an extra expense to your office. The truth concerning Jos McCarthy will be greatly appreciated & I hope you will be able to give me the answer.

Respectfully yours

/s/

[REDACTED]
Bronx N.Y.

b7c

b7c

b7c

[REDACTED]

Bronx 52, New York

5/8/57

b7c

7-1

J Edgar Hoover
F. B. I.

Washington D.C. [REDACTED] Joseph R

Dear Sir: ① 111a (Carthy)

I hope you will be able
to straighten out something for
me as it is affecting my relations
with my family & friends. I know
of no one else who can give me
a straightforward truthful answer.

Was Senator McCarty guilty
of ruining the lives of thousands
of people? some say he was a
terrible character others say he was
up as a patriot & 99 332 -
the only one who is ~~MAY 17 1957~~ enough
to give a truthful answer. and
enclosing a self addressed envelope

46

E

RECORDED-66
INDEXED-66

as not be an extra expense
to your office. The correct
truth concerning James McCarthy
will be greatly appreciated &
I hope you will be able to give
me the answer.

Respectfully yours

[REDACTED]
Bronx N.Y.

5-13-51
W.M. 16 G.P.H.
SERIALS
TELETYPE
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FBI

Office Mem

um • UNITED

OVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: August 6, 1957

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:

b7C

Mrs. Jean McCarthy, widow of the late Senator McCarthy, called 8-5-57. She had just received word from the County Judge at Appleton, Wisconsin, where the Senator's will was being probated, that he had received a telephone call from [REDACTED] San Francisco, telephone Mission [REDACTED] claims that she is the daughter of the late Senator McCarthy and was born on August 9, 1933 (the Senator would then have been 25 years of age).

The judge told her that he was writing to the Chief of Police in San Francisco requesting that he check into [REDACTED] background as she sounded like a crackpot. The judge also asked if Jean knew of anything concerning this. Jean stated that there was absolutely no truth to this as the Senator had told her everything and that it just was not possible for this woman to be the Senator's daughter. She further stated that during May, June, and July this woman called the office almost daily and was treated as a crackpot. Jean wondered if we could check on [REDACTED] I told her that we could not although I did check our files and found no record.

cc-Mr. Holloman
LBN:jmr
(3)

Reported
INDEXED - 1

61-96332-147

6 AUG 7 1957

Ex-110

[REDACTED]

b7C

67 AUG 14 1957

| | |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson | _____ |
| Nichols | _____ |
| Boardman | _____ |
| Belmont | _____ |
| Mohr | _____ |
| Parsons | _____ |
| Rosen | _____ |
| Tamm | _____ |
| Trotter | _____ |
| Nease | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman | _____ |
| Gandy | _____ |

March 25, 1958

60-10224-176

PERSONAL

116

TLC-83

[REDACTED]
Chicago 26, Illinois

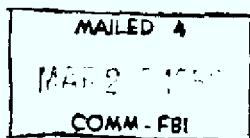
Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of March 20, 1958, has been received, and your generous remarks concerning "Masters of Deceit" are appreciated.

In response to your inquiry, the late Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy was indeed an aggressive and dynamic individual who made many friends during his years of devoted service to his country, both in the Armed Forces and in the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

E. Edgar Hoover



✓ [REDACTED] ✓
bx

NOTE: [REDACTED] is not identifiable in Bufiles on the basis of data available. It is believed the above comments regarding the late Senator McCarthy can be furnished without placing the Director in a controversial position.

Senator McCarthy was a close friend of the FBI's and the Director's.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
H. Holmes _____
Gandy _____

57 APR 2 1958

390

MAIL ROOM

b7c

b7c b7c

Mr. T. [unclear]
Mr. P. [unclear]
Mr. J. [unclear]
[unclear] 912

✓
b-7c [REDACTED] b-7c
Chicago 26 Ill.
March 26 1958

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover;

I purchased and have just finished reading your book MASTERS OF DECEIT. It is certainly a splendid book and I plan to pass it around among several friends and get them to read it too.

There is one question that I have long wanted to ask you and that is - What did you think of Joe McCarthy? I, personally, thought he did a wonderful job of exposing the communist although perhaps not as diplomatically as he might have but for years I waited for you to come to his aid but, as far as I know, you never expressed a view one way or another.

66-96332-140
REC-8 hours truly.

b-7c [REDACTED] b-7c
On 26 Mar 1958 18 MAR 26 1958

EXPIRED
MAR 26 1958

b7C
b7C

b7C

REC-18

March 27, 1958

EX-135

[REDACTED]
Holy Rosary Convent
48 Mosher Street
Holyoke, Massachusetts

My dear Sister:

Your letter of March 21, 1958, has been received.

The late Senator Joseph McCarthy was a dynamic, aggressive individual who made many friends during his devoted service to his country, both in the military forces and the United States Senate.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

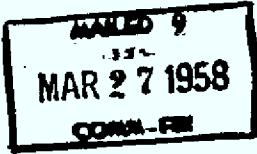
RECEIVED
FEB 20 1958
T.D.
FBI - BOSTON
MAILED APR 4 1958

NOTE: Correspondent requests the Director's personal opinion of the late Senator McCarthy for use in her study to obtain a Master's Degree. She is not identifiable in Bufiles.

b7c
[REDACTED]
Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Tayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
[REDACTED]

(3)

56 APR 4 1958



b7c
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C
C
P
Y

Holy Rosary Convent

48 Mosher St.

Holyoke, Mass.,

March 21, 1958.

Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D. C.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,

Dear Sir: -

In the process of completing a thesis,
entitled, "McCarthy and Communism," in order to obtain a
Master's Degree, I am begiring your kind assistance.

If possible, Mr. Hoover, would you allow me
to have and use your personal opinion of Senator McCarthy?

I realize the tremendous problems that demand
your attention each day, and hesitate to disturb you. However, I
am hoping against hope that you will overlook the insignificance
of the favor I ask, and aid me in my problem that seems gigantic
at the moment.

Sincerely and gratefully

Yours

[REDACTED] b7c
S.S.U.

C
C
P
Y

Holy Rosary Convent
48 Mosher St.
Holyoke, Mass.
March 21, 1958.

FF 7-1

Joseph McCarthy

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Dear Sir:-

In the process of com -
mencing a thesis, entitled, "McCarran
and Communism", in order to
obtain a Master's Degree, I am
begging your kind assistance.

If possible, Mr. Hoover,
would you allow ^{REG 78} ~~allow~~ ⁶²⁻¹³³²⁻¹⁴⁷⁹ to
have and use ^{EX-135 MAR 28 1958} your person -
al opinion of Senator ~~McCarthy~~
Ack 3/26/58 [REDACTED]

b1c

b1c

I realize the tremendous problem
that demands your attention each
day, and hesitate to disturb
you. However, I am hoping again
hope that you will overlook
the insignificance of the
favor I ask, and aid me
in my problem that seems
gigantic at the moment.

Sincerely and gratefully
Yours

RELEASER
FBI
MAR 24 1942 AM 50
MR. JONES

64-47155

Memorandum

May 22, 1958

J. E. Doan, Director

Special Agent

Washington, D. C.

May 22, 1958

Memorandum

Reconducted interview with J. E. Doan, book
reviewer reading. J. E. Doan, asked me, didn't
you have reliable information on -

Communist tactics exactly what does
McCarthy want? Is he looking for? And isn't he an
evil one question? Who promoted the
Teardo Project? J. E. Doan asked
me not you a question?

RE 99 62-96332-150

Today didn't you publicly assert
that man in that classified book ~~had~~ (i.e.
written) like McCarthy? EX-101 15 MAY 2 1958

Isn't this same book just too little
too late? The people here know it. The
teachers and we have been leaddecker. This power

• 18 MAY 14 1958
PERS. FILE \$158 Joe K. was now ~~in~~

() () () () () ()

b7

in our midst. One such book
or public word from you, might here
move it much.

— Is it really too late to combat public
opinion? What can we do or am I wrong?

— I would be much pleased if your
comment, as the author of a Good Book,

especially,

(Mr.)

— Sacramento,

(California).

Yours truly,

W. H. GAGE

April 22, 1958.

✓

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson | _____ |
| Mr. Boardman | _____ |
| Mr. Edwards | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr | _____ |
| Mr. Nease | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen | _____ |
| Mr. Tamm | _____ |
| Mr. Tamm | _____ |
| Mr. Clayton | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen | _____ |
| Mr. Holloman | _____ |
| Miss Gandy | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director,
F. B. I.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

| Congratulations on your excellent book, which I am reading.

Mr. Hoover, may I ask you, isn't some of this valuable information on Communist tactics exactly what Senator McCarthy was probing for? Didn't he ask but one question? "Who promoted the traitor Peress?" Mr. Hoover, may I ask you a question?

| Why didn't you publicly support that man in that dreadful hour of need, (i.e. Senator McCarthy)?

| Isn't this fine book just "too little, too late?" The people have known of the treachery but we have been leaderless and powerless to know how to cope with the enemies in our midst. One such book or public word from you might have done so much.

| Is it really too late to combat public apathy, defeat and fear, or am I wrong?

| I would so much welcome your comment, as the author of a good book.

Respectfully,

/s/

b7c

[REDACTED]
Sacramento,
California.

EXR. ERDO
APR 26 1958

no uR

Office Mem.

um • UNITE

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease

DATE: May 1, 1958

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT:

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

| | |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson | _____ |
| Boardman | _____ |
| Belmont | _____ |
| Mohr | _____ |
| Nease | _____ |
| Parsons | _____ |
| Rosen | _____ |
| Tamm | _____ |
| Trotter | _____ |
| Clayton | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holloman | _____ |
| Gandy | _____ |

Reference is made to the attached letter from the above-captioned individual dated April 22, 1958. [REDACTED] congratulated the Director on his book, "Masters of Deceit," but then asked whether this book isn't "too little, too late," in that the Director did not publicly support Senator McCarthy when the latter was investigating communism. She seems to feel that the Nation has been leaderless and powerless to cope with the communist menace and that Senator McCarthy failed to achieve support in his fight against communism. "Why didn't you publicly support that man in that dreadful hour of need, (i.e. Senator McCarthy)?"

[REDACTED] is not identifiable in Bufiles.

It is felt that [REDACTED] letter should not be acknowledged. Apparently, she has very definite opinions concerning Senator McCarthy and any letter to her might be misused for her selfish purposes. Her letter indicates that she is not so much interested in the Director's book as trying to find out Mr. Hoover's position concerning McCarthy. Moreover, she accuses the Director of "letting McCarthy down."

RECOMMENDATION:

That [REDACTED] letter not be acknowledged.

Enclosure

(2)

bx

REC-99

62-96332-151

15 MAY 2 1958

101

bx

CH

PMS. FILE

JUN 12 1958

Office Me

um • UNITED

GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

FROM : G. A. NEASE

SUBJECT:

DATE: July 17, 1958

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

b7C [REDACTED] called today. He stated that on page 54C of the "New York Times" there is a 7-column full length advertisement. It is advertising an article on former Senator McCarthy which appears in the August, 1958, issue of the Esquire Magazine. Allegedly it asks the questions as to how he spent his last days and how he felt walking alone in the corridors of Congress and it poses the question as to whether he drank himself to death. [REDACTED] stated that the advertisement is extremely vicious. He stated that it is written by an individual by the name of Richard Rovere who was formerly with Reporter Magazine and had connections with the Fund for the Republic. Likewise, there is a picture by Harvey Schmidt which is extremely vicious.

b7C [REDACTED] He stated that he himself had some information on Rovere and wondered if there was anything else we could furnish him regarding either of these individuals.

b7C [REDACTED]
I am having a copy of the "New York Times" secured and also a copy of Esquire Magazine for August, 1958, which is supposedly on the newsstands today, and I am having a check made to see what information we might have on Rovere and Schmidt, after which it will be decided what, if any, we can furnish [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Jones

GAN:ejp
(4)
Enclosures (2)

ADDENDUM: GAN:ejp, 7-17-58: Attached hereto are the two items referred to above regarding former Senator McCarthy. ESQUIRE - PAGE 29

62-96532-152
REG. 25 15 7 1958

*Set me see memorandum
on Rovere & Schmidt.*

1958

Mr. Nease

July 18, 1958

S. A. Jones

HARVEY SCHMIDT;
RICHARD H. ROVERE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

SYNOPSIS:

On 7-17-58 [REDACTED] advised that the "New York Times," that date, carried an advertisement concerning an article entitled "The Last Days of Joe McCarthy" appearing in current issue of "Esquire" magazine. This article, written by Richard H. Rovere, according to [REDACTED] was very vicious, allegedly asking questions as to how McCarthy spent his last days, how he felt walking alone in the corridors of Congress and poses the question whether he drank himself to death. The advertisement carried a picture (which is in the magazine) by Harvey Schmidt of McCarthy which [REDACTED] also characterized as vicious. Article is highly critical of McCarthy, saying he was master demagogue but one without true faith in his mission. Article asserts that after President's heart attack (1955) McCarthy said he thought that either J. Edgar Hoover or Herman Welker would make a good Republican candidate. Harvey Schmidt not identifiable in Bufiles. Rovere born 1910 in New Jersey; graduate of Columbia University; Associate Editor of "New Masses," 1938-1939; Assistant Editor of "The Nation," 1940-1943; Staff Writer for "The New Yorker" and Contributing Editor for "Harper's" 1949-1954.

Rovere is author of article entitled "The Kept Witnesses" in May, 1955, issue of "Harper's." Article is an attack against use of informants and discusses Harvey Matusow. Article full of false statements and inferences. Reprints of article distributed by Fund for the Republic. Rovere mentioned by Fulton Lewis, Jr. in radio programs and newspaper article. Copy of Rovere's article in "Esquire" and New York Times' advertisement attached.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

DETAILS

BACKGROUND

b7
C
D

You will recall that [REDACTED] called you on July 17, 1958, saying that the "New York Times" on that date carried an advertisement concerning an article entitled "The Last Days of Joe McCarthy" which appears in the current issue of "Esquire" magazine. This article, written by Richard Rovere according to Lewis was very vicious, allegedly asking questions as to how McCarthy spent his last days, how he felt walking alone in the corridors of Congress and posed the question whether he drank himself to death. The advertisement carried a picture (which is also in the magazine) by Harvey Schmidt of McCarthy which Lewis also characterized as vicious. [REDACTED] stated he had some information on Rovere and wondered if there was anything else the Bureau could furnish him regarding either of these individuals. The Director commented: "Let me see summaries on Rovere and Schmidt."

It is noted that the article by Rovere (copy attached) is highly critical of McCarthy, asserting that after he was censured by the United States Senate he never was the same again. He is characterized as a master demagogue, but one without true faith in his mission. "McCarthy was a demon, but he was not, to our great good fortune, a man possessed by demons. His talents as a demagogue were great, but he lacked the most necessary and awesome of demagogic gifts - a belief in the sacredness of his own mission." He was chiefly interested in himself - the "glory drive." Hence, he could not survive his setbacks. It is to be noted that the author states that after the President's heart attack in 1955, "McCarthy said he thought it would be 'unkind' to ask the President to run again; he said he thought that either J. Edgar Hoover or Herman Welker would make a good Republican candidate."

DATA IN BUFILES:

Harvey Schmidt

This individual could not be identified in Bureau files or in available sources in the Bureau library.

Richard H. Rovere

The 1958-1959 edition of "Who's Who in America" contains information concerning Richard Halworth Rovere. This reflects that Rovere is a writer and editor who was born in Jersey City, New Jersey on May 5, 1915. He received an A. B. degree at Columbia University in 1937. "Who's Who" also shows that Rovere was Associate Editor of "New Masses" in 1938-1939; Assistant Editor of "The Nation" in 1940-1943, and Editor of "Common Sense" in 1943-1944. He has been a Staff Writer for "The New Yorker" since 1944 and has been U. S. Correspondent for "Spectator" of London and a Contributing Editor for "Harper's" magazine in 1949-1954. He is the author of books and numerous articles.

Jones to Nease memorandum

The February 15, 1938, issue of 'New Masses' contains an article by Rovere captioned 'A Biography of Jesus.' (61-91812-X) 'New Masses' of August 16, 1938, carries an article by Richard H. Rovere entitled 'The World Youth Congress.'

"The Guild Progressive" of May 15, 1940, a publication of the Independent Progressive Members of the Newspaper Guild of New York City, contained an article by Richard H. Rovere entitled 'X Masses Editor Charges Guild Leaders Run by Communists. The article states: 'Candidates who consistently take political bearings from communists are ~~unfit~~ ^{set to} to run the Guild because their attitudes are determined according to conditions that bear ~~in~~ ^{the} slightest on the welfare of American newspaper workers.' (62-88217-2479)

The October 3, 1942, issue of "The Nation" contains a special supplement concerning Martin Dies and the "Dies Committee." This consists of articles by several writers. Included among these articles is one entitled "J. B. Matthews - The Informer" by Richard H. Rovere. (62-88217-2479)

Rovere was the author of an article in "Harper's" magazine for May, 1944, entitled 'Dewey, the Man in the Blue Serge Suit.' (100-196902-3)

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Jones to Nease memorandum

Walter Winchell in his column (1948) indicated that "The New Yorker" magazine was readying a series on Lepke (Louis Buchalter) by E. H. Kovere. (100-310922-22)

The May, 1955, issue of "Harper's" magazine states that Rovere regularly writes the "Letter from Washington" article in "The New Yorker" magazine. The May, 1955, issue of "Harper's" also contained an article entitled "The Kept Witnesses" by Richard H. Rovere. The article was a discussion of the Harvey Matusow recantation. It brought out that Matusow made a good living from being a professional witness for the Department of Justice and many other groups and agencies between 1951 and 1954. Following Matusow's recantation, Rovere wrote that the Department of Justice had given no indication that this incident had led it "to reconsider the moral, juridical, and political effects of the whole practice of retaining professional witnesses." Rovere admitted the necessity for informants for the proper maintenance of order in a society such as ours but he continually decried paid witnesses. The article was full of false statements and inferences. Reprints of the article were distributed by the Fund for the Republic. It is noted that in October, 1955, the Bureau reviewed a letter which Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins planned to send "Harper's" magazine in protest of the Rovere article.

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Jones to Nease memorandum

It is noted that Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr., has mentioned Rovere in previous radio programs. On December 7, 1955, he mentioned that Bella Dodd (former Communist Party member) had filed a libel suit against the Ford Foundation in regard to the article entitled "The Kept Witnesses" by Rovere which the Fund for the Republic was distributing. On June 19, 1956, Mr. Lewis mentioned this matter again in his broadcast. [REDACTED]

On July 21, 1955, Congressman B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee, spoke in the House of Representatives concerning the Fund for the Republic. Included in his remarks were three articles by Fulton Lewis, Jr. One of these was dated June 13, 1955; it stated, in part:

"The next Fund for the Republic effort was to send gratis to all Federal judges copies of three leftwing books, all embodying varying facets of the overall liberal attack on the security program, on the confidential informant system and on anticomunism generally. The books were followed up by a reprint of a Harper's magazine article entitled 'The Kept Witnesses,' written by one Richard H. Rovere.

'One judge sent me his copy of the Harper's reprint with a penciled note: 'How about "kept professors . . . judges are really being bombarded.' Another jurist sent me his with a cover note describing it as 'the most obnoxious of the lot' he had received from the fund.'

"I happened upon a clue to Mr. Rovere's character the next day when I discovered in the new issue of the ADA World an item about the ADA's forthcoming annual summer workshop in practical politics. One of the 'liberal speakers' (ADA World's phrase) to address the workshop, it said, would be 'Richard Rovere, New Yorker political correspondent.' [REDACTED]
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THE LAST DAYS OF JOE McCARTHY

Great was his fall, and there was no putting him together again

by RICHARD H. ROVERE

In the spring of the year, 1954, there was the televised rumble over Private Schine, Major Peress, General Zwicker, Secretary Stevens, and others then of disputed rank and now of rapidly dimming luster. In the late summer, there were the untelevised censure hearings presided over by Senator Arthur V. Watkins, a Mormon elder from Orem, Utah, who could play variations on the crack of doom with a chairman's gavel and who was so insistent on a pure, unclouded atmosphere that he posted No Smoking signs in the Senate Caucus Room—an act wholly without precedent. In the fall, there was the censure debate on the Senate floor--ending with a vote of sixty-seven for, twenty-two against a watered-down resolution of censure from which, at the very last moment and with a swift, concealed stroke of the pen, Vice-President Nixon struck the word "censure."

By winter, Joe McCarthy was through. He had not lost his following. He had not lost, so far as anyone knows, a single true friend. Lieutenant General George F. Stratemeyer headed up a committee of "Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice"; all the old militants rallied round, and by the day of the censure vote over a million signatures to a protest petition had been delivered to the Senate by armored car. McCarthy had not lost any of the appurtenances of power. He still had his seat, his seniority, and his committee assignments. (In January, 1955, the Democrats organized Congress, and of course he lost his chairmanship of the Government Operations Committee. But it wasn't his fault that the Democrats had won the elections.) Exact-

reporters in the gallery would see a chance to catch lunch, play cards, or find out what Lyndon Johnson was up to. From time to time, McCarthy could be seen shambling (or lurching, for he was drinking more and holding it less well) down the corridors of the Senate Office Building en route to some committee room where photographers had been sighted. It wasn't of much use. The photographers knew he didn't have it. Mostly they ignored him; if, for old times' sake, they didn't, their editors filed the pictures. He got free television time every so often, generally on some panel or interview show with a low Trendex, and used it to call Paul Hoffman "a throwback on the human race," Sherman Adams a "pinhead," or Harold Stassen "one of the most contemptible politicians of our era." It was the old language, but in another voice and mood.

For a while, he tried statesmanship. He hired a bright and earnest young rightist, L. Brent Bozell, to write him some meaty speeches on foreign and military policy. Some of them were quite good. One, on April 25, 1956, described with remarkable prescience our lag in missile development and the political consequences of the lag; it may well have been the most prophetic speech of that year. But McCarthy felt as silly as he looked in a toga, and threw it aside. He made a pass at the farm vote. In the administration and in Congress, there were arguments over whether agricultural price supports should assure 85 or 87½ or 90 per cent of parity. McCarthy said it was a lot of cheapskate talk and came out

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In the two and a half years that remained of his life, McCarthy made only a few spiritless attempts at a comeback. Now and then, he would get the Senate floor to denounce someone or something, but never with much force and never with much of an audience. When he rose, Senators would drift out of the chamber, and the

view show with a low Trendex, and used it to call Paul Hoffman "a throwback on the human race," Sherman Adams a "pinhead," or Harold Stassen "one of the most contemptible politicians of our era." It was the old language, but in another voice and mood.

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He was sick a lot of the time and frequently hospitalized, as a rule for the treatment of obscure ailments. The censure debate had been delayed for ten days because of one of these confinements. The Capitol physician, Dr. George Calver, explained that the Senator had "traumatic bursitis." Visited in the hospital, McCarthy said he had undergone surgery to have some pieces of glass removed from his elbow. (The story was that a Milwaukee admirer had shaken hands with him a bit too vigorously, pumping McCarthy's arm so

hard his elbow cracked a glass-topped table.) The hospital doctors said there had been no surgery at all. It was always that way—mixed up. There was talk of back trouble, leg trouble, liver trouble, prostate trouble, lung trouble, heart trouble, and—always—bottle trouble. He would run alarmingly to fat, then he would grow gaunt. He lost forty-one pounds in a few weeks. Not even his closest friends knew what was wrong. "All I know is he always had a flaming belly," one of them has said. It was persistently rumored that he went to the hospital only to have the booze drained off. There have been descriptions of him as having spent his last years in an unbroken alcoholic stupor. These descriptions are inaccurate. He had always been a heavy drinker, and there were times in those seasons of discontent when he drank more than before. But he was not always drunk. He went on the wagon (for him, this meant beer in place of whiskey) for days and weeks at a time. The main trouble toward the end was that he couldn't hold the stuff. Where once he had been able to "belt a fifth"—as members of his set would put it—between midnight and five a.m., sleep for a couple of hours, and be at the office at eight-thirty or nine, he now went to pieces on the second drink.

Still and all, he did not devote his life to it. He was never a sot. He was as busy in that period as the average Senator and a lot busier than many. And he had a private life. He and his wife adopted a baby. He spent a good deal of time with his personal friends, a number of whom had never been his political friends. He went deer hunting, or at least he went into the Wisconsin woods, and once he got a deer with his car.

He became much interested in money. He had always liked it, just as he had always liked liquor, but he had liked to have it in order to get rid of it. Now he developed an obsession with financial security and investments. He began thinking in terms of a quiet, easy, nonpolitical middle age. "Jean and I have enough money for a small cattle spread in Arizona," he said. "I might open a law office for friends and neighbors." The truth was that he didn't have enough money, but he figured he could get it. He knew people who knew the money game. On their advice, he took some risks in oil and uranium. He made a sizable fraction of a million on paper. His smart friends egged him on. Visions of sugarplums danced in his head. He was on the wagon now, a dedicated speculator, all bear and no bull. Then some of the people who had been going along for the ride decided they had gone far enough. They quit while they were ahead and while McCarthy was in Wisconsin and, momentarily, not keeping up with his portfolio. He sustained heavy losses, not on paper but in legal United States tender. This was very close to the end. He fell off the wagon in a heap.

On April 28, 1957, he was admitted to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Mrs. McCarthy said he had gone for the treatment of a "knee injury." He was put in the neurological section. The Navy doctors announced that his condition had been diagnosed as "peripheral neuritis." Four days later, on May 2, he breathed his last, just in time for the seven o'clock news. ("In time for the seven o'clock news" was his favorite phrase.)

Subsequent examination and consultation it had been found that McCarthy had been suffering from hepatitis, a chic malady formerly known as jaundice. They ascribed death to "acute hepatic infection" and "hepatitic failure." Hepatitis and peripheral neuritis have about as much in common as Asian flu and a broken ankle. *Hepar* is Greek for liver. Hepatitis is an inflammation of that organ. It is debilitating but seldom fatal. *Time* reported that McCarthy had died of "cirrhosis of the liver." In cirrhosis, the liver turns into something the consistency of wet sawdust. The commonest agent for the transformation is alcohol. Many people are convinced that McCarthy drank himself to death. One way or another, he probably did—but not, perhaps, in the usual way. It is conceivable that years of drinking had given him a wet-sawdust liver, but the suddenness of his death suggests another possibility. He had had hepatitis, and for a victim of this disease alcohol even in small amounts is poison. The chances are that his last drinking bouts—begun when he got the bad news about his investments—did him in. Either way, liquor and the liver had something to do with it.

Life often hangs on desire

When he died, the true believers cried murder most foul. That is what true believers always do. They said, as one might have expected them to, that the Communists, the Truman-Acheson Democrats, the bleeding hearts, the eggheads, the Eisenhower Republicans, Americans for Democratic Action, the Army Department coddlers of Communists, the Adams Brownell clique, all the forces of darkness, subversion, and betrayal had come together to crush this patriot and had succeeded in destroying his will to live. The McCarthyite publisher, William Loeb of Manchester, New Hampshire, said that McCarthy's enemies, among whom he numbered "that stinking hypocrite in the White House" had "worn down his adrenal and other glands." Others were less violent and less clinical. They said McCarthy had died of a broken heart, brought on by contemplation of a broken crusade. They would have said this if he had been struck by lightning or bitten by a rabid dog, but the known subjectivity of their judgment does not make it false. The will to live is, we know, a necessary condition of living. Life may endure when it is gone, but when life is challenged by disease or the ravages of time or a heedless mode of existence, it may hang on desire. There is reason to suppose that McCarthy's distress at the very end had more to do with a broken bankbook and a shattered dream of a cattle spread than with a broken crusade, but that scarcely matters. The crusade, such as it was, had ended for him two and a half years earlier. And whether drinking was a primary or a secondary cause of his death, the fact remains that he could probably have held onto life by not drinking, and he elected to drink.

To acknowledge this much, though, is to raise a whole series of questions about McCarthy. Why was he undone by the events of 1954? What was his heart made of that it should break so easily? His defeats were real enough, but they were of the sort on which

... so the people who had been going along for the ride decided they had gone far enough. They quit while they were ahead and while McCarthy was in Wisconsin and, momentarily, not keeping up with his portfolio. He sustained heavy losses, not on paper but in legal United States tender. This was very close to the end. He fell off the wagon in a heap.

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Mystery still surrounds the cause of death. The Bethesda doctors said they had erred in their original diagnosis of peripheral neuritis, which is an inflammation of the nerve ends furthest from the central nervous system. They explained, after the fact, that on

the eve of a needless issue of existence, it may hang on desire. There is reason to suppose that McCarthy's distress at the very end had more to do with a broken bankbook and a shattered dream of a cattle spread than with a broken crusade, but that scarcely matters. The crusade, such as it was, had ended for him two and a half years earlier. And whether drinking was a primary or a secondary cause of his death, the fact remains that he could probably have held onto life by not drinking, and he elected to drink.

To acknowledge this much, though, is to raise a whole series of questions about McCarthy. Why was he undone by the events of 1954? What was his heart made of that it should break so easily. His defeats were real enough, but they were of the sort on which most leaders of mass movements thrive. Hitler, at one end of the moral spectrum, and Gandhi, at the other, rose phoenix-like from a half-dozen such defeats. What, after all, was so terrible about the events of 1954? He was in a brawl on television, and a lot of Americans got a close look at him and set him down as a plug-ugly. But the people who found him repulsive had never been his followers anyway, and never could have been. To the hard core, and to most of those who formed around it, his nastiness was part of his charm. The more he ranted, the more they loved him, and he was a Caruso among ranters. To be scorned by the respectable, disowned by Eisenhower, half-heartedly "censured" by the Senate—why should any of this have mattered? He wasn't left to rot in a dungeon. He retained his liberties and his office. His followers were still all about him—waiting, if they were of the authentic breed of those fetched by demagogues, for a rallying cry, an order to regroup and resume the attack. Their leader was young and vigorous.

If he had been a Hitler, he might have burned down the Senate. Being McCarthy, he hired a lawyer—one of the country's best, Edward Bennett Williams—and sought an acquittal. When he didn't get it, he buckled before respectable and official opinion. He shared its view that he hadn't much of a future. And he soon died because he could not lay off liquor. This, too, is odd. Historically, it is unheard of that the leader of a crusade, or any true fanatic, should die in this way. Normally, such men—the demonic and

the saintly alike—are aecstica. Their dreams of power and glory are headless brews than anything fermented or distilled.

Such questions rest, of course, on the premise that McCarthy was a man of real stature in his field. I believe it can be demonstrated that he was not only the ablest demagogue of his time but the most gifted ever bred on these shores. Most of our demagogues, in this century and the last, have been provincial and parochial figures—their influence limited to a region or a sect. In the nineteenth century, abolition, secession, populism, and nativism produced a few rabble-rousers of proficiency, but none who left a lasting impact on the country and none who are widely remembered today. It may be too early to say that McCarthy's influence will still be felt twenty years from now, but the chances seem good that it will be. In any case, consider his achievements, or ravages, between 1950 and 1954:

—Unknown in 1950, he made himself a global figure by 1952. In many parts of the world, he was the personification of all that was held to be evil in American policy and American life. He was one of the few Americans ever to be actively feared and hated by foreigners.

—Less than two years after his ascent from obscurity, he became a central issue in a Presidential campaign. He was still a first-term Senator in the minority party. He had no rank or power except that which he generated for himself, within himself.

—He gained enormous influence over American foreign policy at a time when American policy bore heavily on world history. Our diplomacy in the Far East, in many respects a key to our diplomacy elsewhere, might have borne a very different aspect if it had not been for McCarthy's power.

—He stamped with his name a tendency, a whole cluster of tendencies in American life. The name survives. To many Americans, whatever is illiberal, anti-intellectual, repressive, reactionary, totalitarian, or merely swinish will hereafter be "McCarthyism." The word is imprecise, but it conveys a meaning and a powerful image.

For all of the black arts that he practiced, McCarthy's natural endowments and his cultivated skills were of the highest order. "The qualities necessary to a demagogue," Aristophanes wrote, "are these: to be foul-mouthed, blue-born, a low, mean fellow." McCarthy qualified handsomely. He was the master of the scabrous and the scatological. He understood the perverse appeal of the bum, the mucker, the dead-end kid, the James Jones-Nelson Algren hero to a nation in the midst of a vast leveling process in which everyone was sliding, from one direction or the other, into middle-class respectability, and he was quick to make it. He had some decent instincts—who hasn't?—and some yearnings of his own for lace-curtain, wall-to-wall respectability, but he overcame these with conspicuous ease. He was a fighter who used his thumbs, his teeth, and his knees. His style, I have always thought, owed a lot to that of a certain kind of American athlete: the kind who swaggered and exaggerated his swagger, the kind who looks noble and talks noble.

me some "documents" that would, he said, be TNT. "Wait'll you get a load of this," he said. "It's going to rock the country." All eager, I began to look at his photostats, his clippings, his "confidential" reports, his copies of other people's correspondence. A feeling of foolishness—mine, not his—came over me when I was unable to see that any of them proved anything about anything. No TNT. "But I don't quite get it," I would say. "It doesn't seem to have much to do with what I'm after." "It has a lot to do with it," he would say, "but naturally those bastards were trying to cover up. Now look at this one, it will make the others clear. We've got a jigsaw puzzle here, see, and we've got to put the pieces together." I thought he was making sense and that my perceptions were at fault. "Please explain this," I would ask, and he would answer, "It'll all be clear when you've studied a few more of these documents." He would deal some from the bottom of the deck, and I would curse myself for my obtuseness. It was not until I had spent hours with him that it dawned on me that I was being switched, double-shuffled, and conned by one of the masters.

The cloak of sovereignty

There was an audacity about him, a sweep to his imagination that was quite simply beyond the comprehension of most of those with whom he had to deal. He cloaked himself in sovereignty—diplomatic, political, moral. He was not bound by the Constitution, the party system, or any version of the categorical imperative. In May, 1953, he advised the world of the fact that he had negotiated an agreement with the Greek maritime interests that would result in denying to Communist China goods delivered in Greek bottoms. And though he exaggerated wildly in his descriptions of what had occurred, the fact remained that he had constituted himself an agency for the conduct of foreign relations. When it suited his purposes, which was most of the time, he was an open seditionist. In 1952, 1953, and 1954, he organized among government workers a Loyal American Underground. This was an insurrectionist cabal that reported directly to McCarthy and his lieutenants and gave him their primary loyalty. McCarthy was, as all great demagogues are, a revolutionist.

He operated far outside the framework of American political morality. This is not to say that he was immoral or amoral rather than moral; it is rather to say that he ignored the conventions of American politics. Cheating of one sort or another is, of course, tolerated in politics. But there are limits of tolerance, and it was one of McCarthy's distinctions—one of the marks, if you will, of his greatness—that he simply did not consider that the No Trespassing signs were for him. It is, for example, within limits to misrepresent a fact; but the convention holds that it must be a fact that is misrepresented. For McCarthy, this silly rule had no meaning. When he wished to have it believed that Senator Tydings of Maryland consortred with Communists, he was not embarrassed by lack of the kind of evidence that could be marshaled in such a

and what their deadlines were, what made a "overnight," what made a good "sidebar." He days, how to get into the news even on those invention failed him and he had no unfacts to g he would call a press conference in the morning announcing that he was going to call a press conference in the afternoon f papers. Headline in the afternoon papers: REVELATIONS AWAITED IN CAPITAL. hour came, the reporters as often as not foun around. He had given his secretary a note to delay his shattering revelation in order to get documents, documents, documents, how well Americans are for "documents"—that wok shattering, when it came.

He brought himself to public notice by on inventions. He said, in his famous Whe speech, that there were 205 Communists in and that he had right there with him a claimed that he had been misunderstood, say, was 81 and another time that it was 57, b unimportant (except that they, too, got him side the fact that he picked a specific number he said, that day when he was an unkno esting Senator, that there were three Con Department, or seven, or that he had reason might be quite a lot of them, no one would attention to him (SENATOR CHARGES C ENCE IN STATE DEPARTMENT might two-inch story on Page 15 of your local news after all, were saying something of that so there were "205" or even "57" and that he hand (naturally, he didn't have any names; from James Byrnes to Adolph Sabath giving a single name, on loyalty investigations), t go wild.

The very sight of a newspaperman going. Once he ran into a pair of them till Office Building. "You two looking for a star full wolf that their answer would be, "Same "Name," he said, "now let's see." The three took an elevator to the basement and boarded loads to the Capitol. McCarthy was thinking up. "I'm going to subpoena Truman, that's e He reached in his pocket where he always subpoena, and began making one out for the not serious, Joe, you can't be," one of the rep you going to subpoena him?" McCarthy

The qualities necessary to a demagogue," Aristophanes wrote, "are these: to be foul-mouthed, base-born, a low, mean fellow." McCarthy qualified handsomely. He was the master of the sebrous and the scatological. He understood the perverse appeal of the bum, the mucker, the dead-end kid, the James Jones-Nelson Algren hero to a nation in the *midst* of a vast leveling process in which everyone was sliding, from one direction or the other, into middle-class respectability, and he was quick to make it. He had some decent instincts—who hasn't?—and some yearnings of his own for lace-curtain, wall-to-wall respectability, but he overcame these with conspicuous ease. He was a fighter who used his thumbs, his teeth, and his knees. His style, I have always thought, owed a lot to that of a certain kind of American athlete: the kind who swaggers and exaggerates his swagger, the kind who looks ugly and talks ugly and earns such sobriquets as Killer or Slugger, the kind who attaches enough importance to winning the goddamned game to throw spitballs and rabbit punches and do a little work with knees and elbows in the pileups. He boasted of how he had been taught to go straight for the groin by an old north-woods scamp named Indian Charlie. The rank and file were pleased to know that the leader had been trained by this sage mentor.

Multiple lies and shell games

He had an extraordinary bag of tricks. Hitler discovered the uses of the Big Lie—the falsehood so large and round that reason, which deals in particulars, was almost powerless to combat it. McCarthy invented the Multiple Lie—the lie with so many particulars, so many moving and interchangeable parts, so many tiny gears and fragile connecting rods that reason exhausted itself in the effort to combat it. He said so many different things about so many different people (people, generally, of uncertain identity and even, so far as the public was concerned, of questionable existence) that no one could keep it all in focus.

He brought to perfection a kind of shell game to be played with facts, or what George Orwell called "unfacts." He flummoxed me with it the first time I met him, which was a year or so before he discovered communism. I wished to get certain information about one of his undertakings, and he brought me into his office to show

He operated far outside the framework of American political morality. This is not to say that he was immoral or amoral rather than moral; it is rather to say that he ignored the conventions of American politics. Cheating of one sort or another is, of course, tolerated in politics. But there are limits of tolerance, and it was one of McCarthy's distinctions—one of the marks, if you will, of his greatness—that he simply did not consider that the No Trespassing signs were for him. It is, for example, within limits to misrepresent a fact; but the convention holds that it must be a *fact* that is misrepresented. For McCarthy, this silly rule had no meaning. When he wished to have it believed that Senator Tydings of Maryland consorted with Communists, he was not embarrassed by lack of the kind of evidence that could be manipulated in such a way as to leave this impression. He fabricated the evidence: a photograph of Millard Tydings and a photograph of Earl Browder, the Communist leader, taken at a different time in a different place were mounted together and offered as a photograph of the two consorting.

I recall him once, early in his career, rising to the Senate floor and announcing that he was going to quote a letter from one government official to another. What he read had a very fishy sound, and a couple of other Senators interrupted to say they thought McCarthy must be "quoting out of context." They asked that the entire letter be made part of the record, so that Senators could judge its import for themselves. McCarthy said he would get around to that later; meanwhile, he wished to exercise his privilege of quoting what he wished to quote. When, eventually, the letter did get into the record, it turned out that he had not been quoting out of context—for he had not been quoting at all. What he had held in his hand might have been a picture of Zsa Zsa Gabor; he had simply invented, standing there on the Senate floor, lines that served his purpose at the moment. Within the framework of political morality, it is permitted for a man to deal in half-truths, words wrenched from context, and so forth, but not to deal, as he did, in wholly imaginary texts.

And of course he was a genius at that essential American strategy—publicity. He knew what it was made of, the very texture of it. He knew the newspapermen and how and when they worked

a single name or a single go wild. The very sight of a newspaper going. Once he ran into a pair of them in the Office Building. "You two looking like hell," he said. "I'm doing well that their answer would be 'Mmm,'" he said, "now let's see." They took an elevator to the basement and he leads to the Capitol. McCarthy was up. "I'm going to subpoena Truman," he said. "He reached in his pocket where he has subpoenas, and began making one. "Not serious, Joe, you can't be," one of them said. "You going to subpoena him for?" with his forefinger several times. About Harry Dexter White, that's all.

Publicity helps; indeed, without far more than a flair for press-agentry, he was largely accident. He had been of any sort, and a friend tipped him off to material on infiltration that had been by an investigating committee a long-forgotten because it wasn't very used. Now it belongs to the ages, at—certainly not in the aftermath, not the first to pounce on it, but career on it. To it, he contributed the most formidable. He was an authentic legend. He may not have drawn out the Long could get; he may not have known the places of the American soul and the places of the German soul. There were too many American souls—not only us all. But McCarthy had an American and very effective, all.

And then he ran into some trouble and shortly thereafter died. We

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and what their deadlines were, what made a "lead," what made an "overnight," what made a good "sidebar." He knew, in his good days, how to get into the news even on those rare occasions when invention failed him and he had no unfacts to give out. For example, he would call a press conference in the morning for the purpose of announcing that he was going to call a press conference in the afternoon. The reporters would come in, and McCarthy would say that he just wanted to give them the word that he was going to make a shattering announcement in the afternoon for use in the morning papers. Headline in the afternoon papers: NEW McCARTHY REVELATIONS AWAITED IN CAPITAL. When the appointed hour came, the reporters as often as not found McCarthy nowhere around. He had given his secretary a note saying that he had to delay his shattering revelation in order to get some "documents"—documents, documents, documents, how well he knew what suckers Americans are for "documents"—that would make it even more shattering, when it came.

He brought himself to public notice by one of his most dazzling inventions. He said, in his famous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech, that there were 205 Communists in the State Department and that he had right there with him a list of them. He later claimed that he had been misunderstood, saying once that his figure was 81 and another time that it was 57, but these revisions are unimportant (except that they, too, got him in the papers) alongside the fact that he picked a specific number and a large one. Had he said, that day when he was an unknown and evidently uninteresting Senator, that there were three Communists in the State Department, or seven, or that he had reason to believe that there might be quite a lot of them, no one would have paid the slightest attention to him (SENATOR CHARGES COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN STATE DEPARTMENT might have turned up over a two-inch story on Page 15 of your local newspaper.) Many people, after all, were saying something of that sort. But when he said there were "205" or even "57" and that he had their names in his hand (naturally, he didn't have any names; all he had was a letter from James Byrnes to Adolph Sabath giving some figures, without a single name, on loyalty investigations), the press simply had to go wild.

The very sight of a newspaperman would set his mind going. Once he ran into a pair of them idling along in the Senate Office Building. "You two looking for a story?" he asked, knowing full well that their answer would be, "Sure, have you got one?" "Mmm," he said, "now let's see." The three walked along together, took an elevator to the basement and boarded the little subway that leads to the Capitol. McCarthy was thinking hard. Then he lighted up. "I'm going to subpoena Truman, that's what I'm going to do." He reached in his pocket where he always kept a wad of blank subpoenas, and began making one out for the ex-President. "You're

were other issues to be exploited. He was still a young man.

Civic virtue has proposed several answers, to wit:

—Truth crushed to earth does not burrow out of sight, but in happy reality rises again. The facts, in time, found McCarthy out, and after that his cause was hopeless.

—You can't fool even many of the people all the time. No sizable number will forever put up with a lout.

—He had only slime for mortar. Demagogues, to be truly successful, must hold up to their following some hope and plan—however malign in content—for making life better and more equitable. This McCarthy failed to do. He was a mischief-maker, a destroyer, a nihilist, and in the end he could not even satisfy himself.

No doubt each of these points has merit, but even if they explain McCarthy's defeats in 1954, they do not account for his acceptance of them. Normally, demagogues, like lovers and poets, simply do not recognize rejection and repudiation. Juan Perón, thrown out of his own country and subsequently a refugee from his place of refuge, continues to inflame his followers and to stir things up in half a dozen countries.

I believe that just as the sources of McCarthy's power were to be found in McCarthy's person, there, too, may be found the principal reasons for his easy capitulation in 1954.

McCarthy was a great demagogue, but he was, in my view, an essentially frivolous one. The world took him seriously, as indeed it should have, but he never really took himself seriously. He was the leader of a fanatical movement, and he gave his name to a fanatical doctrine, but he was no kind of fanatic himself. He was a hell-raiser, a born troublemaker, a political racketeer, a con man who loved the game for its own sake. It is conceivable that in his later days he began to believe what he was saying and to imagine himself truly persecuted by his enemies; at times, during the Army-McCarthy hearings, he would fly into fits of what appeared to be genuine hysteria. He may by then have cast his spell over himself.

The cultivated tantrum

But even this is doubtful. Mostly his hysteria was for the birds. He was capable of going into a tantrum before the television cameras and screaming, "Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, Point of Order, Point of Order," tearing passions to tatters, announcing that he could bear no more of "this farce" and would dignify it with his presence not a moment longer—and then making a beeline for the Gent's Room, the objective he had had in mind when he began the outburst. Why not put nature into politics? Sometimes he would "walk out" and get no further than a corner of the room that was out of the sweep of the cameras, there to observe calmly and be amused by the commotion he had caused. He often timed his walkouts for the newspaper deadlines.

If he came to believe his own lies and to hate and fear his de-

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two-inch story on Page 13 of your newspaper after all, were saying something of that sort. But when he said there were "205" or even "57" and that he had their names in his hand (naturally, he didn't have any names; all he had was a letter from James Byrnes to Adolph Sabath giving some figures, without a single name, on loyalty investigations), the press simply had to go wild.

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Publicity helps; indeed, without it all is lost. But McCarthy had far more than a flair for press-agentry. And he had more than the luck that presented him with the Communist issue in 1950. (It was largely accident. He had been casting about for speech material of any sort, and a friend tipped him off to some largely unused material on infiltration that had been gathered, filed and forgotten by an investigating committee a couple of years back. It had been forgotten because it wasn't very impressive—but there it was, unused. Now it belongs to the ages.) The issue was not to be scoffed at—certainly not in the aftermath of the Hiss case. McCarthy was not the first to pounce on it, but he was the first to build a large career on it. To it, he contributed his own personality, which was formidable. He was an authentic mob organizer and galvanizer. He may not have drawn out the affection and bonhomie that Huey Long could get; he may not have been able to reach into the dark places of the American soul as Hitler could reach into the dark places of the German soul. This may have been because there are too many American souls—no one man, of good or evil bent, can rally us all. But McCarthy had his own ways, and they were very American and very effective, and he rallied a large minority.

And then he ran into some heavy weather, gave up the struggle, and shortly thereafter died. Why? The issue was still hot. There

The cultivated tantrum

The cultivated tantrum
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If he came to believe his own lies and to hate and fear his detractors as they hated and feared him, he did so only sporadically. If he fell under his own spell, the spell quickly passed. He was, to be sure, a prince of hatred. The haters rallied round him; at a word from him, their hate glands would puff and swell—fresh supplies of venom would flow into their venom sacs. But this most successful and menacing of all our apostles of hatred was himself as incapable of true rancor, spite, and animosity as a eunuch is of marriage. He just did not have the equipment for it. He faked it all and couldn't understand anyone who didn't. When he ran into Dean Acheson in a Senate elevator, he thought it cold and unfriendly of Acheson to respond to his "Hello, Dean," with clenched teeth and a crimson forehead. When, in the Army-McCarthy hearings, he sunk to what even Roy Cohn knew to be the very bottom of the pit of degradation—by trying to hurt Joseph Welch, the Army's attorney, with a wholly gratuitous smear on a young friend and associate of Welch's who had nothing whatever to do with the case—he was baffled by the way everyone shrank from him and cleared the path before him as before a leper (*Unclean! Unclean!*) when he left the Caucus Room. They had all been on Welch's side when he addressed McCarthy:

"Until this moment, Senator, I think I had never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. . . . If it were in my power to forgive you for your reckless cruelty, I would do so. I like to think that I am a gentle man, but your forgiveness will have to come from someone other than me."

When, later, McCarthy at last found someone who would speak to him, he held out his hands, palms upward, and said, "What did

REQUIRE:

I do?" He knew what he had *said*, of course, but I believe he genuinely did not know what he had *done*. In his mind, there was a severance between words and their meanings. A year or so before he died, he met at a Washington party a former associate, a man he had publicly betrayed and ruined. He went up to this man and within the hearing of the astonished guests asked why they had not seen each other in months. "Jeanie was talking about you the other night," he said. "How come we never see you? What the hell are you trying to do—*avoid us?*"

I am trying to suggest—it is a perilous as well as a difficult undertaking—that there was to this ogreish creature a kind of innocence that may be one of the clues to his fate. The man was a moral vacuum. Somehow or other, he could simulate hatred and several other passions, but he was numb-to the sensations they produced in others. Perhaps because of this, certainly in spite of it, he had—dare one say it now?—a certain personal charm. It must be said, for there were many people who loathed him and liked him. Among them were several of the reporters who were assigned to him regularly, who referred to themselves as the Goon Squad, and who put the Republic greatly in their debt by their scholarly and unrelenting pursuit of the truths he sought to bury with his Multiple Lies. Many of them were fond of him, as he was fond of many of them; they knifed him in their stories, they knew full well that his knife was always drawn for them, yet they could drink together and be, in a sense, friends.

There was the classic case of the celebrated English journalist, a man who had convinced himself at his desk in London that McCarthy was a great beast at large in the world—a monster that had to be destroyed, and right away, in the name of human decency. He appointed himself a St. George, grabbed up his typewriter, and boarded the first transatlantic plane he could make. He was to write a series of articles so powerful that McCarthy, exposed at last, would immediately be crushed. Naturally, he had to see the dragon. In Washington, he phoned McCarthy's office and asked for an appointment. He got one right away. Bracing himself, reminding himself that violence never solved anything, he went off to the appointment. He was shown in, and the opening conversation went something like this:

McCARTHY: They tell me you're a hell of a reporter. Have a drink?

CELEBRATED JOURNALIST: Senator McCarthy, I think you should know that I despise you and everything you stand for. I think you are the greatest force for evil in the world today.

McC: No kidding. How about the drink? What'll you have?

CJ: I have just told you, Senator McCarthy, that I loathe and detest you. I am here to expose you. It will get you nowhere to try to be kind to me.

quite so powerful an assault on McCarthy as he had hoped they would be. He was not destroyed.

The night McCarthy died, a friend of his, one with nothing but contempt for the role McCarthy had played, returned home late in the evening to find his wife sitting by the radio and weeping—not in pure grief, as it turned out, but in frustration. She had, she explained, listened to all the comments that had been made about McCarthy's death. "Everyone has said the same thing," she said through her tears, "and they have all been wrong, wrong, wrong! They have told exactly the opposite of the truth. They all hated him, but they had to find a saving grace for their obituaries, so what have they given him?—sincerity. Each one had said, 'At least he was sincere—he believed in what he was doing,' when that was the one goddam thing you couldn't say of him." She went on in lachrymose eloquence. "He was a stinker, he was never sincere, he'd never thought of believing in what he was doing. There wasn't much good you could say of him, except that he was generous to his friends and a few of us couldn't help liking him. No one has said that, and no one will. Only this junk about his being 'sincere!'"

McCarthy simulated belief for the true believers. Among those who knew him, very few thought that he spoke from any kind of conviction. He was a political speculator, a wildcatter who drilled communism and saw it come up a gusher. He liked his gusher, but he would have liked any other just as well. He was an enormously skillful manipulator of political issues, but he was almost wholly indifferent to them. He had run for the Senate with valuable assistance from the Communists ("Communists have the same right to vote as anyone else, don't they," he had said when taxed with his left-wing support, and to get more of it, he had said, "Stalin's proposal for world disarmament is a great thing"), and he had spent four years in the Senate making scarcely a mention of communism. When he found there was something in it, he worked it, but he was a lazy as well as frivolous demagogue, and he never really mastered it. He served up what Roy Cohn gave him to serve up; most of the time, he didn't know what he was talking about or even whom he was talking about. (The late Howard Rushmore, a real specialist, left McCarthy's employ because he couldn't stand the sloppiness of the organization. "Those files," Rushmore said with a shudder. "My God, what a mess.") McCarthy was singular. Only he could say, on a spring day in 1950, that the next morning he would name "the Number One Communist spy in the United States," when in fact he had not the slightest idea of whom he would name—and then deliver the next morning the name of a man of whose very existence he had been unaware the previous day. No one but McCarthy could hold up a scrap of paper that might have been a parking ticket or a laundry list, anything but a list of Communists in a government agency—and say it was a list of Communists in a government agency.

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McC: No kidding. How about the drink? What'll you have?

CJ: I have just told you, Senator McCarthy, that I loathe and detest you. I am here to expose you. It will get you nowhere to try to be kind to me.

McC: We can talk later. Now what . . . ?

CJ: I will start talking now. I wish only to warn you fairly that you can expect no quarter from me. In my opinion. . . .

McC: For chrissake, are you going to have a drink or aren't you? Let's settle that first.

CJ (nearly dehydrated): If it is clearly understood that I am under no obligations, that I am retracting not one word that I have said about you, that your hospitality will not gain you my good opinion, I will join you in a drink. I will, if you please, have some whiskey, with perhaps just a dash of soda.

McC: Good.

The interview then began and proceeded without interruption for an hour or so. The Londoner could not put a question without telling McCarthy what a foul and poisonous creature he was. McCarthy could not answer without offering some more whiskey with perhaps just a splash of soda. Both were loaded almost to the muzzle when McCarthy was reminded that he had a dentist's appointment. He invited St. George to come along, and the interview went on insofar as it was possible with McCarthy's great jaw clamped open and a dentist with trembling hands worked over McCarthy's cavities and tried to keep his head in an atmosphere blue with the talk and quavering with the fumes of the bourbon he had consented to allow his patient to use as a rinse. Back in McCarthy's office, and after that in McCarthy's apartment, the interview still continued, in a much degenerated form, and carried over to the next morning. Finally it ended. The Englishman wrote his articles; they burned with moral outrage, but they were not

was talking about. (The late Howard Rushmore, a real specialist, left McCarthy's employ because he couldn't stand the sloppiness of the organization. "Those files," Rushmore said with a shudder, "My God, what a mess.") McCarthy was singular. Only he could say, on a spring day in 1950, that the next morning he would name "the Number One Communist spy in the United States," when in fact he had not the slightest idea of whom he would name—and then deliver the next morning the name of a man of whose very existence he had been unaware the previous day. No one but McCarthy could hold up a scrap of paper that might have been a parking ticket or a laundry list, anything but a list of Communists in a government agency—and say it was a list of Communists in a government agency.

The demon was not possessed by one

McCarthy was a demon, but he was not, to our great good fortune, a man possessed by demons. His talents as a demagogue were great, but he lacked the most necessary and awesome of demagogic gifts—a belief in the sacredness of his own mission. To persevere in the face of adversity, a man needs the courage of his convictions, and if he has no convictions he can scarcely draw courage from them. It was the lack of conviction that made him at once a more vulnerable and interesting human being than any of his followers. The conviction he lacked was an absurd thing, and any man was the better for not having it. His friend and lawyer, Edward Bennett Williams, has always insisted that McCarthy's was a glory drive, not a power drive, and the distinction seems a valid one, in his case and in general.

The glory drive is always less dangerous because it is more easily frustrated. It is selfish, or self-seeking, in the narrowest sense, and it makes defeat and humiliation a more personal affair. "Faith in a holy cause," Eric Hoffer has written, "is to a considerable extent a substitute for the lost faith in ourselves." If McCarthy ever had faith in a holy cause he lost it early and reposed all his faith in himself. He was a cynic, a true one. Cynicism is never admirable, but it is better for the world when man as gifted as McCarthy is contemptuous of morality than when he is aflame over a vicious and destructive one. McCarthy employed a vicious and destructive one, but it never set him afire, and he proved in the end unable to set even the United States Senate afire. *

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July 16, 1959

b7c

1530 West Ninth Street
Los Angeles 15, California

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated July 7, 1959, with enclosure, has been received, and I want to thank you for bringing the editorial, "Coffin-Kickers Reopen Joe McCarthy's Grave," to my attention. I also appreciate the benefit of your observations in this regard and your thoughtfulness in affording me advance notice of the "Playhouse 90" feature to be released this fall.

Sincerely yours,

b7c

NOTE: We previously wrote to [REDACTED] on November 3, 1958, expressing appreciation for his editorial which was a critical analysis of Fred Cook's story in "The Nation." Bufiles reflect prior cordial correspondence with this newspaper; however, on December 16, 1955, an item appeared in this newspaper which stated that convicted California communists claimed that the witnesses who testified against them were "pathological liars." The next item in the column began "That pathological liar J. Edgar Hoover turned down a proposal this week that he become a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination..." This matter was taken up with [REDACTED] SAC, LA, since [REDACTED] was a personal friend of Monsignor Robert North, managing editor of this paper. North stated the article was intended to be nothing but laudatory of the Director and that any criticism of the Director was the furthest thought from his mind. Director noted "I certainly can't agree that the article isn't critical. It certainly is clearly so. H."

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THE TIDINGS

HIS EMINENCE, JAMES FRANCIS CARDINAL MCINTYRE, Archbishop of Los Angeles, President
VERY REVEREND MONSIGNOR PATRICK J. ROCHE, Managing Editor
1530 WEST NINTH STREET, LOS ANGELES 15, CALIFORNIA TELEPHONE DUNKIRK 5-3101

July 7, 1952

1. *Introduction*,
2. *Methodology and Experimental Design*,
3. *Results*,
4. *Conclusion*.

¹ See, for example, the discussion of the "right to privacy" in *Privacy's Edge*, pp. 11-12.

14-ton sheet in the middle

Comments concerning the Povero's book may be of interest to you. In my personal opinion that these pseudo-liberal
writers are nothing but propagandists and American tories.

and we have tipped off that Plotline 90 is in process of being used to give a different picture to be reflected some time in the future. The date seems to be coincident.

... and, I have been told, is intended to tell the American people that we have been cruelly misled by the late Johnson documents.

Sincerely yours, REC-32

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ENCLOSURE

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~~EXP. PRICE~~
JUL 13 1959

OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF LOS ANGELES - PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY SINCE 1895

Coffin-Kickers Reopen Joe McCarthy's Grave

This is not a book review. It is a review of certain reviewers of what is alleged to be a book.

We'll take the word of those who have glowingly extolled what to them is an epochal production: Senator Joe McCarthy by Richard H. Rovere.

Apparently it is intended to give the impression of a documented objective appraisal of one of the most controversial political figures of this generation.

Testimony

The reviewers admit that Rovere has excoriated the late Senator McCarthy, now dead more than two years, with about every vile printable epithet in the lexicon.

Among them are: "liar," "barbarian," "thug," "bully," "bum," "vulgarian," "cynic," "demon," "bamboozler," "nihilist," "screamer," "seditious," "ogre," "demagogue," "guttersnipe." That's what reviewers said.

It seems just about to sum up the book.

We cannot resist the obser-

vation that such name-calling was particularly typical of Communist attacks on the Senator during the days when he was exposing them.

Now Senator McCarthy is dead and cannot defend himself.

The only laugh comes when some of the reviewers review the author rather than the book.

Some Kudos

The reader in unbelieving amazement reads that the author is a temperate objective writer, "an acute and breathtakingly levelheaded reporter." "Under his dispassionate gaze, the lifework of the ogre from Wisconsin appears in human perspective for perhaps the first time, and with a curious result," wrote Donald Malcolm in the July 3 New Yorker.

It is not surprising that he ranted on for more than five columns in undiluted raptures over Rovere who does a regular feature, "Letter from Washington," for that magazine.

But when nearly every "liberal" and left-wing publication

book section joins the yelping pack, one begins to wonder.

Even New York Times reviewer Anthony Lewis has pictured Rovere as "without rancor, indeed with an air of almost sympathetic curiosity about the phenomenon that was McCarthy."

It should be noted to his credit, however, that while he lauds the author, he does not give unqualified approval of the book, albeit for the wrong implied reason.

"What the book lacks is detailed documentation and the thorough research that would be needed to give any fresh insight into Joseph R. McCarthy."

He can well say that again, but what he apparently wants is more damaging evidence.

Incongruities

Falling in line with the kit and caboodle, even such an eminent intellectual liberal as John Cogley wrote in the current issue of Commonweal:

"Millions are now persuaded that McCarthy was a menace to free government and free institutions. Obvi-

1633-10
The Tidings
Los Angeles, California
July 3, 1959

ously, I would include myself among them."

We will remember to include him, but where and by whom have the millions been so persuaded? By Rovere or by pontificating John Cogley?

The astounding aspect of the phenomenon is that these writers never seem to see the incongruities of their dictums.

On the one hand they consign McCarthy to the deepest part of the nether regions as an obnoxious meddler and on the other hand attribute to him almost superhuman powers.

Samples

As Malcolm wrote: "Those were the days when a single senator could, and did, conduct an independent foreign policy, and was allowed to make this Republic contemptible in the eyes of Europe."

Then he added, "As Mr. Rovere points out, the press was peculiarly helpless to cope with McCarthy and his kind."

One wonders what is the meaning that reporters "were



JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

angry about the system that required them to publish 'news' they knew to be fraudulent but prohibited them from reporting their knowledge of its fraudulence."

Such was Senator McCarthy's power over the press!

Also, "Democrats who opposed him were beaten at the polls, and others quaked."

Even Rovere is quoted to have said in his book: "He (McCarthy) usurped executive and judicial authority whenever the fancy struck him."

On Their Heads

Apparently striving to outdo even the author of the book, John Cogley reaches these delirious heights:

"For the fact is that all kinds of people succumbed to McCarthyism, not out of admiration and agreement —like those hardy followers of his who are still willing to stand up for him [thank you, John]—but out of fear, cowardice, complacency or indifference.

"Politicians in both parties stood in terror of what might happen to them if they spoke about him publicly the way they did privately [or after he was dead]. Many heads of academic institutions, clergymen, editors and organization leaders were just as scared.

"Some of them stood on their heads in order to avoid any possibility of being tarred with his red brush, not hesi-

tating to betray friends, subordinates, and cherished principles as well."

What a man, that Joe McCarthy!

Why, Oh Why?

The mystery, if it is a mystery, is why did the book make its appearance at this particular time and why are certain reviewers effervescent over it?

Does it perhaps tie in with the attacks on the late John Foster Dulles, J. Edgar Hoover, Lewis L. Strauss, Sen. Eastland, Rep. Walter and anyone else who dares investigate the Red conspiracy?

Rovere makes much of Senator McCarthy's effort to get facts from the Army in the Peress case and passes it off as nothing.

By the way, who did promote Peress?

Summing up, this whole business looks from here like another pseudo-liberal assault on the citadel of American constitutional democracy.

Vindictiveness

A woman scorned hath no wrath like that of pseudo-liberals.

If exception be taken to

this description, let it be
~~said that~~ when one ~~bird~~
bird that waddles like a
duck, quacks like a duck,
swims like a duck and as-
sociates with ducks, well,
quite naturally one forms
the suspicion that this bird
is being influenced by ducks.

When this bird sings out the
word "McCarthyism," which is
well known to have been
coined by the Communists, one
is constrained to think that
this influence is having its de-
sired effect.

Last Word

Richard H. Rovere flourishes
a facile pen, which is never
more at its best than when
dipped in the blood of some
anti-Communist's reputation.

When one reviewer stated
that Rovere "writes without
bitterness. Indeed, there are
times when Mr. Rovere's de-
tachment seems almost pre-
ternatural," what more can
be said?

The Kremlin boys should
give him the award denied to
Pasternak and confer upon
him the medal of Lenin.

And they may yet just do
that—later.—G.N.E.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*Memorandum*TO : Mr. A. L. Belmont *ALB*

DATE: May 17, 1960

FROM : Mr. J. W. McCaffery *JWM*

SUBJECT: ERNEST FRANKEL

Tolson _____
 Mohr _____
 Parnell _____
 Bishop _____
 Callahan _____
 DeLoach _____
 March _____
 McGuire _____
 Rosen _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Weller _____
 Tolson ~~_____~~
 Ingberman _____
 Gale, _____

The "Sunday Star," May 15, 1960, contained an article entitled, "Senator McCarthy Returns as Fictional Prototype." The article commented on a new novel written by Ernest Frankel entitled "Tongue of Fire." The Director inquired, "What do we know about Frankel?"

We have not investigated Frankel and the only information in Bureau files identifiable with him is an article which appeared in the Washington "Evening Star" on May 11, 1953, which indicated that Ernest Frankel's book "Tongue of Fire" had been withdrawn from publication by G. P. Putnam's Sons. No explanation was given by Putnam's for withdrawing publication of the book. The article further commented that the author was seeking others to publish his book. (140-0-1)

REFILE:

None. This is for information.

*b7c*REC-78 *62-94332-154*

MAY 24 1960

- 1 - *ENCLOSURE*
 1 - Parsons
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Name Check Section
 1 - [REDACTED]

*b7c**b7c*

EXPLOSION IN WASHINGTON

Senator McCarthy Returns As Fictional Prototype

By CARTER BROOKE JONES
Star Book Critic**TONGUE OF FIRE.** By Ernest Frankel. (Dial; \$4.95.)

This explosive Washington novel, while written around some events of a few years ago, could, unlike most fiction of its genre, be read without regard to recent news, simply as a story of Capitol Hill.

It's that exciting, that absorbing, although sensational in design, and sometimes descending in its swift pace to merely slick writing.

The Central Figure

But no one even vaguely informed about recent history could fail to be mindful throughout the long story of the obvious prototype of the central figure, whom the author calls Kane O'Connor, a Representative from North Carolina.

Making this character a Representative from a Southern State cannot disguise, even thinly, the man the author so certainly had in mind when he sat down at his typewriter. This is Mr. Frankel's version of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. However accurate the picture is I cannot pretend to say, though I suspect that it differs at many points from the actual character of the fiery Wisconsinite. So many enemies of what was called McCarthyism were unable to grant the Senator a decent impulse, a touch of sincerity, even a belief in his mission, however deplorable some of his methods, however reckless some of his charges.

To Devil His Due

J. E. Frankel belongs to the school. McCarthy - nothing man O'Connor hasn't written, deeming trait unless it's charm.

The author does concede his man a heroic exploit in the war. Senator McCarthy's foes tried to disparage his excellent war record and would admit no redeeming facet of his life from the age of 8 on.

The O'Connor of this novel is receiving, as we meet him, a hero's welcome to his home town, a small city. The handsome young man, bombardier on a bomber when it was set afire, took the controls as the crew jumped and brought it safely down and with it a comrade who was wounded and couldn't parachute.

Power and Glory

But young O'Connor soon decided to parlay his publicity and his DSC into power and glory. He ran for district solicitor and was elected. Then, double-crossing the uncle who was a judge and wanted to fill a vacated seat in Congress, Kane O'Connor himself ran for the seat. He dug up a phony white supremacy issue (it was before the Supreme Court school decision) and won easily. His uncle had withdrawn.

Once in Washington, Kane was strictly on the make. He managed to meet some of the wealthy and influential, perhaps the terms are vicious - and especially Dr. De Payne. During

*What do
we know
about
Frankel?*

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
ENCLOSURE
The Wall Street Journal _____
Date 62-96332-152

REC 76

THE SUNDAY STAR - MAY 15, 1960

MAY 24 1960

ENCLOSURE

2nd in S.C. - 62

bx



ERNEST FRANKEL

of Dany, the new Congressman soon turned away from his home town girl, who was planning their early marriage.

The Un-American Issue

Dany fell hard for the charming young Southerner and worked incessantly to help him build himself into the national figure he coveted. When he stumbled on the un-American issue, more or less by accident, it was Dany and of course Tod, Kane's shrewd assistant from the home town, who saw how it could put him on the news map. Kane, at Dany's suggestion, persuaded the conservative Congressman who headed a Government monitoring committee to give him Kane, a subcommittee to investigate alleged subversion in the Government.

With the subcommittee at his command and a fanatical, scintillating counsel of his choosing, Kane quickly became the favorite subject of headlines and television cameras. The State Department, he announced, was riddled with Communists. He would prove it. But he didn't. Then he turned on the National Experimental Center, the chief Government research activity, and came up with a quiet middle-aged chief clerk who in his youth, he admitted, had flirted with communism and had kept one friend who was still in the movement. But what infuriated the administration (then Democratic, Kane's party of course) was that subcommittee sleuths had stolen the personnel records of the agency, which were under wraps. There were demands in the House for the expulsion of Kane, and a resolution was offered.

The Perfect Scoundrel

Kane turned out to be almost 100 per cent scoundrel. He wheedled large sums from wealthy persons for his crusade and devoted some of them to settling his private debts. He used every friend in whatever way seemed to his advantage. He couldn't be true to his devoted Dany, but often slipped up to New York to be with a glamorous call girl who had a highly selective clientele.

Kane would be a more persuasive character if he had even a thin layer of vir-

tues somewhere inside his thick crust of viciousness. People are seldom all black or white. Senator McCarthy may have been very little as he is pictured in his personal life by the average liberal. And yet so completely does the author go into Kane's mind—he comes to believe in himself through a sort of self-hypnosis—that we feel, in spite of all his derelictions, a certain sympathy for him as political and personal tragedy stalks him.

Mr. Frankel, a New Yorker who graduated from the University of North Carolina, was on duty with the Marines in Washington and during the Korean war and attended many congressional hearings. His account of the way things are done on the Hill is mostly quite accurate. This is the author's second novel. His first, "Band of Brothers," about the Korean war, was well received.

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

The Washington Post and _____
Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
Date _____

099-142886-927-NW

324-1000-100
100-1000-100

REC-18

62-76332-155

October 6, 1960

L-122

b7c

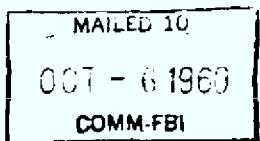
Deer River, Minnesota

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter dated September 28, 1960, has been received.

Although I would like to help you, information in the files of the FBI is maintained as confidential by a regulation of the Department of Justice. This Bureau, furthermore, is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not make evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, publication or organization. You may wish to refer to national news magazines and other references on file in your local public library for the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,



John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

b7c

To: [REDACTED]
Mo: [REDACTED]
Par: [REDACTED]
Be: [REDACTED]
Searched: [REDACTED]
Serialized: [REDACTED]
Indexed: [REDACTED]
Microfilm: [REDACTED]
Mimeograph: [REDACTED]
Ruled: [REDACTED]
Dated: [REDACTED]
Tracer: [REDACTED]
W.C. Checked: [REDACTED]
Tele. No.: [REDACTED]
Initials: [REDACTED]
Date: [REDACTED]

JCL 8 2 12 BH.81

FBI
REC'D HATZER

62 OCT 14 1960 TELETYPE UNIT

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Showing my opinion, I have chosen to write to you concerning the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. In a discussion, I have taken the position that McCarthy was nothing more than another Hitler (although, of course, not quite so successful).

I should like information to prove or disprove my contention, from your office or from any other source. Would you be so kind as to furnish me such information or to tell me where I could find such information? Thank you.

Yours very truly,

b7C
(C)

b7C
(C)
Deer River,
Minnesota

September 28, 1960

RECEIVED

Ex-122

62-96332-155

OCT 14

b7C

b7C

REC-27
163-1-156
December 1, 1960

Eau Claire, Wisconsin

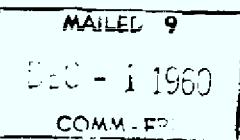
Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your letter of November 28th regarding a statement made by the late Senator McCarthy in which he indicated that he had access to official reports of the FBI.

The files of this Bureau are confidential and you may be assured that no reports of the FBI were furnished to Senator McCarthy by any of our employees. I regret that I am unable to be of service to you; however, as an investigative agency of the Federal Government, the FBI does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any individual, publication or organization.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with [REDACTED] Memo of C. H. Stanley to Rosen, dated 9/23/60, entitled "Philleo Nash, Lt. Governor of Wisconsin, Information Concerning" indicates that we conducted a loyalty investigation on Nash in 1951. In 1952, Senator Joseph McCarthy made statement in a Senate speech alleging disloyalty on the part of Nash and indicated his information came from [REDACTED] files. Correspondent is referring in his letter to this specific speech by Senator McCarthy. Considerable publicity has been given Senator McCarthy's remarks during the recent political campaign in Wisconsin, and previous inquiries similar to that of [REDACTED] have been received. Each has been acknowledged with replies similar to this.

To: [REDACTED]
M: [REDACTED]
P: [REDACTED]
B: [REDACTED]
C: [REDACTED]
D: [REDACTED]
R: [REDACTED]
M: [REDACTED]
Mc: [REDACTED]
R: [REDACTED]
T: [REDACTED]
D: [REDACTED]
A: [REDACTED]
W: [REDACTED]
Tele: [REDACTED]
Inq: [REDACTED]
Gra: [REDACTED]

57 DEC 9 1960
(3)
FLEETYPE UNIT

REC-1
163-1-156
FBI-B
60-24546

Lutheran Brotherhood

LIFE INSURANCE
701 SECOND AVENUE SOUTH
MINNEAPOLIS 2, MINNESOTA
TELEPHONE FEDERAL 8-6801

EAU CLAIRE, WIS.

November 23, 1960

Mr. [redacted]
Miss Gandy

[redacted]

C. L. DODGE, JR.
Chairman of the Board
Lutheran Brotherhood
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Mr. Dodge:

The Congressional Record of January 26th, 1952 quotes the former Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin on page 581.

The Congressional Record quoted Senator McCarthy as follows:
"I have been asked by some people, 'Has it been fully developed that you have nine points?' I say no, nine principal points;" and then
the Senator goes on to state that the points made by Mr.
McCarthy were not his own. In regard as to whether the nine
points mentioned in the Congressional Record are direct quotes
from Senator McCarthy, the following are further statements
of Senator McCarthy's own words reportedly quoted from
Senate Hearings:

"I do not want to comment on what is in the record from the
Senate Hearings, but I will say this, if these quotes are sub-
stantially correct, they are reflecting information developed by the
Senate Hearings."

I hope you will be able to find this information and
will appreciate your consideration.

b7
(c)
REC-27

Very truly yours,

W. H. [redacted]

62-102-156

1 DEC 6 1960

b7C

act 12/1/60

Jbk

EX-PRO

3)

March 13, 1961

REC-9

City of Industry, California

Dear

Your letter of February 28, 1961, has been received, and the matter to which you refer is not within the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI.

Our files are maintained as confidential in accordance with a regulation of the Department of Justice. I hope that from this you will not infer either that we do or that we do not have information in our files relating to the subject of your letter. I am unable to refer you to a source from which it can be obtained.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: We have had cordial correspondence in the past with [REDACTED] As a result of the Director's American Legion Convention Speech in Miami Beach, he requested 100 copies of it which were forwarded to him on 12-27-60.

ANSWER

✓
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingberman
Miss Gandy

February 28, 1961

✓
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Last Wednesday evening I heard a speech delivered by a gentleman of our community who is considered well-informed on the subject of Communism. He spoke on the Communist threat to the United States.

Later in the evening I was introduced to this gentleman and in the course of our conversation he asserted that there was some area of doubt that Senator Joseph McCarthy died of natural causes. It was his understanding that the senator's wife had requested an autopsy be performed on her deceased husband because of the strange circumstances surrounding his sudden death. This was denied. The death certificate signed by the doctor attending the senator stated - "Died of causes unknown", the inference being that Senator McCarthy had been poisoned.

Is your office in a position to send me the facts on this case? If not, would you advise where such information could be obtained?

Many thanks for your courtesy in replying.

Sincerely,

REC 9

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dp

5 MAR 14 1961

EX-108

BK

b2

REC-91

March 16, 1961

112
 Queen of the Rosary Convent
 Albany Avenue
 Amityville, Long Island, New York

b7c.

My dear Sister:

I have received your letter dated March 8, 1961, and the interest which prompted your communicating with me is appreciated.

While I would like to be of assistance, the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI, strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government, do not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning organizations, publications or individuals. I am sure you will understand the necessity for this policy and will not infer that we do or do not have in our files the information you desire.

In view of your interest in the internal security of the United States, I am forwarding some literature concerning communism which you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures - 5

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent, who is working on her "master's dissertation," requests the Bureau to evaluate "the accuracy of Senator Joseph McCarthy's accusations" against eighteen individuals, including Drew Pearson, John Carter Vincent, William Remington, Owen Lattimore and John Stewart Service. Due to the number of names mentioned, they are not being documented. Bufiles contain no identifiable references to correspondent.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

| | |
|------------|--|
| Personnel | |
| Parsons | |
| Mohr | |
| Belmont | |
| Holloman | |
| Connolly | |
| DeLoach | |
| Ewing | |
| Malone | |
| Rosen | |
| Tavel | |
| Truman | |
| Wise | |
| Tele. Room | |
| Interne | |
| Gasco | |

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

b7c

NOTE ON YELLOW - CONTINUED:

The following items of literature are being sent to the correspondent:

1. "Communist Target - Youth"
2. "One Nation's Response to Communism"
3. "How to Beat Communism"
4. "Communism's 'New Look' a Study in Duplicity"
5. "Breaking the Communist Spell"

TRUE COPY

Queen of the Rosary Convent
Albany Avenue
Amityville, Long Island
March 8, 1961

J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

At present I am working on my master's dissertation. My subject is Senator Joseph McCarthy and since he is such a controversial figure, the task is not easy. In order that I might do an objective report I would appreciate your evaluation on the accuracy and validity of Senator Joseph McCarthy's accusations in these particular cases, if possible.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. John Stewart Service | 10. William T. Stone |
| 2. Edward Posniak | 11. Philip Jessup |
| 3. Esther Brunauer | 12. Owen Lattimore |
| 4. Stephen Brunauer | 13. John Patton Davies |
| 5. Peveril Meigs | 14. John Carter Vincent |
| 6. Hans Lansberg | 15. Drew Pearson |
| 7. Oliver Edmund Clubb | 16. Lauchlin Currie |
| 8. William Remington | 17. Dorothy Kenyon |
| 9. V. Lorwin | 18. Haldore Hanson |

I regret any inconvenience that this will cause you but know that I would be most grateful for this and any other information that you could give.

Thank you for your kind attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

/s/

REC-91

62-96332-1

b7C

TRUE COPY

Queen of the Rosary Convent
Albany Avenue
Amityville, Long Island
March 8, 1961

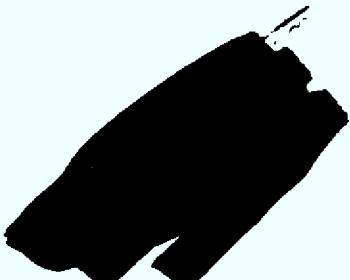
J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

At present I am working on my master's dissertation. My subject is Senator Joseph McCarthy and since he is such a controversial figure, the task is not easy. In order that I might do an objective report I would appreciate your evaluation on the accuracy and validity of Senator Joseph McCarthy's accusations in these particular cases, if possible.

1. John Stewart Service
2. Edward Poosniak
3. Esther Brunauer
4. Stephen Brunauer
5. General Meigs

55-10000 (Rev. 5)
3-16-61 [REDACTED]



b7c /

6. Hans Lansberg.
7. Oliver Edmund Clubb
8. William Remington
9. V. Lorrin
10. William T. Stone
11. Philip Joseph
12. Owen Lettmore
13. John Patton Davies
14. John Carter Vincent
15. Drew Pearson
16. Lauchlin Currie
17. Dorothy Kenyon
18. Eldore Hanson

I regret any inconvenience that this
will cause you but know that I would be
most grateful for this and any other inform-
ation that you could give.

I thank you for your kind attention to
this matter.

Sincerely,

b7

(C)

REG. II 6x-9-332-159 January 10, 1962

[REDACTED]
College Station, Texas

b7c

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of January 5th has been received, and
the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

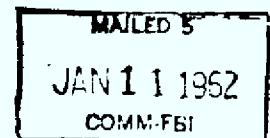
Although I would like to be of service, the FBI has
no material available for distribution relative to the individual
about whom you inquired. As a matter of long-standing policy,
I am unable to recommend any books other than those prepared
by this Bureau or myself; however, I would like to suggest that
you should find some literature dealing with the subject of your
inquiry at your local public or school library.

Enclosed are several items on communism you may
wish to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



- Enclosures (5)
Director's 12-7-61 Criss Award Speech "The Faith To Be Free"
The Deadly Contest
Director's 4-17-61 Internal Security Statement
The Communist Party Line
Three-Part Series from Christianity Today, The Communist Menace
NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with correspondent.

b7c

[REDACTED]
College Station
Texas
5 January, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Recently I have had cause to enter into
communication with my classmates at Texas A. & M.
concerning the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. I
believe most people are wrong in their ideas of
Senator McCarthy and a wish to shed a little light
on the subject. At the same time I plan to do
a paper on Senator McCarthy for one of my courses
this coming semester.

If you have any information about Senator McCarthy, in
the form of book or rhany let , which you might
recommend to me would greatly appreciated. I would
also appreciate any literature which you have on
hand at the moment and are able to send to me.

You may ask me why I write to you for this
information. I believe that, through you, I can
get a clearer picture of the man himself. I do
not only wish to know of what he did or tried to do,
but also of his personality, ideals, etc. As
I have said, I feel that my best source for this
material would be yourself. I want my knowledge
of the man to be complete so that I may quote him

REC-17 62-96332-157

CONF

in to know if you'd be. Any help you may give me
towards attaining my goal would be sincerely
appreciated. Sincerely,

Yours very truly,

A large rectangular area of the document has been completely redacted with black ink.

b7
(c)

- 96332- 160
January 28, 1962

[REDACTED]
Bloomington, Indiana

b7
(C)

Dear [REDACTED]

I have received the letter of January 20, 1962, from you and [REDACTED], and I appreciate your interest in writing.

With reference to your request, it is a pleasure to enclose a copy of a clipping from "The Evening Star," Washington, D. C., of August 26, 1953, which I hope will be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 20
JAN 26 1962
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

b7(c) NOTE: [REDACTED] is not identifiable in Bufiles. [REDACTED] is undoubtedly the son of former [REDACTED] with whom we have had cordial relations. The above-mentioned clipping has been sent to correspondents in the past in response to requests for the Director's personal opinion of Senator McCarthy.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Felt _____
DeLoach _____
Egan _____
Mahone _____
Rosen _____
Clegg _____
Tavel _____
Trickey _____
Tele. R. _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

MAIL 1 copy TELETYPE UNIT

REC'D...READING ROOM
1/26/62
1/26/62
1/26/62
1/26/62

b7c [REDACTED] *D. W. M.*
[REDACTED] *SAC*
[REDACTED] *W. C. G.*
[REDACTED] *C. E.*

Bloomington, Indiana
January 20, 1972

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

We are writing in the hope that you might be of assistance to us concerning a book we are authoring about the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

Specifically what we would appreciate from you is your personal evaluation and opinion of Senator McCarthy and the goals he sought to accomplish as a United States Senator. We will, of course, give full credit to your opinions and will not in any way quote them out of context so as to misconstrue their meaning in a printed publication that we might develop.

We feel that a defense of Senator McCarthy has been too long in forthcoming. While Wm. F. Buckley Jr. and L. Brent Bozell have presented the record in their brilliant publication of McCarthy and His Enemies, no one has as yet ventured to write a defense of the man--McCarthy himself. This we propose to do in, In Defense of History, The Story of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Again hoping that you can be of assistance to us, we are

Respectfully yours,

b7
(C.)

62-35352-166
20

March 2, 1962

REC-24

9. 3. 16

b7c

Charleston, South Carolina

Dear

Your letter of February 22nd has been
received.

Although I would like to be of assistance, information in FBI files must be maintained as confidential through a regulation of the Department of Justice. Please do not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the subject of your inquiry. I regret I am unable to help you. It is suggested you may wish to write directly to the United States Senate Committee on Government Operations, Washington, D. C., for the information you seek.

Enclosed is some literature dealing with the general topic of communism which I trust will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

J Edgar Hoover

**John Edgar Hoover
Director**

Enclosures (4)

**The Courage Of Free Men - Director's 2-22-62 speech
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!
The Communist Party Line
One Nation's Response To Communism**

NOTE next page

[REDACTED] *b7c*

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.
The late Senator Joseph McCarthy was appointed in 1953 as
chairman of the United States Senate Government Operations
Committee and headed its permanent subcommittee on investigations.

b-1
[REDACTED]
Charleston, S. C.
February 22, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Re: McCarthy - House Un-American Activities Committee

I would appreciate your helping me if you can. Any literature or information you may give will be appreciated.

In a discussion of Senator McCarthy's investigation of communism, I was challenged to show one instance wherein a person investigated was proven to be a communist, either at the time of the investigation or subsequently.

If you have any information in your files which would help me to justify this investigation, which I believe was extremely worthwhile, I would thank you to let me have same.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours very truly,

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(c)

62-7332-161

500-2A
S MAR 6 1962

b7C

May 10, 1967

REC-23

b7C

[REDACTED]
Rockford, Illinois 61103

Dear [REDACTED]

In response to your letter of May 6th, information in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand the reason for this policy.

Enclosed are two booklets pertaining to the activities of the FBI which I hope you will find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (2)

Cooperation--The Backbone of Effective Law Enforcement
Facts about the FBI

NOTE: Bufiles reflect one prior outgoing to [REDACTED] in response to his inquiry regarding the John Birch Society.

b7C
[REDACTED]

62 MAY 9 1967 SAW b7C

b7C
FBI-BEYOND BOOK

F93

MAILED BY [REDACTED] TELETYPE UNIT [REDACTED]

TRUE COPY

Mr. Hoover,

I would like to make a request for some information.

I am making a study of the cases of Senator Joe McCarthy, and I think you may be able to help me. I am under the impression that the F. B. I. had a lot to do with McCarthy, and that he depended upon you for information.

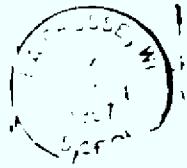
The kind of info that I'm looking for is anything that may have concerned McCarthy in any way.

I would appreciate it very much if I could recieve anything at all that may be of some benefit to me.

Send to:

[REDACTED] 117(c)
Rockford, Ill. 61103

Thank you,
[REDACTED]



REC-23 62-96222-162

Mr. Hoover,

I would like to make a request
for some information.

I am making a study of the
cases of Senator Joe McCarthy, and
I think you may be able to help
me. I am under the impression
that the F.B.I. had a lot to do
with McCarthy, and that he
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looking for is anything that may
have concerned McCarthy in any
way.

I would appreciate it very
much if I could receive anything
at all that may be of some benefit
to me.

Send To:

[REDACTED] ACE

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[REDACTED]
Rockford, Ill. 61103

Thank you,

b7
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2 b7C

Senator Joseph McCarthy Memorial Committee

OF THE
SAINT MICHAEL ASSOCIATES INC.

chairman

Hon. Matthew J. Troy

vice-chairman

George T. Reilly

secretary

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Thomas Brennan

Victor Von Klemm

Dorothy Moran

Bridget Burke

Timothy Mitchell

Henry Nowicki

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of
Investigations
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

St. Michael Associates is sponsoring
the 12th Annual Memorial Mass for Senator Joseph
McCarthy on Saturday, May 3rd. The Mass will be
held at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City,
at 1 P.M. Luncheon will follow at the New York
Hilton Hotel.

I am extending an invitation to you to
be our guest at this affair. I know, however,
what a heavy burden you carry and how busy you
are. For that reason, if you are not able to
come I will look forward to receiving a message
which can be read to those gathered on this
occasion.

I look forward to a reply.

Respectfully yours,

New York, N.Y. 10011

REC-114

42-96332

22 APR 9 1969

EX-1
APR 2 1969

PPROC

14

April 8, 1969

AC-114

66-75330-163

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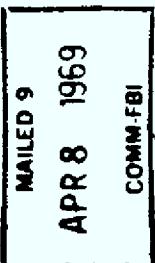
[REDACTED]
New York, New York 10011

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter to Mr. Hoover was received on April 2nd while he is in an extended travel status. It will, therefore, not be possible for him to accept your invitation or accede to your request.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy
Secretary



b7C
APR 10 1969

1 - Miss Holmes - Enclosure

NOTE: [REDACTED] is on the mailing list to receive the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin and the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin.

[REDACTED]
St. Michael Associates Incorporated is not identifiable
in Bufiles.

TELETYPE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED



MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

1309 WEST WISCONSIN AVENUE / MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53233 / 224-7217, 7565

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

January 21, 1974

Mr. James C. Farrington
External Affairs Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Farrington:

O
Joseph R McCarthy

In November, I had read a New York Times story reporting that the Attorney General had agreed to permit interested scholars to secure access to the FBI's investigative files. Being an historian specializing in post-World War II politics and internal security matters, I greeted that news with keen interest. My major research interest centers on the important internal security cases and congressional investigations of the Truman years. Noting, however, that researchers must pay for the cost of FBI personnel reviewing the files and that the cost for the Rosenbergs file was estimated as being \$5,000 and the Hiss file as being \$12,895, I thought it appropriate first to ascertain the approximate cost of files I would be interested in researching and, if possible, the foot length of these files.

The files that I would be interested in beyond the Hiss and Rosenbergs files include: the Amerasia case, Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, Whittaker Chambers, the Communist Eleven who went to trial in the Dennis case, Judith Coplon; and any files you have dealing with your correspondence, interviews, and responses to requests from the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Senator Joseph R. McCarthy: 63-96332

If you could, give me a cost breakdown for each of these requests. If it is not feasible to give me an exact breakdown, I would appreciate a rough estimate (as, for example, the total request would run in the range of ~~x thousand to y thousand dollars~~).

Thank you for your assistance, I remain

Sincerely yours,

17 FEB 14 1974

Athan Theoharis

Athan Theoharis
Associate Professor
American History

b7c
b7d
1-21-74

I have gathered two books on the subject of the Rosenberg case.

b7c

February 11, 1974

62-56332 -

Mr. Atien Theoharis
Associate Professor
Department of History
Marquette University
1300 West Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Dear Mr. Theoharis:

Your letter of January 21st to Mr. James C. Farrington, requesting a breakdown of estimated costs for information in our files regarding various subjects, has been brought to my attention.

For your assistance, I am enclosing a copy of Attorney General Order 529-73, which sets forth substituted procedures regarding the Freedom of Information Act. Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 16.3, we are authorized to charge a prescribed rate for furnishing copies of material and for time spent searching and screening our records. Listed below is the estimated cost and deposit for reviewing our files for pertinent information which can be furnished to you concerning the following individuals or groups:

| MAILED 22 | Cost | Deposit |
|---|----------|---------|
| FEB 12 1974 | | |
| Frerencia FBI | \$ 3,400 | \$ 850 |
| Witness Stanley | 8,280 | 2,127 |
| Louis Budenz | 6,320 | 2,020 |
| Whittaker Chambers | 16,415 | 4,163 |
| Communist Eleven | 56,758 | 14,227 |
| Lucene Dennis | 2,836 | 517 |
| Judith Coplon | 2,380 | 505 |
| House Committee on Un-American Activities | 2,320 | 2,000 |
| Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee | 13,540 | 2,650 |
| Joseph R. McCarthy | 3,500 | 605 |

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir. _____

Adm. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Int. _____
Information _____
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Micro. Equip. _____
Spc. Inv. _____

58-5442-4
1974 Hannall - Enclosure
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Tele. Eng. _____
Budget Dept. _____
Mail Room _____

1 - Office of the Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
1974 Hannall - Enclosure
1 - File #2-717530 (FOI-REFLIPS)
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Mr. Athan Theoharis

In order to initiate processing of any of the above subjects, a deposit is required in advance. A check or money order should be made payable to the Treasury of the United States; however, payment of deposit should not be interpreted as a guarantee that you will be furnished all of the material you requested.

If you desire any of these requests processed, please indicate in writing your willingness to pay fees as high as are anticipated and enclose a deposit as indicated in this letter. Thereafter, we shall acknowledge receipt of your deposit and begin the necessary processing, as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles reflect that one Athan Theoharis was active in lobbying efforts against the U. S. policy in Vietnam in 1965 (62-110039-23).

b7
C

The above reply was discussed with
a representative of the Intelligence Division.

SUBJECT

Joseph McCarthy

FILE NUMBER 65-62092

SECTION NUMBER _____

28 pages

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. V. LADD

DATE: September 11, 1953

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: ALLEGED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

BY SENATOR McCARTHY

"The Evening Star," September 11, 1953

ESPIONAGE - I

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 Lodge
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 Holloman
 Tamm
 Whittaker

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"The Evening Star," Washington, D. C., of September 11, 1953, contains an allegation to the effect that Senator McCarthy disclosed classified information of the Department of the Army in releasing the full text of an intelligence study on the "psychological and cultured traits of Soviet Siberia," made in January, 1952, before the Far East Command. It is said McCarthy made public portions of the document previously calling it "the best Communist propaganda I have seen in a long time." The article alleges the cover of the intelligence study contains the following:

"This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws. Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 793 and 794. The transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law."

The study was reportedly marked "Restricted - Security Information." It is noted this is the lowest of the security classifications employed by the military services.

Senator McCarthy sharply brushed aside the charge he had violated security in releasing the document. Senator McCarthy is quoted as saying, "Neither the Army nor anyone else can hide dishonesty, corruption and Communism behind any stamp of secrecy." The article is attached for your information.

ACTION:

SE 44 / 85-62092-1

The above is for your information. We are taking no action in this matter unless instructed to the contrary.

Attachment

b7c

530 1953

unless specifically directed
 by A. G. we should not
 involve in this. This is
 a travel between one Senator
 & Pentagon. N.

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101st Year. No. 254. Phone ST. 3-5000

WASHINGTON, D. C., FRI

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McCARTHY BARED

DAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1953—SEVENTY-TWO PAGES.

Some Delivery
Evenings only

SECRETS, ARMY

Monthly Rate, Evening and Sunday, \$1.75.
\$1.80. Sunday only 65c. Extra 10c Additions' 5 CENTS

CHARGES

Security Law Violation Laid To Senator

Document Contained Red Propaganda, Legislator Retorts

The Army today charged Senator McCarthy with disclosing restricted security information in violation of the espionage laws, but the Wisconsin Republican fired right back with a blast of his own.

Army spokesmen made their charge against Senator McCarthy in releasing the full text of an intelligence study on the "psychological and cultured traits of Soviet Siberia" made in January 1952, by the Far East Command. Senator McCarthy yesterday made public portions of the document, calling it "the best Communist propaganda I've seen in a long time."

Inside the cover of the document these words appear: "This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 793 and 794. The transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law."

Marked Restricted.

The study was marked "Restricted—Security Information." "Restricted" is the lowest of several secrecy classifications employed by the military services.

The Army said that it was declassifying the document from its restricted status now, but emphasized that this was done only "as a result of prior disclosure."

Senator McCarthy sharply brushed aside the charge that he had violated security in releasing the document. He said his Senate Investigations subcommittee has received "less cooperation from the military in digging out Communists than any other branch of the government."

"Neither the Army nor any else," the Senator added, "hide dishonesty, corruption, communism behind any stamp of secrecy."

"If we find they are putting out Communist propaganda, they can't keep it secret by stamping it restricted and using it in indoctrination courses."

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Mirror

N.Y. Compass

Page

Date: Sept 11, 1953

15-1
CENSORED

Army Hits Back.

But the Army in its strongly-worded statement said out at Senator McCarthy's criticism that its intelligence study was a piece of Communist propaganda.

The Army said that if the chairman of the Senate Investigations subcommittee had released the full report—particularly its conclusion—instead of only the first 70 pages, the true purpose of the document would have been plain.

"The purpose of this study is clearly set forth in the following extract from its preamble: 'To develop an understanding of the Soviet people which will be militarily useful in case of war,'" the Army said.

The parts of the report which offended Senator McCarthy, it was explained, were designed to describe the attitude of the Soviet citizen.

"It is obvious that the necessary instruction of officers and men in the field cannot proceed without attempting to enter the mind and thought processes of the Russian citizen," the Department said. "To understand the mind of the Soviet citizen, it is essential to consider the Communist propaganda which plays such an important role in shaping that mind."

The concluding portion of the (See McCARTHY, Page A-6)

McCarthy

Continued From First Page

document, ignored by Senator McCarthy, to which the Army called particular attention, was as follows:

"The American viewpoint of life in the Soviet Union remains valid in all essentials. The Soviet citizen enjoys neither the liberty nor the civil rights which we cherish and insist upon as a natural endowment of all men. The free worker in the Soviet

Union is as much chained to his job and local area as is the convict. He has no voice in determining his place of work, working conditions or wage.

"His only advantage over the convict is that he can live with his family and can spend his limited income as he sees fit. He has no redress against a harsh authoritarian government. He is forbidden to raise his voice in criticism, to develop independent views or to acquire unbiased information. His voting rights are a travesty on the ideals and purposes of democracy. He enjoys no acknowledged rights for his person, life or property. He is the helpless prisoner of a slave state. As was noted previously, such an existence would be intolerable to Americans. American traditions and beliefs militate against every facet of government activity in the U.S.S.R."

"British and American Communist sympathizers who visit the U.S.S.R. nearly always return in bitter disillusionment. There is no better antidote for radicalism."

Senator McCarthy's answer was that the Army document is 95 per cent Communist prop-

Department, testified that the United Nations afforded "a very nice ground" for Communist activity.

Mr. Lautner named one "American Communist" employed by the U.N. as Noel Remes. The subcommittee members said Mr. Remes had not been identified in any previous hearings as being a Communist.

Mr. Lautner said that Mr. Remes, a member of the Polish staff at the U.N., had been a high official of the Communist Party for a number of years and was an assistant editor of the party's publication "Political Affairs."

Nine Farmers Honored

TOPSFIELD, Mass., Sept. 11. (AP)—Nine farmers with a total of 443 years in farming were honored by the Essex Agricultural Society yesterday at the Topsfield Fair. Among the nine was Mrs. Ellen Russell, 80, a Darvers, who has been fair for 57 years.

agenda" and about 5 per cent "a slap on the wrist" against communism.

When called to task, the Army cites the small 5 per cent, the Senator said.

He said he had found, unfortunately, the Army today is doing "what they did under the old Truman administration." He said that while there is a better attitude since President Eisenhower took office, "the political carry-overs are still functioning to cover up, protect and whitewash."

Urges Full Scale Probe.

He said he thought there should be a full scale investigation of the matter and said he would place it before his subcommittee for a decision.

As his battle with the Army raged on, Senator McCarthy announced a series of hearings starting Monday in New York to look into employment of American Communists in the United Nations.

He made the announcement after a former Communist Party functionary, John Lautner, 51, now an employee of the Justice

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Times-Herald _____

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Page 2 _____

Date: Sept 11, 1953

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SMALL TEMPESTS

TWO ados about nothing are tied together in the current squabble between Sen. Joe McCarthy and the Army.

The Army charges that Joe violated a law when he disclosed the partial contents of a restricted document styled "Psychological and Cultural Traits of Soviet Siberia," which the Senator called "the best communist propaganda I've seen in a long time."

The military may be correct in claiming that Joe violated the espionage act when he ignored a printed warning against the publication of this material. But if so the Army was guilty of an abuse of privilege in tagging this document with a restricted label. A lot of those labels border on the ridiculous, including this one.

On the other hand, if Joe considers this treatise "the best communist propaganda" he's seen in a long time, either he isn't a good judge of propaganda or he hasn't been doing much reading of late. Because it isn't propaganda at all. It's simply an attempt to explain Russian psychology, and seems to do a pretty good job of it.

A lot of people might profit by reading it—even if Joe did miss the point. And he might get it if he would read it again.

It's legal now, too, because the "restricted" label has been cancelled.

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| Wash. Post | — |
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| N.Y. Herald Tribune | — |
| N.Y. Mirror | — |

Date: SEP 12 1961

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The Army's Weak Reed

The Army will have to make out a better case if it expects to prove that Senator McCarthy has compromised national security by quoting from an intelligence document on the Soviet Union. If the pamphlet, *Psychological and Cultural Traits of Soviet Russia*, really had an important bearing on national security, it should have had a higher classification than "restricted."

To say this is not to sympathize with Senator McCarthy's designs. The Senator's charge that the pamphlet in question smacks of "clearcut Communist propaganda" is poppycock. It was intended by the Far Eastern Command as a guide for limited distribution to officers who might have to handle occupation problems in Russia in time of war. Some of the statements seem woolly when quoted out of context, but the document has to be judged by its over-all purpose—to convey an understanding of the feelings and motivations of the Russian people. It also appears that Senator McCarthy carefully refrained from releasing parts of the pamphlet that give it perspective—notably the statement that the average Soviet citizen lives and works almost like a convict.

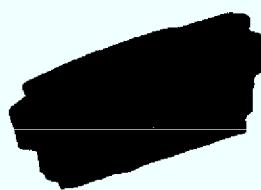
It is also true that the publicity by Senator McCarthy will give the Russians a propaganda sounding board. Like the compromised diary of General Graw, this will lend itself to misrepresentation as proof of American aggressive designs, if it does not encourage Russian neuroses. In this sense, clearly, Senator McCarthy's new search for headlines at the expense of the Army has been injurious.

But the initial fault still was that of the Army. "Restricted" is the lowest security classification; as a practical matter it is often used merely for convenience, and material of this classification is publicized every day. With the wholesale abuse of "secret" and "confidential" classifications, it will be hard to convince anyone that there is vital material in a document marked only "restricted."

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10-10-111 /
CONFIDENTIAL

Date: Sept 17 1961

SEN. McCARTHY VIEWS
WITH ALARM

Sen. McCarthy has turned up so much indisputably useful evidence on Communist penetration of the government that we regret to see him pursuing what looks like a wrong trail. The senator has turned from his discoveries of Communist activity in the government printing office to an investigation of the Army, and there has come upon a restricted pamphlet entitled "Psychological and Cultural Traits of Soviet Siberia."

Only 100 copies of this have been printed and 37 have been circulated, chiefly to staff officers and commanding officers in the Far East. The pamphlet was not intended for general use and was not employed in the orientation of men in the ranks. Its stated purpose is to inform officers about the nature of a possible enemy. In pursuance of this purpose it specifically states that it does not seek "to demonstrate the political injustice and economic tyranny of the Bolshevik government but to illuminate the Russian in his existing habitat."

Mr. McCarthy is not satisfied with the approach and evidently thinks that Russia cannot be discussed properly without resort to condemnation. We suppose that a general officer is expected to have sufficient perspective to abhor the Soviet system and that the authors of the pamphlet thought it superfluous to add denunciation of their own when their simple objective was to offer estimates that might guide a commander in conducting possible operations against a people whose nature and outlook are to some degree unknown.

The senator's principal objection is that the pamphlet does not assert that all people under the Soviet tyranny are opposed to it. The booklet says that if they toe the Kremlin line and do as they are told, they can get by fairly well. They are obliged to trade political and intellectual liberty for totalitarian security, the pamphlet makes clear but this individual impression may not weigh as heavily upon their minds as it would on those of Americans, who have long known and cherished freedom.

We cannot agree with the senator's analysis that this is pro-Soviet propaganda which, if believed, would cause Americans to want to move to Russia.

In war it is well to avoid the mistakes of embracing false assumptions about the enemy. If America and Russia were ever to go to war, it would be an error of the first magnitude to believe that every Russian except the top crust of a couple of million party members was disaffected and would turn on the regime at the first opportunity. If we thought that, we would expect a push-over, and might be greatly disappointed when it failed to materialize.

It is reasonable to assume that some elements of the Soviet population support communism because they are convinced that it is a good thing. Other Russians will certainly stand by their country simply because it is their country and nationalism is a powerful psychological force. Other Russians, again, will be ignorant or apathetic and will stay hitched because it's the easiest thing for them to do. Still other Russians will be cowed by police discipline.

That there is much dissident opinion in Russia, tho largely suppressed and latent, has been established by the reception accorded the advancing German armies in World War II by the Ukrainians and others. Stalin, after the war, wiped five "autonomous" Soviet republics off the map by transporting their populations to forced labor in Siberia because they welcomed the Germans as liberators.

The Germans made a fatal mistake in not accepting these people as allies. Instead, they were brutally treated. If American commanders were ever called upon to lead armies into Russia, it is to be hoped that they would avoid mistakes of equal magnitude. The mistake the Germans made was in rejecting assistance from occupied populations who sincerely wished to make common cause with the invader. The reverse of that mistake would be to expect that every Russian would inevitably flock to the invader's standard.

Col. R. S. Bratton, under whom this Army study was made, is an officer of good reputation who distinguished himself as one of the few men in the War department who acted energetically and with good sense on the eve of Pearl Harbor. He recognized the importance of the intercepted and decoded Japanese secret messages that came into his hands during the 24 hours before the attack and tried to get his superiors to consider them and act upon them. It was not his fault that he failed. We do not believe that this officer, knowingly or unknowingly, would lend himself to propaganda in support of a potentially hostile power.

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Date: *11-11-51*

65-13713-1

REDS DICTATED ARMY'S REPORT, SAYS MCCARTHY

Cites Testimony of Red Aid in London

BY WILLARD EDWARDS

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin announced Saturday that his investigating subcommittee has received testimony supported by documentary evidence that Russian propagandists dictated the form of American Army indoctrination material on communism.

A witness, identified only as a former veteran employee of standing in the Russian foreign office in London, has testified, McCarthy said, that his Soviet superiors gave detailed instructions on the virtues of communism for incorporation in the material for the education of American troops.

The author of the work on communism was described as a Britisher who accepted orders on how to draft it from skilled Soviet propagandists in the Russian foreign office in London.

The result was a work extolling the benefits of Soviet-style communism, McCarthy said. It was adopted by American military authorities and was in use for instruction of American soldiers as late as December, 1952, perhaps later, McCarthy said.

Witness Called to Probe

The witness, described as highly reliable by McCarthy, will testify at a closed session next week to which Army Secretary Stevens has been invited. The precaution of an executive session was taken, McCarthy said, in order to protect the witness and also to avoid charges by the Army that the subcommittee was disclosing restricted material in violation of the law.

The witness presented copies of directives and correspondence to support his testimony, McCarthy disclosed.

The indoctrination material involved in the new testimony, McCarthy said, is distinct from an Army intelligence study of Soviet Russia and its people which he made public this week with the charge that it was clear-cut Communist propaganda.

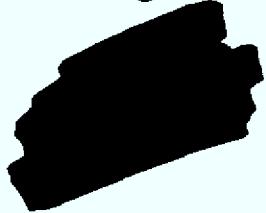
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The Army replied with a charge that McCarthy had violated the law by releasing the document. It denied that the study was Communist propaganda and noted strong criticism of the Soviet system in the report.

Bratton Signed Report

A preamble to this study had been written by Col. R. S. Bratton, a Far East intelligence expert of high repute, now retired. McCarthy said his investigation had developed that Bratton's name was affixed to the document as a matter of routine and that the real author and supervisor was an officer of general rank.

b7C



Times-Herald P. 4

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Herald Tribune _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: _____

ENCLOSURE

45-8215-1

McCathy Revealed Secrets, Army Says

By Murray Marder
Post Reporter

The Army declared yesterday by Russia for propaganda purposes. The report is entitled "Psychological and Cultural Traits of Soviet Siberia," and states it was issued to create an understanding of the situation to be met "in occupied areas" in event of war.

McCarthy countered: "Neither the Army or any other branch of Government is going to hide dishonesty, corruption or communism by putting a 'secret' label on it."

McCarthy insisted the document is "85 percent Communist propaganda."

He contended the document is only a small part of Communist propaganda put out in recent years to educate our military that communism is really a pretty good system."

The Army said the report itself just shows the opposite. In its statement, the Army said: "To understand the mind of the Soviet citizen, it is essential in the thought patterns of the to consider the Communist Soviet citizen is a result of prior propaganda which plays such disclosure."

McCarthy fired back that the Army is employing the same propaganda thus encountered kind of "whitewash" tactics he reflects the views of the United States Army is refuted by a Democratic Administration of reading of the entire document using to "cover past mistakes" and particularly the conclusion

Reporters noted when McCarthy made part of the report public—he said it was all of it that he had—that it was prominently marked, "Restricted—Security Information." At the time he said, jokingly, "I declassified it." The Army said it only declassified the document on Thursday, because of the previous disclosure.

The inside cover of the report bears the statement:

"This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 793 and 794. The transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law."

Violation of that law is punishable by up to \$10,000 fine and 10 years imprisonment.

McCarthy released the document in his role as chairman of the Senate Investigating Subcommittee. Prosecution of a congressman in such a case would probably be unprecedented. The Army in its statement yesterday made no reference to McCarthy by name.

Army concern over release of the document is very likely due in part to its possible distortion who has denied the charge.

Tolson _____
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Winterrowd _____
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Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

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Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Mirror

Date: Sept 1 1954

65-15161
ENCLOSURE

MCCARTHY USE OF RESTRICTED DATA CHARGED

**Senator Sees Attempt
To Hide Communism**

BY JOSEPH HEARST

The Army Friday charged Sen. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin disclosed restricted material in violation of the law and the senator countered with the assertion that the Army "cannot hide dishonest, corruption or communism behind any stamp of secrecy."

The row between McCarthy and the Army revolved around the senator's disclosure to reporters Wednesday of an intelligence report on the "psychological and cultural traits of Soviet Siberia." In showing reporters photostatic copies of the pages of the pamphlet, McCarthy asserted it was "clear cut Communist propaganda."

Friday the Army released the full text of the pamphlet. It said it had been declassified Thursday and then only "as a result of prior disclosure."

The Army, in a strong statement which did not mention McCarthy by name, said that if the senator had shown reporters the full text of the pamphlet it would have been clear that the intelligence study was not Communist propaganda. McCarthy told reporters he did not have the concluding pages of the study when he made it public.

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Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

Passage Quoted

The Army said the purpose of the study was clearly set forth in the preamble, which said its purpose was "to develop an understanding of the Soviet people which will be militarily useful in case of war." The concluding pages included this passage:

"The American viewpoint remains valid in all essentials. The Soviet citizen enjoys neither the liberty nor the civil right which we cherish and insist upon as a natural endowment of all men. The 'free' worker in the Soviet Union is as much chained to his job and local area as is the convict. He has no voice in determining his place of work, working conditions or wage."

"His only advantage over the convict is that he can live with his family and can spend his limited income as he sees fit. He has no redress against a harsh totalitarian government. He is forbidden to raise his voice in criticism, to develop independent views or to acquire unbiased information. His voting rights are a travesty on the ideals and purposes of democracy."

Distribution Limited

"He enjoys no acknowledged rights for his person, life or property. He is the helpless prisoner of a slave state. As was noted previously, such an existence would be intolerable to Americans. American traditions and beliefs militate against every facet of government activity in the U.S.S.R."

"British and American Com-

Times-Herald _____
Wash. Post _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N.Y. Herald Tribune _____
N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: SEP 19 1953

100-9742

5-3-54/1

Communist sympathizers who visit the U.S.S.R. nearly always return in bitter disillusionment. There is no better antidote for radicalism."

The Army said 100 copies of the pamphlet were printed and original distribution was limited to 40 copies. It said 27 copies were sent to sub commands of the Far East command and 13 to the Department of the Army and Pacific commands outside the Far East command. The pamphlet was prepared in Japan Col. R. S. Bratton, now retired and living in Honolulu, wrote the preamble. He was then deputy intelligence officer to Gen. Ridgway.

The Army statement said it is obvious that officers and men must understand the thought processes of Russians and that to accomplish this it "is essential to consider the Communist propaganda which plays such an important role in shaping that mind."

McCarthy said the document he made public is "just a small sample of Communist propaganda put out over the past five or 15 years to educate members of our military into think-

ing communism was pretty good system."

He also said that "if they are putting out Communist propaganda, they can't keep it from the public by stamping it secret or restricted and calling it an indoctrination course," he said.

McCarthy said that unfortunately the Army is doing today what it did under the Truman administration.

The senator said he thinks there has "been a more healthy attitude" at the Pentagon since President Eisenhower was elected, "but unfortunately some of the political holdovers from the old order down there still think they must whitewash those unusual activities."

See editorial on page 6.

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Miss Gandy _____

Army Asserts McCarthy Handed Out Secret Data

By The United Press

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11.—The Army said today that Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R., Wis., showed reporters a military pamphlet on Soviet Siberia while it still carried a "restricted" label and was subject to espionage laws.

The Army also denied Sen. McCarthy's charge that the document, which has now been declassified, was "clear-cut Communist propaganda." It said any such conclusion "is refuted" in a portion of the study that the senator did not make public.

Sen. McCarthy promptly accused the Army of trying to "whitewash and cover past mistakes" of Democratic administrations. He said the document is "95 per cent Communist propaganda," but "whenever they're called to task, they call attention to the part which rightly condemns communism."

He said this was the practice "under the old Truman administration" and "the pattern is the same" although the Pentagon's attitude is "much better since Eisenhower took over."

He said the document in question was "only a small part of the Communist propaganda used over the past five, ten, fifteen years to educate the mil-

tary in the idea that communism really is a pretty good system."

He accused "political people" in the Pentagon of trying to "cover up past mistakes" and said his Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee has received "less co-operation from the military than from any other agency."

The Army's carefully worded answer to Sen. McCarthy was issued after day-long discussions Thursday that reached all the way up to Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens.

Earlier this week, Secretary Stevens had agreed, after a conference with Sen. McCarthy,

Continued on page 4, column 2

Times-Herald _____
Wash. Post _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N.Y. Herald Tribune _____
N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: Sept. 11

McCarthy

(Continued from page one)

to see whether the Army should give the Senator names of persons who gave security clearance to two civilian workers accused of being Communists.

The report on Siberia was prepared by the intelligence section of the Far East Command in Jan., 1952. The preamble said its purpose was "to develop an understanding of the Soviet people which will be militarily useful in case of war."

Sen. McCarthy displayed photostatic copies last Wednesday and told reporters the document "extolled all the virtues of Communism, with an occasional slap on the wrist." He demanded to know who wrote it and who was responsible for its distribution.

Classified as Secret

The Army said the document at the time was still classified "restricted — security information." This classification was removed Thursday because of "prior disclosure," it said.

On the inside cover was a legend in large letters which said: "This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the Espionage Laws Title 18 U. S. Code Section 793 and 794. The transmission or revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law."

Violation of the law calls for a maximum penalty of ten years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine. It is considered unlikely, however, that a charge of violating the law would be pressed against a member of Congress under such circumstances.

In challenging Sen. McCarthy's interpretation, the Army called attention to the conclusion at the end of the report which compared the Russian to that

of a convict and said the Russian is "the helpless prisoner of a slave state."

The Army said only 100 copies of the document, entitled "Psychological and Cultural Traits of Soviet Siberia," were printed. It said the purpose of the study was "clearly set forth" in the preamble, which contained the observation:

"Sound military planning requires a complete, factual estimate of popular attitudes and of the people and soldiers on whom the enemy power will base his war effort."

The Army added in its statement: "To understand the mind of the Soviet citizen it is essential to consider the Communist propaganda which plays such an important role in shaping that mind. Any conclusion that propaganda thus encountered reflects the views of the United States Army is refuted by a reading of the entire document and particularly the conclusion of the study."

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: Sept. 16, 1953

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

POLITICAL INFORMATION

Tolson
Ladd
Belmont
Leib
Loeb
Gandy
Holloman
Sims
Miss Gandy

(C) [REDACTED] in the office of Senator McCarthy telephoned on September 15, 1953, and talked to [REDACTED]. He stated that Senator McCarthy believes the Army [REDACTED] is playing "cagey" on the matter of the psychological warfare publication on life [REDACTED] in Siberia. [REDACTED] stated information he has is that the Senator intends to go more fully into the matter of the publication and its authority next Thursday when Secretary of the Army Stevens appears before the Committee. The Senator feels that the Army may be tempted to invoke the Truman Doctrine and refuse to furnish any information, but the Senator has quite a bit of information about the pamphlet and the circumstances under which it was written, as well as about [REDACTED] who, according to the most recent information [REDACTED] has, is assigned to the ROTC District Three, Columbia, Missouri.

This [REDACTED] is approximately in his middle 30's, served in Korea and is known by other officers by the name [REDACTED]. According to [REDACTED] the Senator has information that [REDACTED] volunteered to prepare a pamphlet on Siberia for the use and information of G-2 officers. He had no personal knowledge of life in Siberia, but had received his information from research in Intelligence reports, reference books and interrogations of Japanese prisoners who had returned from confinement in Siberia. Apart from the fact that [REDACTED] was known as the [REDACTED] said he had no derogatory information about him and wondered if it would be possible for the Bureau to furnish him any information about [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] advised that either in 1952 or 1953, during the month of May, Congressman Kersten sent a letter to [REDACTED] a civilian employee of G-2, about [REDACTED] and the publication. [REDACTED] told Congressman Kersten that the pamphlet was prepared for the information and use of Intelligence officers and was not to be used for the indoctrination of troops. [REDACTED] said if the Army attempts to back out on [REDACTED] the Senator intends to give them a very hard time.

[REDACTED] told [REDACTED] he would check to see whether we had any information and whether there was any way we could be of assistance.

Files were checked and it was not possible to identify [REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

RECORDED-125

INDEXED-125

SEP 25 1953

That [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] that on the basis of available facts the Bureau has no derogatory information which can be identified with the subject of his inquiry.

cc - Mr. Ladd

cc - Mr. Belmont

62 OCT 5 1953

Done 9/16/53
8PM
9/16 6P.M.
[REDACTED]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

A. H. BELMONT (APR 7)

DATE:

September 17, 1953

FROM :

V. F. (KGP) ✓

SUBJECT:

McCARTHY INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEE;
SECRETARY OF THE ARMY STEVENS
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Briscoe
Clegg
Gleason
Harbo
Reese
Tracey
Gandy
Mohr
Witersroad
Tele. Room
Holmes
Sims
McGinnis

b7c) [REDACTED] of G-2 advised liaison agent [REDACTED] that Senator McCarthy when he had lunch with Secretary of the Army Stevens had informed him that he had a witness who was ready to testify that a document had been published by the Department of the Army at the instigation of the Soviets through their London office. He advised Mr. Stevens that this document had been published before Mr. Stevens took office but that he would advise Mr. Stevens the time and place when this witness will be called so that Mr. Stevens, or someone designated by him, could attend the hearing. Mr. Stevens stated that he intended to be present personally.

[REDACTED] stated that they were on the spot in that they were trying to determine the title of the document so that they would be in a position to defend themselves. He inquired of [REDACTED] whether he could recall any controversial document which might fit this category. [REDACTED] advised him that he could not, after checking with the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. The above is for your information.

b7c [REDACTED]

7-100000

INDEXED

125-6246-3
21 SEP 24 1953

We do not want to become involved in this.

A

Noted 4/22/58

52 OCT 8 1953

b7c [REDACTED]

SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Gleavin _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Gearty _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Waterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Mr. Sizoo _____
 Miss Gandy _____

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(SIBERIA)

SEN. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY ACCUSED THE ARMY OF DISTRIBUTING "CLEARCUT ALL OUT COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA" IN THE FORM OF A STUDY OF RUSSIANS IN SIBERIA.

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN SHOWED A PHOTOSTATIC COPY OF THE DOCUMENT TO REPORTERS AND SAID, "IF YOU READ THIS OVER AND BELIEVED IT, YOU'D MOVE TO RUSSIA." HE DESCRIBED IT AS "CLEARLY A PROPAGANDA SHEET" AND ONE OF THE BEST HE HAD SEEN "IN SOME TIME."

THE RESTRICTED DOCUMENT, ENTITLED "PHYSIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL TRAITS OF SOVIET SIBERIA," WAS ISSUED IN JANUARY, 1952, BY THE ARMY FAR EAST COMMAND GENERAL STAFF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION. ACCORDING TO THE PHOTOSTAT OF THE DISTRIBUTION LIST, 100 COPIES WENT TO 37 TOP COMMANDS.

A PREAMBLE SIGNED BY COL. R. S. BRATTON, SAID THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY WAS TO "DEVELOP AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE WHICH WILL BE MILITARILY USEFUL IN CASE OF WAR." McCARTHY SAID HE WOULD CALL BRATTON BEFORE HIS SENATE PERMANENT INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE FOR QUESTIONING.

THE PREAMBLE SAID THAT WAR WITH RUSSIA WOULD REQUIRE "REALISTIC INSIGHT" INTO SOVIET ATTITUDES. IT POINTED OUT THAT THE RUSSIAN SOLDIER AND CIVILIAN ARE "FULLY ACCLIMATED TO SOVIET DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL" AND HAVE "NEVER KNOWN FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, PRESS OR SPEECH." IT ADDED: "THE PROBLEM HERE IS NOT TO DEMONSTRATE THE POLITICAL INJUSTICE AND ECONOMIC TYRANNY OF THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT BUT TO ILLUMINATE THE RUSSIAN IN HIS EXISTING HABITAT."

MCCARTHY POINTED OUT THAT A BOOK BY WRITER CORLISS LAMONT, WHO WAS NAMED AS A COMMUNIST BY MRS. HEDIE MASSING, WAS LISTED AS ONE OF THE SOURCES FOR THE ARMY DOCUMENTS. LAMONT HAS DENIED MRS. MASSING'S ACCUSATIONS.

MCCARTHY SAID HE HAD NEVER READ THE LAMONT BOOK, "PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION," PUBLISHED IN 1948. BUT THAT HIS STAFF FOUND MUCH OF THE ARMY DOCUMENT--WHICH WAS NOT FOOT-NOTED--WAS QUOTED VERBATIM FROM IT.

HE CHARACTERIZED THE DOCUMENT AS "EXTOLLING ALL THE VIRTUES OF COMMUNISM, WITH AN OCCASIONAL SLAP ON THE WRIST." HE SAID HE WILL TRY TO FIND OUT WHO PREPARED IT AND WHO APPROVED IT.

MCCARTHY READ EXCERPTS FROM THE PAMPHLET TO REPORTERS TO BEAR OUT HIS CLAIM THAT IT WAS "COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA." HE INCLUDED THESE:

"THE COMMUNIST REGIME HAS PROFOUNDLY ALTERED THE STATUS OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE SOVIET POPULATION. THE 'TOILER' WAS ELEVATED TO THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF RESPECTABILITY... 101 SEP 28 1953

"THE ATTITUDE (IN RUSSIA) IS SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO THAT PREVAILING IN THE U.S. ARMY, WHERE THE OFFICERS EXPECTED TO LIVE UP TO A MUCH-HIGHER CODE OF SERVICE, DUTY AND CONDUCT THAN THE SOLDIER..."

"IN SUMMARY, THERE IS A HIGH DEGREE OF SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE SOVIET UNION, AS COMPARED TO THE MORE STABLE SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, OR, TO A SMALLER EXTENT, THE UNITED STATES." file b7C

100-2000-202

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

9/9--N637P

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Gearty _____
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Mr. Winterrowd _____
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Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Miss Gandy _____

ADD SIBERIA (637P)
THE ARMY DECLINED IMMEDIATE COMMENT. A SPOKESMAN SAID HE WOULD HAVE
TO GET A COPY OF THE DOCUMENT AND LOOK INTO THE MATTER. HE ALSO SAID
BRATTON IS NOW RETIRED.

9/9--N652P

X
Will Author Meet Critic?

McCarthy Frets Over Army Book

By United Press

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) today demanded the Army identify the author of a classified military report on Soviet Siberia which he described as "clear-cut communist propaganda."

He said his Senate permanent investigating sub-committee is determined to pin down responsibility for the document, entitled "Psychological and Cultural Traits of Soviet Siberia."

Photostatic copies which Sen. McCarthy displayed to reporters showed the report was issued by the military intelligence section of the Far East command in Tokio in January, 1952. A distribution note on the document said 100 copies were printed and sent to 37 top commands in the Far East.

THE PURPOSE

A preamble signed by Col. R. S. Bratton said the purpose of the intelligence study was to "develop an understanding of the Soviet people which will be militarily useful in case of war." It noted the freedoms which Americans enjoy are repressed in the Soviet Union, but said:

"The problem here is not to demonstrate the political injustice and economic tyranny of the Bolshevik government but to illuminate the Russian in his native habitat."

IVAN'S MORALE

In event of war with Russia the Colonel wrote, "it will be the Allied goal to defeat the Soviet armed forces, to undermine the influence and control of the Soviet government, and to establish effective leadership in occupied areas . . ."

The report, considering the morale factor of the average Russian, stated the position of the Communist Party member in Russian society was

"more priest than ruler"; that Siberia was a land of abundant opportunity to the skilled worker who, while not even understanding the freedom his American counterpart enjoys, was not worried about "losing his job" and who—if a loyal Russian—wasn't bothered by the secret police and felt a certain security in being a cog in a labor camp.

MCCARTHY ALARMED

Sen. McCarthy construed the document as a Red attempt "to indoctrinate our Army" and as extolling "all the virtues of communism with a slap on the wrist now and then for the Soviet government."

The Army didn't comment on Sen. McCarthy's views.

Sen. McCarthy said he has ordered his aides to locate Col. Bratton and call him before the sub-committee for questioning.

The Army said Col. Bratton is now retired and his address was not immediately available.

Sen. McCarthy was particularly concerned that a book by Corliss Lamont, wealthy left-wing writer, was cited as a source for the Army pamphlet. He said he had not read Mr. Lamont's book, "Peoples of the Soviet Union," but that his staff told him much of the Army document was taken verbatim from it.

McCarthy Cleared on One Charge

Contributors to Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's anti-communist war chest appear to be "perfectly satisfied" with the way he has used their funds, Justice Department sources said today.

They said an eight-month investigation by the department's criminal division has failed to uncover any disgruntled contributors who might be called as "complaining witnesses" before a grand jury.

As a result, lower-echelon Government attorneys in charge of the investigation have tentatively concluded the Wisconsin Republican should be given a clean bill on one of the "questions" about his personal finances which a Senate elections sub-committee raised last January.

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191 SER 28 1953

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Mirror

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Harbo _____
Rosen _____
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Gearty _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____



Sen. Joe

1 SEP 30 1953

b7C
165-6-61-1
SEP 10 1953

Date:

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 Ladd ✓
 Nichols ✓
 Belmont ✓
 Clegg _____
 Glavin _____
 Harbo _____
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 Tracy _____
 Gearty _____
 Mohr _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

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McCARTHY BARED SECRETS, ARMY CHARGES

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| Wash. Post | _____ |
| Wash. News | _____ |
| Wash. Star | ✓ |
| N.Y. Herald Tribune | _____ |
| N.Y. Mirror | _____ |

NO. 14-A
 191 OCT 2 1953

file 5 b7C

Date: Oct 11 1953

6 OCT 5 1953

Security Law Violation Laid To Senator

Document Contained Red Propaganda, Legislator Retorts

The Army today charged Senator McCarthy with disclosing restricted security information in violation of espionage laws, but the Wisconsin Republican fired right back with a blast of his own.

ARMY spokesmen made their charge against Senator McCarthy in releasing the full text of an intelligence study on the "psychological and cultured traits of Soviet Siberia" made in January, 1952 by the Far East Command. Senator McCarthy yesterday made public portions of the document, calling it "the best Communist propaganda I've seen in a long time."

Inside the cover of the document these words appear: "This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 793 and 794. The transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law."

Marked Restricted.

The study was marked "Restricted—Security Information." "Restricted" is the lowest of several secrecy classifications employed by the military services.

The Army said that it was declassifying the document from its restricted status now, but emphasized that this was done only "as a result of prior disclosure."

Senator McCarthy sharply brushed aside the charge that he had violated security in releasing the document. He said his Senate Investigations subcommittee has received "less cooperation from the military in digging out Communists than from any other branch of the Government.

"Neither the Army nor any one else," the Senator added, "can hide dishonesty, corruption and communism behind any stamp of secrecy."

"If we find they are putting out Communist propaganda, they can't keep it secret by stamping it restricted and using it in indoctrination courses."

Army Hits Back.

But the Army, in its strongly-worded statement, hit out at Senator McCarthy's contention that its intelligence study was a piece of Communist propaganda. The Army said that if the chairman of the Senate Investigations subcommittee had released the full report—particularly its conclusion—instead of only the first 70 pages, the true purpose of the document would have been plain.

"The purpose of this study is clearly set forth in the following extract from its preamble: 'To develop an understanding of the Soviet people which will be militarily useful in case of war,'" the Army said.

The parts of the report which offended Senator McCarthy, it was explained, were designed to describe the attitude of the Soviet citizen.

"It is obvious that the necessary instruction of officers and men in this field cannot proceed without attempting to enter the mind and thought processes of the Russian citizen," the Department said. "To understand the mind of the Soviet citizen, it is essential to consider the Communist propaganda role it plays such an important part in."

In that mind portion of the concluding (See DT, Page A-6.)

McCARTY

McCarthy

(Continued From First Page)

Document ignored by Senator McCarthy, to which the Army called particular attention, was as follows:

"The American viewpoint of communist sympathizers who visit life in the Soviet Union remains the U.S.S.R. nearly always revealed in all essentials. The Soviet citizen enjoys neither the liberty nor the civil rights which we cherish and insist upon as a natural endowment of all men. The 'free worker in the Soviet

Union is as much chained to his agenda" and about 5 per cent ~~for a~~ total area as is the convict. He has no voice in determining the place of work, working conditions or wage.

"His only advantage over the convict is that he can live with his family and can spend his limited income as he sees fit. He has no redress against a harsh authoritarian government. He is forbidden to raise his voice in criticism to develop independent views or to acquire unbiased information. His voting rights are a travesty on the ideals and purposes of democracy. He enjoys no acknowledged rights for his person, life or property. He is the helpless prisoner of a slave state." As was noted previously, such an existence would be intolerable to Americans. American traditions and beliefs militate against every facet of government activity in the U.S.S.R.

"British and American Communists sympathizers who visit the U.S.S.R. nearly always reveal in all essentials. The Soviet turn in bitter disillusionment. There is no better antidote for radicalism."

Senator McCarthy's answer was that the Army document

Department testified that the United Nations afforded "a very nice ground" for Communist activity.

When called to task, the Army cites the small 5 per cent,

the Senator said.

He said he had found, unfortunately, the Army today is doing "what they did under the old Truman administration." He said that while there is a better attitude since President Eisenhower took office, "the political carry-overs are still functioning to cover up, protect and whitewash."

Urge Full Scale Probe.

He said he thought there should be a full scale investigation of the matter and said he would place it before his subcommittee for a decision.

As his battle with the Army raged on, Senator McCarthy announced a series of hearings starting Monday in New York to look into employment of American Communists in the United Nations.

He made the announcement after a former Communist Party functionary, John Lautner, 51, now an employee of the Justice

Department, testified that the United Nations afforded "a very nice ground" for Communist activity.

Mr. Lautner named one "American Communist" employed by the U.N. as Noel Remes. The subcommittee members said Mr. Remes had not been identified in any previous hearings as being a Communist.

Mr. Lautner said that Mr. Remes, a member of the Polish staff at the U.N., had been a high official of the Communist Party for a number of years and was an assistant editor of the party's publication "Political Affairs."

Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Ladd
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Clegg
 Mr. Glavin
 Mr. Harbo
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tracy
 Mr. Gearty
 Mr. Mohr
 Mr. Winterrowd
 Tele. Room
 Mr. Holloman
 Mr. Sizoo
 Miss Gandy

ALL Disclosure of Classified

Information by Senator Joseph McCarthy

[REDACTED]

ADD 2 SIBERIA

THE ARMY SAID ONLY 100 COPIES OF THE DOCUMENT, ENTITLED "PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL TRAITS OF SOVIET SIBERIA," WERE REPRODUCED.

THE ARMY SAID ITS DISTRIBUTION WAS ORIGINALLY LIMITED TO 40 COPIES, WITH 60 COPIES BEING HELD "IN RESERVE." TWENTY-SEVEN COPIES WERE DISTRIBUTED TO SUBCOMMANDS OF THE FAR EAST COMMAND, THE ARMY SAID, AND THE REMAINING 13 COPIES WERE SENT TO THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY AND TO PACIFIC COMMANDS OUTSIDE THE FAR EAST COMMAND.

THE ARMY SAID THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY "IS CLEARLY SET FORTH, IN THE FOLLOWING EXTRACTS FROM ITS PREAMBLE:

"IT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY TO DEVELOP AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE WHICH WILL BE MILITARILY USEFUL IN CASE OF WAR....THESE AIMS REQUIRE A REALISTIC INSIGHT INTO THE ATTITUDES, REACTION PATTERNS AND SOCIAL TENDENCIES OF THE SOVIET CITIZEN. HE HAS NEVER KNOWN FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, SPEECH, OR PRESS. HE HAS LITTLE UNDERSTANDING OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY, FREE POPULAR ELECTIONS OR DUE PROCESS OF LAW.

"THE PROBLEM HERE IS NOT TO DEMONSTRATE THE POLITICAL INJUSTICE AND ECONOMIC TYRANNY OF THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT BUT TO ILLUMINE THE RUSSIAN IN HIS EXISTING SOVIET HABITAT....SOUND MILITARY PLANNING REQUIRES A COMPLETE, FACTUAL ESTIMATE OF POPULAR ATTITUDES AND OF THE PEOPLE AND SOLDIERS ON WHOM THE ENEMY POWER WILL BASE HIS WAR EFFORT."

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Miss Gandy _____

ADD 3 LIBERIA

THE ARMY SAID THAT "TO UNDERSTAND THE MIND OF THE SOVIET CITIZEN IT IS ESSENTIAL TO CONSIDER THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA WHICH PLAYS SUCH AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SHAPING THAT MIND. ANY CONCLUSION THAT PROPAGANDA THUS ENCOUNTERED REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY IS REFUTED BY A READING OF THE ENTIRE DOCUMENT AND PARTICULARLY THE CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY."

THE ARMY STATEMENT THEN QUOTED FROM THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE DOCUMENT'S CONCLUSION WHICH COMPARED THE SOVIET CITIZEN'S LIFE WITH THAT OF A CONVICT.

THE CONCLUSION ALSO SAID "HE HAS NO VOICE IN DETERMINING HIS PLACE OF WORK, WORKING CONDITIONS OR WAGES....HE HAS NO REDRESS AGAINST A HARSH, AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENT...HIS VOTING RIGHTS ARE A TRAVESTY ON THE IDEALS AND PURPOSES OF DEMOCRACY...HE IS THE HELPLESS PRISONER OF A SLAVE STATE."

9/11--KB1156A

10

David Lawrence—

Did McCarthy Break the Law?

No Violation Seen in Senator's Release to Reporters Of Document Marked 'Restricted' by the Army

Sometimes, in the hurry and pressure under which news is distributed nowadays, there isn't time to look up basic law or constitutional precedents and an entirely erroneous impression is unintentionally created.

Thus, from one end of the country to the other a few days ago went dispatches implying that Senator McCarthy had violated some law when he gave to reporters a document which had been marked "restricted" or "classified information" by the Army. One editorial in an Eastern newspaper went so far as to cry out that the Wisconsin Senator had "ignored the law that he was not 'above the law,'" and so on.

Actually, if the Senator violated any law by publishing the document which the Army had distributed to 100 officers so that they might study the meaning of Communist philosophy, so did the newspapers and press associations which printed what he gave them.

The truth is no law was violated in either case. For there is no statute which forbids disclosure or publication of a Government document just because somebody in the Army or the Navy or the Air Force happens to mark it as "classified." A thousand executive orders may be issued by a President ordering Government personnel to keep things secret, and Government employees can be punished for violating them, but this cannot affect any citizen outside the

Government who is the recipient of the information.

It so happens that in this case the Army officers were told to study certain phases of communism as an orientation course, and most of the material was taken from published books. The Army could have also taken a translation of the Koran, the Mohammedan bible, distributed copies of it and marked it "classified." No such arbitrary marking of information, however, can in any way restrain a newspaper or periodical from publishing the contents of such documents as are labeled "classified" if they can get hold of them.

The existing law says a crime is committed if any one in the Government "knowingly and wilfully communicates, furnishes, transmits, or otherwise makes available to an unauthorized person, or publishes" any "classified information" about the code or cipher system of the United States.

When the foregoing law was up for passage, members of the press pointed out the dangers of a peacetime censorship law and succeeded in narrowing the language to code communication.

It may be questioned whether a peacetime censorship law would be held constitutional. It is interesting also to note that, even in the case of "classified information" relating to codes, there is a paragraph which says that "nothing in this section shall prohibit the furnishing, upon lawful demand, of information to any regularly constituted

committee of the Senate or the House of Representatives of the United States of America, or joint committee thereof."

Perhaps the most significant case that got to the courts occurred when Hugo Black, then a Democratic Senator from Alabama, conducted his famous committee investigation in 1935 on the subject of lobbying. Private messages between an editor and his associates were unlawfully seized from a telegraph office and disclosed by the Federal Communications Commission to an investigator for the committee. But the United States Circuit Court of Appeals held—and the case was never reversed by the Supreme Court—that, even though the information was obtained improperly, the data could be used by the committee. The court said that "the universal rule, so far as we know it, is that the legislative discretion in the discharge of its constitutional functions, whether rightfully or wrongfully exercised, is not a subject for judicial interference."

Senator Black evidently didn't suffer for his action because, two years later, he was elevated to the Supreme Court. Now this correspondent isn't advocating that Senator McCarthy be given a place on the Federal bench, as was once facetiously mentioned in these dispatches, but merely points out that the Wisconsin Senator may look upon the 1935 precedent as his justification in parallel circumstances for using whatever information he gathers.

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✓ Tracy
✓ Gearty
✓ Mohr
✓ Winterrowd
✓ Tele. Room
✓ Holloman
✓ Miss Gandy

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Alleged Disclosure

& Classified

Information by

Senator Joseph McCarthy

165-62092-1

NOT RECORDED

191 SEP 28 1953

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Mirror

16 SEP 1 1953

Date: SEP 15 1953

Poor discussion of the law or issue
See Section 793(e)

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5 SEP 30 1953

JULY 5 b7C

Release of Army Document By McCarthy Held Lawful

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 14.—willfully communicates, furnishes, transmits, or otherwise makes available to an unauthorized person, or publishes" any "classified information" about the code or cipher system of the United States.

Sometimes, in the hurry and pressure under which news is distributed nowadays, there isn't time to look up basic law or constitutional precedents, and an entirely erroneous impression is unintentionally created.

Thus, from one end of the country to the other a few days ago went dispatches implying that Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin Republican, had violated some law when he gave to reporters a document which had been marked "restricted" or "classified information" by the Army. One editorial in an Eastern newspaper went so far as to cry out that the Wisconsin Senator had "ignored" the law, that he was not "above the law," and so on.

Actually, if the Wisconsin Senator violated any law by publishing the document which the Army had distributed to 100 officers so that they might study the meaning of Communist philosophy, so did the newspapers and press associations which printed what he gave them.

Private Citizens Apart

The truth is no law was violated in either case. For there is no statute which forbids disclosure or publication of a government document just because somebody in the Army or the Navy or the Air Force happens to mark it as "classified." A thousand executive orders may be issued by a President ordering government personnel to keep things secret, and government employees can be punished for violating them, but this cannot affect any citizen outside the government who is the recipient of the information.

It so happens that in this case the Army officers were told to study certain phases of communism as an orientation course, and most of the material was taken from published books. The Army could have also taken a translation of the Koran, the Mohammedan Bible, distributed copies of it and market it "classified." No such arbitrary marking of information, however, can in any way restrain a newspaper or periodical from publishing the contents of such documents as are labeled "classified" if they can get hold of them.

The existing law says a crime is committed if any one in the government "knowingly and overwise"

willfully communicates, furnishes, transmits, or otherwise makes available to an unauthorized person, or publishes" any "classified information" about the code or cipher system of the United States.

When the foregoing law was up for passage, members of the press pointed out the dangers of a peace-time censorship law and succeeded in narrowing the language to code communication.

It may be questioned whether a peace-time censorship law would be held constitutional. It is interesting also to note that, even in the case of "classified information" relating to codes, there is a paragraph which says that "nothing in this section shall prohibit the furnishing, upon lawful demand, of information to any regularly constituted committee of the Senate or the House of Representatives of the United States of America, or joint committee thereof."

Black Inquiry Cited

Perhaps the most significant case that got to the courts occurred when Hugo Black, then a Democratic Senator from Alabama, conducted his famous committee investigation in 1935 on the subject of "lobbying." Private messages between an editor and his associates were unlawfully seized from a telegraph office and disclosed by the Federal Communications Commission to an investigator for the committee. But the United States Circuit Court of Appeals held—and the case was never reversed by the Supreme Court—that, even though the information was obtained improperly, the data could be used by the committee. The court said that "the universal rule, so far as we know it, is that the legislative discretion in the discharge of its constitutional functions, whether rightfully or wrongfully exercised, is not a subject for judicial interference."

Sen. Black evidently didn't suffer for his action because, two years later, he was elevated to the Supreme Court. Now this correspondent isn't advocating that Sen. McCarthy be given a place on the Federal bench, as was once facetiously mentioned in these dispatches, but merely points out that the Wisconsin Senator may look upon the 1935 precedent as his justification in parallel circumstances for using whatever information he gathers.

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SEP 15 1953
Date:

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The existing law says a crime is committed if any one in the government "knowingly and overwise"

McCarthy Convinced Reds Infiltrate All Federal Departments

By the Associated Press

NEW YORK, Sept. 16.—Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin conferred three hours today with Secretary of the Army Stevens and said afterward he is convinced there is a "complete tie-in in Communist infiltration in Government departments."

Senator McCarthy is chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee holding closed hearings in New York on possible Communist influences in the armed services and on communism among Americans employed by the United Nations.

Senator McCarthy told newsmen he was sure that Mr. Stevens "is just as eager to clear out any subversive influences in the Army as we are, and I am firmly convinced he will be fully co-operative and wants to clean out of the department any improper individuals."

Senator McCarthy said Mr. Stevens had ordered the suspension of Mrs. Doris Walters Powell, an Army quartermaster employee here, because of alleged Communist affiliations.

Example of Sincerity.

"This woman's suspension is a strong indication of the fact that the Secretary of the Army was sincere in saying that he would co-operate to the fullest extent to get rid of Communist employees in the Army," Senator McCarthy said.

A member of the Senator's staff learned of the suspension through a telephone conversation with Mrs. Powell this morning. He quoted her as saying she had been suspended last week.

Senator McCarthy said Mrs. Powell told the subcommittee previously that she once held a Communist party card but did not consider herself a Communist.

When the subcommittee conducted hearings here several weeks ago it attempted unsuccessfully to obtain names of persons who cleared alleged Communists for Army civilian jobs.

Chat for Three Hours.

The Senator said that in a three-hour breakfast session with Mr. Stevens at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel he gave the Secretary a complete report on "what we are working on in his department" and that a liaison system between the two had been established.

"I still feel strongly that we should get the names of persons who gave loyalty clearances to Communists employed in the Army, as it is more important to get those who cleared Communists than to get a Communist himself," Senator McCarthy said.

"I am convinced that there is a complete tie-in in Communist infiltration in every Government department. It is all part of the conspiracy. While at times it can't be seen on the surface, there is always that inescapable tie-in."

Senator McCarthy said earlier he was seeking aid from Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., to get the United Nations to oust an official who, Senator McCarthy says, has aided Communism.

The Senator conferred with Mr. Lodge at a luncheon yesterday.

*Alleged Disclosure of
Misclassified Information by
Senator Joseph McCarthy*

165-62092-A

NOT RECORDED,
191 SET 28 1953

Times-Herald

Wash. Post

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N.Y. Herald Tribune

N.Y. Mirror

Date: SEP 16 1953

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Mr. F. D. Roosevelt Ch. 33: 1

... by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

(MCCARTHY)

A FORMER RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICER WHO DESERTED THE SOVIET IN WORLD WAR II SAID TODAY A U.S. ARMY INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENT GAVE A FALSE AND "DANGEROUSLY" ROSY PICTURE OF LIFE IN RUSSIA.

THE RUSSIAN REFUGEE, IGOR BOGELEPOV, TOLD THE SENATE INVESTIGATING SUBCOMMITTEE THAT "THE WORD 'UNTRUE' IS TOO MILD" TO DESCRIBE THE INFORMATION IN AN ARMY DOCUMENT ON THE CULTURE AND PSYCHOLOGY OF RUSSIANS IN SIBERIA.

THE DOCUMENT WAS THE SAME ONE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R-WIS.) MADE PUBLIC EARLIER THIS MONTH. IT WAS CLASSIFIED AS "RESTRICTED" AND ARMY SPOKESMEN SAID MCCARTHY VIOLATED LAW BY DIVULGING THE MATERIAL.

THE ARMY SPOKESMEN DENIED IT WAS RED PROPAGANDA. BOGELEPOV AGREED WITH MCCARTHY THAT MUCH OF THE DOCUMENT WAS "PRACTICALLY WORD FOR WORD" TAKEN FROM THE "SOVIET BIBLE"--THE LATE JOSEPH STALIN'S BOOK ON "THE PROBLEMS OF LENIN."

9/28--EG12N

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ADD 1 MCCARTHY (12N)

BOGOLEPOV SAID THAT THE AUTHORS OF THE INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENT HAD ALLEN FOR COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. CORLISS LAMONT, LEFT-WING NEW YORK AUTHOR, WAS LISTED AS THE SOURCE FOR SOME OF THE MATERIAL. AFTER A PRIVATE SESSION WITH LAMONT LAST WEEK MCCARTHY SAID HE WOULD ASK THE FULL SUBCOMMITTEE TO CITE HIM FOR CONTEMPT FOR REFUSING TO ANSWER HIS QUESTIONS. LAMONT DENIED HE WAS A COMMUNIST BUT CHALLENGED THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S RIGHT TO QUESTION HIM. A GROUP OF ARMY OFFICERS--HEADED BY MAJ. GEN. RICHARD PARTRIDGE, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF FOR INTELLIGENCE--ATTENDED THE HEARING. WHEN MCCARTHY FIRST MADE PUBLIC THE SIBERIA DOCUMENT HE DENOUNCED IT AS "95 PERCENT COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA." MCCARTHY SAT TODAY AS A ONE-MAN SUBCOMMITTEE. HE SAID HE HAD INVITED LAMONT TO APPEAR AND "PURGE" HIMSELF OF CONTEMPT BY TESTIFYING. LAMONT WAS NOT PRESENT. AFTER A PAUSE, MCCARTHY SAID JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ATTORNEYS ARE "IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT" THAT THE WEALTHY NEW YORKER SHOULD BE CITED.

9/28--EG1205P

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ADD 2 MCCARTHY

AT ONE POINT, MCCARTHY STARTLED NEWSMEN BY SPEAKING TO BOGELEPOV IN RUSSIAN. HE SPOKE ONE PHRASE TO BOGELEPOV, SMILED AND TOLD THE PRESS NOT TO BOTHER TO "TRY TO TAKE THAT DOWN."

"I JUST ASKED HIM TO SPEAK A LITTLE MORE CLEARLY," MCCARTHY SAID.

"IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION, BOGELEPOV SAID HE HAD ONCE SEEN AN ERNEST J. SIMMONS IN THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN OFFICE IN MOSCOW.

MCCARTHY DESCRIBED SIMMONS AS EDITOR OF ANOTHER ARMY TRAINING DOCUMENT, "THE USSR--A CONCISE HANDBOOK." AND ASKED THE RUSSIAN IF SIMMONS WAS GETTING INSTRUCTIONS THROUGH THE (RUSSIAN) FOREIGN OFFICE ON PREPARATION OF THE MATERIAL.

"IN A WAY, THEY WERE INSTRUCTIONS," BOGELEPOV REPLIED, BUT HE SAID THE RUSSIANS WERE "CLEVER ENOUGH" TO DISGUISE THEIR PROPAGANDA.

9/23--EG1210P